

MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWĀRĪKH

BY

‘ABDU-L-QĀDIR IBN-I-MULŪK SHĀH

KNOWN AS

AL-BADĀONI.

VOLUME I.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN,

AND EDITED BY

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

In presenting this translation of the first volume of Badaoni's *Muntakhabu-t-tawārikh* (Selections from Histories) I cannot but be conscious of its many defects.

No one who has not attempted to translate from Persian into English can form the slightest idea of the special difficulties of the task.

The inherent differences of idiom in the two languages, the rich expansiveness of the one, and the rigid inflexibility of the other, render the attempt to fitly represent the glowing colours of Persian in the dull monotone of modern English, all but hopeless. It has been said that the test of a translation is not its literalness but its truth: that is to say, not its fidelity to the author's expression, but its response to his inspiration. It must not merely reproduce the letter, it must embody the spirit of the original composition.

How great is the demand thus made upon the translator must be evident to anyone who is acquainted with both Persian and English: and the difficulties which appear so formidable in prose translation, become insurmountable in the case of poetry.

The various metres of Persian poetry are so entirely characteristic and essential in their nature, that it has appeared to me futile, if not impertinent, to attempt similar metrical renderings in English.

Even where it is possible to reproduce by conjunction of English words, the rhythm and accent of any Persian metre, such a composition no more recalls the original, than does the skeleton of the anatomical museum summon up the living and breathing animal.

For this reason, the poetical portions of Badaoni's work have, in the present translation, almost without exception

been rendered, not in verse but in prose, thus preserving the substance while sacrificing the form, as the transparent cube of salt may be crushed so as to be unrecognisable by its crystalline form, but still retains its chemical composition. To render poetry satisfactorily a translator must be both linguist and poet; if he be only a linguist he should not tamper with the finished work of the poet; he can, at best, only hope to outline the subject, leaving the colour-scheme untouched.

I am aware that a high authority* has expressed himself in favour of the translation of Persian poetry into English verse, but the qualifications which shall render a translator competent to undertake such a task must fall to the lot of very few.

With this full knowledge of the difficulties to be encountered, the present translation was undertaken, and it is presented in the confidence that those who are the best judges of the nature of the task will be the first to make allowances for defects in its performance.

قدر زر زرگر شفاسد قدر جوهر جرهري

CALCUTTA : }
July 18th, 1898. }

GEORGE RANKING.

For a life of Bādāoni reference should be made to page 117 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. III, 1869, where an excellent biography will be found written by the late Professor Blochmann.

The sources from which this translation has been made are the following :—

1. The “*Muntakhab Al-Tawārikh*,” edited by Maulavī Ahmad Ali, printed at the College Press, Calcutta, 1868, and published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, referred to in the translation as the Text.

* Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., “on Translations from and into Persian.” *Transactions of Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, 1892.

2. Manuscript No. 1592 of the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh* of 'Abdu-l-Qādir Mu'lūk Shāh Badaoni, in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Written by one Muhammad Saiyyid (?), in the year 1255 H. (1839 A.D.). This is referred to in the translation as MS. (A).

3. Manuscript No. A. 44, also from the above library. This is referred to in the translation as MS. (B). The transcriber of this Manuscript is one Muhammad Nāzim. It bears no date.

The printed text has been carefully collated with these two manuscripts, and all variant readings noted.

TRANSLATION

OF THE مُنْتَخَبُ التَّوَارِيخِ OF AL-BADAONI.¹

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL.

Oh thou² from whose name spring all other names,
Kings at thy door are suppliant as I at theirs—
When once the impulse of zeal for thee was felt,
No foot remained shod, no head remained crowned.

Emperor of the world! with this unprofitable soul of mine
which has become the abode of demons and wild beasts,³ in what
way can I conceive thy praises, and with this worn and foolish
tongue of mine, which has become as it were food for cats and
dogs, how can I chant thy eulogy.

How can the miserable dust proclaim the Unity of God.
How in this state of defilement praise the Divine Being.

Moreover, the foot of search limps feebly in this unknown
road, because of my constant anxiety and habitual fear, while in
this limitless desert, my stammering tongue finds the sphere of
speech always contracted.

That which my soul knows is but secondary,⁴ what my tongue
speaks are but particles—(and therefore unintelligible).
How can I know thee in my soul or express thee with my
tongue.

¹ Al-Badaoni. *Vide* Preface.

² This invocation is to the Almighty in whose name all literary works are
commenced.

مَذْلُولٌ دِينٍ وَدَدٌ شَدَّدٌ

⁴ حَدُوثٌ That which is dependent for its existence upon some pre-exist-
ing state or object, opposed to حَرْفٌ—قَدْمٌ Particles, which alone convey no
intelligible meaning—حَرْفٌ also signifies a letter which is also per se meaning-
less.

This seems best, that I should restrain my pen from travelling in this valley, and having hidden the head of bewilderment in the cloke¹ of meditation on men and regions² should open the eye of my understanding to the knowledge of Thy all-perfect works and unsading kingdom, and proceeding, through the vicissitudes of affairs of created beings, to the Unity of thy exalted personality, should end with the world of proclaiming and confessing the Unity of God,³ so that I may see with the eye of certainty—nay more that I may recognize that

In thy excellence there is no room for duality;⁴
Thou and thy majesty make up the universe.

and I have moistened my lips with the pure water of the praise of that chieftain whose name is "praised" whose end is lauded;

حَدْوَثٌ زَمَانِيٌّ is of two kinds حَدْوَثٌ ذَاهِيٌّ which is A thing's being preceded by non-existence, and حَدْوَثٌ ذَاهِيٌّ which is A thing's being dependent upon another for its existence. Vide Lane, art حَدْوَثٌ, 1.

گوپدان Lit. Collar or hood.

سُنُورِهِمْ كَيْاَتَنَا فِي أَبَدَاقٍ وَفِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ ۖ Cf. Qurán xli. 53 **أَنْفُسِي وَأَفْاتِي ۚ**
we will show them our signs in the regions and in themselves.

⁸ The Unity of God is the fundamental proposition of the faith of Islam.

سورة الاخلاص - قل هو الله أحد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفواً أحد
Say. He is God alone. God the eternal. He begoteth not, nor is he begotten—and there is none like unto him. Ourán—Súrat-ul-Ikhláṣ.

⁴ That is to say, no one can stand beside him in this position of excellency
Cf. Qurán xxvii. 61.

وَإِلَهٌ مَعَ اللَّهِ بُلْ ثَمْ قَوْمٌ يَعْدِلُونَ Is there a God with God? Nay! but they
are a people who make peers with him.

See also Súra vi. 1. Also the Súra quoted in note 3.

^b ~~وَ~~ Muhammad—the literal meaning of which is “Praised.” He was thus named by his grandfather ‘Abdul-Muttalib, who when desired to give the child a name after some member of the tribe of Quraish to which he belonged, said, “I wish that God who has created the child on earth may be glorified in heaven” and he called the child Muhammād. *Vide Hughes, Dictionary of Islām Art.* “Muhammad.”

Lord of the promised fountain,¹ and of the praise which is on every tongue² (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him and his family) because the mantle of the honour of eternal and everlasting empire lies gracefully upon his noble figure, and the proclamation³ and stamp of undiminishing power and glorious sovereignty of right belongs to his exalted name

The monarch of Arabia of whom the world is a manifestation,

The Lord of the earth, whose servant he is, swears by his name

He was the near neighbour of the Truth for this reason had no shadow⁴

To the end that no one should place a foot on (the shadow of) his head—

Countless⁵ praises and eulogies on the elect family and the truth perceiving companions of the Prophet, especially upon the rightly-guided Khalifahs⁶ (may the favour of God be on them all) who, for the elevation of the standard of religion and the promulgation of the word of evident truth⁷ risked their lives and laid down their heads as a ransom, and thus cleared the thorns

1. M.S. (A) has, &c حوض کوثر و ورد مورد صلی عطیتیک آنکوثر Verily we have given thee al Kau'ar Quran cxiu 1 کوثر literally means "abundance"

2. مورود

3. خط و سک

The coronation ceremony of Muhammedan monarchs consist chiefly in the recital of the *Mufra* and issuing corn (*sikka*) stamped with his name

4. Muhammad was said to have no shadow

5. Thousands upon thousands

6. خلفای راشدین The four immediate successors of Muhammad, Abú Bakr, A H 11 'Umar A H 13 'Usman, A H 23 'Ab, A H 35, acknowledged by the Sunnis. The first three of these are rejected by the Shias who hold that 'Ali was the first legitimate Khalifah

فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ إِنَّكَ عَلَى الْحَقِّ الْبَيِّنِ Cf Quran xxviii 81 حق مبين

Rely then upon God Verily thou art standing on obvious truth

of infidelity and the undergrowth of heresy from the plain of the kingdom of the sacred law.¹

After the praise of God and of the Lord the protector of the divine missive (may the blessing of God be upon him, his family and his companions, a blessing safe from all termination), we have to declare that the science of History is essentially a lofty science and an elegant branch of learning, because it is the fountain-head of the learning of the experienced, and the source of the experience of the learned and discriminating, and the writers of stories and biographies from the time of Adam to this present time in which we live, have completed reliable compositions and comprehensive works, and have proved the excellence thereof by proofs and demonstrations, but it must not be supposed that the reading and study of this science—as certain lukewarm religionists, and the party of doubt and dissent, shortsighted as they are, are wont to affirm—has been or will be a cause of wandering from the straight path of the illustrious law of Muḥammad (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him and his family), or become the entry into and way of ascent to the fountainheads of scepticism, and drinking places of defilement of the licentious and heretical, and those who have gone astray; because for a body of men who in the very essence of their constitution are devoid of any share in religious principle, the reading of the eternal word which is the key of evident happiness and “*a healing and a mercy for the worlds*,”² becomes a cause of misery

لَكُلٌّ جَعَلْنَا مِنْكُمْ شَرِيعَةً وَّعِتَاجًا
الشرع¹. The sacred law. Cf. Qurán v. 52
For each one of you have we made a law and a pathway. The Mosaic law
is always called التوراة At-Taurát (Hebrew תּוֹרָה.)

The word in the text is always used for the sacred canon of the Qurán
الشرع is divisible into five sections عِيَادَاتٍ—beliefs اِعْقَادَاتٍ—moralities عِبَادَاتٍ—
devotions معاملاتٍ—transactions عُوْقُوبَاتٍ—punishments. Cf. Kashsháf. Isti-
láhát-ul-Funún, art شرع.—

وَنَزَّلْنَا مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ مَا هُوَ شَفَاءٌ وَّرَحْمَةٌ لِّلْمُوْمِنِينَ
and
we will send down of the Qurán that which is a healing and a mercy to the
believers. Vide also Qurán xli. 44.

and everlasting loss "and if they are not guided by it they say—
"this is an antiquated lie"¹

If this is the case with the Quran² what chance has History?

"When any man has lost his hearing through melancholia,³
He cannot participate in the music of David and its harmony"

But I address my words to those who are endowed with the qualities of sound intellect and brilliancy of genius, and natural equity—not to those who are not led by the sacred law and who deny all principle, fundamental or derivative,⁴ because such men are not worthy of this discourse, nor are they within the pale of the wise, and discreet, and understanding, and how can one absolutely refuse to admit a science which is one seventh of the 4

١ قرآن ٤٦: ١٠ In the original we read—^{مسیح و ملائکہ} In both this and the former quotation there are verbal errors which lead to the conclusion that the author was not thoroughly at home in the Quran

^۲ I have inserted these words as the only means of giving an adequate rendering of the phrase ^{ذکر روح چه و سد}

^۳ ماحولنا μελαγχολία The orthography of this word is Sadidi gives the etymology ^{حَلْطُ الْأَسْوَدِ} (الشَّرُوحُ عَلَى الْمُوْحِرِ) of "the black humour", but gives no hint of deafness as one of the symptoms of the disease. Deafness is not a concomitant of melancholia as known to modern medicine, but the cases of so called hysterical deafness with mental depression are not uncommon. The *Bahr ul-Jauahir* says: إِنَّمَا يَقُولُونَ لِمَا كَانَ حَدَوْنَةً عَنِ الْعَصَادِ السَّوْدَاءِ عَيْرَ مُحَدِّرَةٍ وَهُوَ تَغْيِيرُ الظَّبُونِ وَالْفَكْرِ عَنِ الْمُتَجَعِّي الطَّبَاعِيِّ إِلَى الْعَسَادِ وَالْحَوْنَ لِمَزَاجِ سُوْدَارِيِّ بُوْحَشِ الرُّوْحِ It is only called "málíkhulía" where it is the result of (the humour called) "Sauda" (black bile) which is not inflammatory. It takes the ideas and thoughts out of their proper channel and tends to despondency and fear because of a melancholic temperament which depresses the mind.

^۴ علم الفقه Jurisprudence According to the *Iqtidhat al Funun* treats of the soul and of all that appertains thereto thus including all theological science, (*Kashsháf Iqtidáhat al Funun* art. *al Ashbah wal Nazair* by Zainul Abidin bin Najim, (II A 774) فِي الْفِقْهِ اشْرُفُ الْعِلُومِ قَدْرًا .. وَأَصْوَلُهُ ثَانِيَةٌ وَفُرُوعُهُ ثَالِثَةٌ i.e. Its fundamentals are firmly established and its derivatives evident

seven sections¹ upon which the foundation of the establishment of Faith and Certainty is laid.

“And all that we relate to thee of the tidings of the prophets with which we have established your hearts”² tells us of this, and a large body of the learned expositors of the traditions and commentators on the Qurán, as for example Imám Bukhári³ and Qází Baizáwí⁴ up to our own times have occupied themselves in writing about this heart-entralling science, and their words and practice have become an authority for the nations both East and West, in spite of the diversity of their origins and the distinction of their various degrees. While on the other hand an insignificant band of innovators and inventors who with the disgraceful partisanship of greedy mindedness and importunate desires, and shortsightedness as regards both outward and inward qualities, have placed their feet in the valley of audacity, and have introduced interpolations and errors into true and memorable histories, and having abandoned

^١ سبع المثاني ^٢ سبع المثاني The first chapter of the Qurán which contains seven verses; so called in Súra xv. 87. ^٣ ولقد أتيناك سبعاً من المثاني و القرآن العظيم.

^٤ مثاني being plural of مثني repeating or reiterating. The number seven relates to the *manzils* or divisions of the Qurán each one of which is to be read so that the whole is completed in a week. See also *Tafsír ul Baizáwí* ^٥ الْمُلْك

² Qurán xi. 121. This quotation is correctly given.

³ Háfiz Abú‘Abdullah Muḥammad ibn Abil Ḥasan Isma‘íl ibn Ibráhím ibn-al-Mughair ibn-al-Ahnaf Yezdibah, or Yezdezbah according to Ibn Mákúla a Manūl of the tribe of Jáfí. (Slane Ibn Khalliqán, ii. 595.) The last named was a Magian and died in that religion, his son Al Mughairat embraced Islám.

He was the author of *Sahíl-ul-Bukhári* صحيح البخاري a collection of authentic traditions—in which an account of Imám Bukhári is given. He was born A.H. 194 and died A.H. 256, and was buried at the village of *Khartang*.

near Samarcand leaving no male issue. The *Sahíl-ul-Bukhári* صحيح البخاري is held in great esteem by Muslims.

⁴ Qází Násir ud-Dín Abul Khair Abdulláh Baizáwí, ibn Umar ibn Muham-mad, was born at Baizá, a village of Shíráz, and was appointed Chief Qází. He was the author of many works, among others *Algháyatu fil fiqh. Sharī’ ul-Masábih wal mandáhij*. His most celebrated work was a commentary on the Qurán called *Anváru-t-tanzíl*. He died A.H. 685 and was buried in Shíráz. See also De Sacy: Anth: Gram: Arab: notes on Baizáwí, p. 37. See also Elliott and Dowson, Vol. II., 252 and note.

recognised constructions¹ and explanations, and interpretations of obvious nature, and estimating the conflicts and discussions of the noble companions and mighty followers (of the Prophet) by their own condition, attributed them to mutual contradiction and hatred, and to rivalry in the splendour and amount of their property and family, and having seduced simple minded people of elementary belief, have led them, by their own error and by attributing error to others, to Gehenna, the house of perdition

"When the crow² becomes leader of a tribe, he will surely lead them along the path of destruction"

And if the eye of a man be instilled with the collyrium of the Divine guidance, and illuminated by the light of truth, and guarded from every calamity which happens in the world of existence and evil, he passes to the Unity of the Creator, the Ancient of days, the Glorious, freed from the stain of innovation, and purified from the blemish of change and alteration. And when I look carefully, I see that the world is itself an ancient archetype which has neither head nor root its pages are a confused record, and in each page there is a list of the affairs of a section of mankind who have had the reins of the management of affairs entrusted to their hands

This ancient Shahnama relates the affairs of the Kings of the world

Do thou always look and read therein with circumspection

¹ حَمْلٌ is the plural from حَمْلٌ an inf eg حَمَلَ أَحَسَّ مُكْبِلٌ حَمْلٌ أَحَسَّ مُكْبِلٌ is the best construction upon it namely a saying (Lane s.v حَمْلٌ)

² عَرَابٌ The Arab proverb runs thus

مَنْ يَكُونُ الْعَرَابَ لَهُ دَلِيلًا بُورَةٌ عَلَى حِبْكَ الْكَلَابِ

'He who has the crow for a guide will be led by it to the carcasses of dogs' The crow was considered as the most inauspicious thing on earth, thus the Arabs say أَشَامٌ مِنَ الْعَرَابِ More ill omened than a crow

Its appearance is thought to be ominous of separation, therefore they say also عَرَابُ الْتَّدْبِيْنِ The raven (or crow) of separation

The spell of this narrative brings sweet sleep to him
Who is in delirium, and has become distracted with mad-
ness of the brain.

But it also wakens him who on account of pride, has fallen
into the slumber of carelessness and whom the devil has
deceived.

And inasmuch as the invoker of blessing upon all mankind,
‘Abdul Qádir ibn Múluk Sháh Badáoni (may God erase his
name from the book of sins) in the beginning of the year 999¹ in
accordance with the fateful order of his excellency the
Khalífah of the time, the shadow of the Deity, Akbar Sháhí²
when he had finished his selection from the History of Kashmír³ which,
by the soul-inspiring order of that world-conquering
Emperor whose throne is the heaven, one of the incomparable
doctors of India had translated from the Hindí into Persian,
yielded to a liking which he had for this science from youth
to maturity, and as it was seldom that he had not been occupied
in reading and writing it, either of his own free will and accord
or in obedience to orders, it used often to occur to him to write
as well an epitome of the affairs of the Emperors of the metro-
polis of Dehli, from the time of the commencement of Islám to
the time of writing, in a concise manner, —

All the world is but a village that (city of Mecca) is the
central point⁴ (of Islám).

that it might be a memorandum comprising a portion of the
events of each reign in brief form, and a memorial for my
friends, and a conspectus for the intellectual, and although it

¹ 999 of the Hijra (1590 A. D.)

² The Emperor Akbar, who about this time employed Badáoni "to make
translations from the Arabic and Sanskrit as in the case of the Mu‘jamu-l-
Buldán, Jámiu-r-Rashídí, and the Rámáyana," (Elliott and Dowson, v. 478.)

³ Said to have been translated from the original Hindí by Mullá Shah
Muhammad Sháhábádí—but not apparently the Rájá-taranginí, for the trans-
lation of that work is usually attributed to Mauláná Imád-ud-dín. Cf. Aín-i-
Akbarí, Blochmann, I. pages 105-106—footnote 1.

⁴ Mecca, as being the central meeting place of all Muslims. The Arabic
phrase is السُّوَادُ الْأَعْظَمُ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ The collective body of the Muslims.

might not be a book to be relied upon, or a notable composition, still in accordance with the saying —

6

“ These ancient pages of the sky whose beauty the stars are,
Are an ancient history of many Emperors whose armies
excel the stars in number,”

it may be that from the perusal of this book a messenger from the world of spirits and invisible mysteries may cast a ray of light upon the receptive mind, and thus being a cause of abstraction and seclusion, may wean the soul from the love of this transitory world, and may aid the compiler of these pages in the prosecution of his task, and his hopes may not be blighted, and inasmuch as each day some new grief used to appear, and some vexations annoyances used to shew itself, helps being few and hindrances many, moreover by reason of flesh toils and temporal changes it was difficult to remain in one place

“ Each day would bring a different place, each night a different roof ”

And besides all this, my sustenance was by no means assured, hanging as it were between heaven and earth, and my heart utterly distracted by separation from kindred and friends, accordingly that commission was only accomplished by fits and starts,¹ until a kind and complaisant man of wealth, orthodox and religiously disposed, and happily furnished with this world's goods, who was very devoted to me, and for whom I too entertained an indescribable affection, having completed the writing of the *Tarikh-i-Nizami*² which is a bulky volume, and which is here being completed by me—removed the furniture of life to the sublime abode of Paradise

در حدود تعریق و تسویق می آمد ۱ *It used to fall into the region of holding back and pushing on*

2 Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad son of Khwaja Muqarrin Harawi diwán of the household of Babar is said in the *Zakhîratu'l-Qawâsim* (ED v 178) to have been appointed diwan of Akbar's household He was subsequently appointed bâkhsh of the province of Gujarat

The history referred to in the text is one of great repute and authority, it was called by the author *Tabaqat-i-Akbar shahî* by which title Badaoni himself also styles the work Its name is also known as *Tabaqat*

"He has departed—I too follow him.
Each one at last must go the self same way."

At this juncture, when Time departing from its usual custom, has treated me in the matter of leisure with some sort of liberality, it has come about that I have been able to steal a morsel of the chequered¹ hours of my life from his grasp, so that I renewed my intention and confirmed my purpose, and on this ground that there is no bygone event which has not left something for the present,

"If the peasant thoroughly clears under the sheaves of wheat
He leaves the sparrow's portion on the ground,"

I have selected and transcribed accurately a portion of the circumstances of some of the autocrat Emperors of Hindustan from the *Tárikh i Mubárak Sháhí*² and the *Nizámu-t-Tawárikh* of Nizámí³ which is as it were a drop in the ocean and a bubble of the turbulent floods, and have also added somewhat of my own, and have kept before me the desirability of conciseness and have

i-Akbari. Firishta states that of all the histories he consulted this is the only one he found complete. (Elliot and Dowson, v. 177-178.)

Nizámú-d-dín died in 1003 A. H., 1594 A. D. From the author's preface in the text above it would appear that he had had the work in hand some considerable time, but had not been able to give his undivided attention to it until after the death of Nizámú-d-dín. In the space of a year from that event he had completed his abridgment so that, it must have been fairly far advanced at the time of Nizámú-d-dín's decease.

¹ مَعْوِجٌ see Lane, *Art. عوج*. The days are apt to decline from the right course apt to return رَاجِعُ الْأَيَّامِ عَوْجٌ and العوج. The days.

² This work was written by Yahyá ibn-Alímad ibn-'Abdullah Sirhindí according to Firishta with the express purpose of recording the reign of Mubárak Sháh. It commences with the reign of Muhammád Sám, founder of the Ghori dynasty; the only known MS. terminates abruptly in the middle of the reign of Sultán Sayyid Muhammád, 852 A. H.—(1448 A. D.).

³ This must be the work already referred to, i. e., the *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí* although the name *Nizámu-t-Tawárikh* does not appear to be given to it elsewhere.

The name *Nizámu-t-Tawárikh* is generally restricted to the work by Baizáwí (*vide* Elliott and Dowson II. pp. 252-253.) Its date is about 674 H. (1275 A. D.)

imposed upon myself the necessity of avoidance of all affectation of style and metaphor, and have named this model composition *Muntakhabu t Tawarikh*¹ I hope that this imperfect collation and composition, whose object is the perpetuation of the auspicious names of the Emperors of Islam, and the transmission of a memorial thereof in this changing world until the final consummation, may lead to the pardon of the author in the world to come, and not be an augmentation of the crimes laid to his charge

" And do thou, O Nightingale, as thou roamest through this garden,
 With all thy sweetness, abstain from blaming the defects of
 the crow "

Since the object of my ambition is to write correctly, if I should by accident let fall from my pen the instrument of my thoughts, or commit in my thoughts, which are the motive agent of my pen, any slip or error, I hope that He (may He be glorified and exalted) in accordance with his universal mercy which is of old, will overlook and pardon it

By speaking evil do not change my tongue,
 And do not make this tongue of mine my wrong²

And since the first of the Emperors of Islam who were the cause of the conquest of Hindustan—(after Mahomed Qasim,³

¹ This title is common to works by many other authors (Elliott and Dowson v 477) specially given to a history by Haran ibn Mu^{hammad} al Khaki ash Shirazi completed A H 1019 (1610 A D) The work of Badaoni is known better as *Tarikh i Badaoni*

² There is a play on the words *wrong* and *tongue* which cannot be preserved in translation

³ The incidents of Mu^{hammad} Qasim's engagements and victories are related in the *Chach Nama* extracts from which will be found in Elliott and Dowson (Vol 1 pp 131-211) See also *Istutihi l Baldan* of Al Bilazuri (E and D 1 113) His full name was Mu^{hammad} ibn Qasim ibn Mu^{hammad} ibn Hakim ibn Abi 'Uqail and he was sent during the Khalifati of Walid ibn Abdul Malik 705-715 A D, to command on the frontiers of Sind (E and D Al Bilazuri Vol 1 p 119)

See also E and D Vol 1, Appendix 432, &c

cousin and son-in-law of Hajjáj-ibn-Yúsuf Saqfí,^{1.} who in the year, 93 A.H., (711 A.D.), conquered the countries of Sind, Multán and Gujrát, and, by the order of Walíd ibn-'Abdul Málík Marwání² who on an important occasion wrote to him from Damascus and summoned him to his presence, starting from Oodypur in India, and wrapping himself in a raw hide, while on his journey yielded up his life to God, and after him the affairs of Islám in that

¹ Abú Muḥammad al-Hajjáj was son of Yúsuf-ibn al-Ḥakam ibn-'Uqail ibn-Masúd ibn Aumir ibn Miattib ibn Málík ibn Ka'b, ibn 'Amr ibn Sa'd ibn 'Auf ibn Qassí (called also Ṣaqíf). He was governor of Irák and Khorásán for 'Abdul Málík ibn Marwán (692-705 A.D.) and was confirmed in that office by Walid ibn Abdul Málík (705-715 A.D.) For an account of him see I. K. (Slane) I. 356 and seqq. He founded the city of Wásit between Basra and Kuفا (75 A.H.) He died on 21st Ramazán A.H. 95, at the age of fifty-four and was buried at Wásit. Ibn Khalliqán states, "His malady was a cancer in the stomach for which he called in a physician, who, having examined into his case, tied a piece of meat to a string and passed it down his throat; after a lapse of some time he drew it out, and found a swarm of worms adhering to it: God gave also a cold ague power over him and although vases filled with lighted coals were placed around him so close as to scorch his skin he felt them not. (I.K. Slane loc. cit.).

He was a brutal ruler, and at his death it was said in thanksgiving "O my God ! thou hast caused him to die : let his example also die from among us."

"The tribe of Ṣaqíf was a great and well-known tribe dwelling at Táif, who before their conversion to Islám were devoted to the special worship of the idol Lát ; the founder of the tribe was Qássí (called also Ṣaqif) whose descent from Ma'dd is supported by two different genealogies." (Caussin de Perceval, Hist. des Arabes, i. 272). After refusing to hear the prophet in a personal appeal made to them, they made war against him, but eventually embraced Islám in 630 A.H., shortly after the return of Muḥammad to Medina.

² Walíd ibn-'Abdul Málík Marwání, became Khalífah in the year 86 A. H. and died in the year 96 A. H. His father was his predecessor in the Khalífaté, his name was 'Abdul Málík ibn-Marwán whence Walíd is called Marwání. It was during the Khalífaté of Abdul Málík that al-Hajjáj pulled down the Ka'bah and restored it to the condition in which it was in the time of As Suyútí. Walíd was ignorant, despotic and tyrannical, but withal discharged the duties of Khalif well, he built the mosque of Damascus and during his Khalífaté many foreign conquests were achieved. (See Jarrett's translation of As Suyútí's Táríkhū-l-Khulafá, pp. 227-230.)

The incident in the text relates to the vengeance taken for their father's death by the two virgin daughters of Rájá Dáhir, who were taken captive when he was killed at the siege of the fort of Ráwar, 93 A. H. Muḥammad Qásim had sent them to Baghdád under the charge of his negro slaves.

came the seat of Government, so that Islám never again lost its hold on that country—accordingly I deemed it right to commence this history with an account of that monarch whose end was glorious, so that it may be fortunate from the first, and lauded at the last—and God is the best of helpers and defenders.

THE GHAZNIVIDE DYNASTY.

From Sultán Násiru-d-dín Subuktigín to Khusrau Malik, who, prior to the conquest of Dehli, proclaimed Islám in Hindustán, from the year 367 A.H. (977 A.D.), to the year 582 A.H. (1186 A.D.). Their sovereignty thus lasted two hundred and fifteen years under the sway of fifteen monarchs.

SULTÁN NÁSIRU-D-DÍN SUBUKTIGÍN

Was of Turkí origin, the slave of Alptigín who was a servant of Amír Manṣúr-ibn-Núh Sámání.¹ In the year 367 H. after the death of Abú Iṣháq, the son of Alptigín, by common consent of the soldiery and populace he succeeded² to the imperial throne in the city of Bust³ and raised the standard of conquest, and

¹ The eighth prince of the Samání dynasty who reigned 22 years. (D'Herbelot).

The Sámání dynasty was founded by Asad bin-Sámán. It held sway over Khurásán and Transoxiana, holding its court at Bulkhárá—from 279 A. H. to 395 A. H. See *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, Raverty pp. 26, 27 and 53. Amír Abul Ḥiṣr Manṣúr died at Bulkhárá 366 A. H. and was succeeded by his son Abul Qásim-i-Núh. (*Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, Raverty 44.) For an account of the Sámání dynasty, see D'Herbelot III. 193. Abú Iṣháq was appointed by Mansúr as governor of Ghaznín upon the death of his father Alptigín in the year 365 A. H., and died in 367 A. H.

According to the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, Alptigín died in 352 A. H. and Iṣháq succeeded him, dying in 362 A. H. after him again Pírey obtained the government, but was deposed in 367 A. H. when the Government passed to Subuktigín. (See Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, pp. 71-73.)

² The *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* states that Subuktigín succeeded Alaptagín in Ghaznín (Raverty pp. 46-74.)

³ Bust, the capital of Zábulistán (vide *Abul Feda* II., ii. 201) which includes Kábúl and the adjacent territory as far as Ghazna and even beyond. Derived by Yákút from Zábul, grandfather of Rustam. (*Aín-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) Vol. II. p. 115, and p. 408). "According to the Qáñún Bust is situated in 91°33' long: and 32°15' lat: according to the Atwál in 90° long. and 33° lat. Third climate [see *Aín-i-Akbari*. Vol. II. 115, footnote 4] Chief

girding up the loins of energy and effort for foray and religious war, he invaded Hindustan on the frontiers of the country of Koh-i-Jud¹ and having fought a severe battle with Jaipal who was the ruler of Hindustan, concluded peace with him. Jaipal, however, broke the treaty. Accordingly Nasiruddin Subuktigin equipped an army composed of 10,000 cavalry and numberless elephants huge as mountains, and engaged in conflict with him a second time, fought a great battle with him in the neighbourhood of Lamghānat,² the breeze of victory stirred the banners of Amir Nasiruddin, the army of Jaipal suffered defeat, and he himself took to flight and sought refuge in Hindustan. Thus Lamghānat came into the possession of Amir Nasiruddin, the Khutbah was read and the coin struck in his name.³ Then he proceeded to the assistance of Amir Nuh ibn Mansur Samanī⁴ and was the means of procuring notable victories in Khurasan and the regions beyond the river.⁵ Finally in the month of Sha'ban⁶ of the year 387 A.H. (997 A.D.) he obediently submitted to the summons of the Almighty, having reigned for twenty years.

YAMINU D DAULAT SULTÁN MAHMÚD IBN NÁSIRU D DIN GHÁZNAVI

When Subuktigin, in the month of Sha'ban 387 H., while on the road to Ghaznūn, receiving the summons of the Almighty

place of the district of Bost. Bost is situated on the banks of the Hend mand and is part of Sistan. From Bost to Ghazna one reckons about 14 marches (Abul Feda II n 103) Abul Feda further states that at Bost on the Hendmand (Helmand) there is a bridge of boats similar to those of the rivers of Iraq (II 76).

¹ The Koh-i-Jud includes the mountainous region between Ghaznah and Lahore.

² Lamghan See Abul Feda II n 201 According to the Lobāb this is the general name of a collection of places in the mountains of Ghaznah (See Abul Feda I ccclvi) Lamghan Long 101°50 Lat 34°3 A n : Albari m 89

³ The reading of the ﷺ (Khutba) and striking the سکه (sikka) that is stamping the currency were the usual accompaniments of the accession of the sovereigns of Islam and constituted a proclamation of their authority

⁴ See History of the Caliphs As Sayyūfi (Jarrett) pp 432 433

⁵ ماء و راه ماء و راه Mawara un nahr Transoxiana

According to Yaqut in his Muhtasib Turan is the name given to the collection of countries situated beyond the Oxus. See Abul Feda Transoxiana for a full account of the countries included under this name

⁶ The eighth month of the Muhammadan year

responded "Here am I," he appointed his young son Isma'il as his successor.¹ When this news reached Maḥmūd who was the elder son of Subuktigín, he wrote a letter of condolence to his brother and sought a peaceful solution of the difficulty on the following terms: That Isma'il should give up Ghaznín to Maḥmūd, receiving in its stead the governorship of Balkh: Isma'il refused these terms, and eventually war was declared between the brothers. Maḥmūd was victorious, and after defeating Isma'il, kept him closely besieged in Ghaznín for a space of six months, at the expiration of which time certain of their friends intervened and made peace between them. Isma'il then came and had an interview with Maḥmūd, and the sovereignty devolved upon Yamínu-d-Daulat Maḥmūd. After this a quarrel arose between Maḥmūd and Mansúr ibn-Núh Sámání and also his brother 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn-Núh.² Eventually Maḥmūd got the upper hand. The Amírs of 'Abdu-l-Malik also, Fáiq and Baktúzún, who engaged in contest with Maḥmūd, were defeated by him, and the sovereignty of the whole of Khurásán, of Ghaznín, and the frontiers of Hindustán came into the hands of Maḥmūd.

Maḥmūd's mother was the daughter of the ruler of Zábúl³

¹ The question of the right of succession of the two brothers admits of some doubt. From the text it would appear that it was the intention of Subuktigín to nominate his younger son Isma'il. The author of the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* ignores Isma'il's succession (see Raverty, note 6, page 75, and Briggs, note on Ferishta, page 29). Subuktigín died in 387, and Maḥmūd succeeded according to Fanákatí in 388. It appears uncertain how long Isma'il held the Government, but probably the six months during which he was besieged by Maḥmūd in Ghazní, represents his whole reign.

² The origin of this quarrel is stated by Ferishta to have been a protest lodged by Maḥmūd against the nomination of Bak-Túzún to the governorship of Khurásán (see Briggs, p. 84, see also Raverty, *Tabaqát-i-Násirí*, pp. 49, 50).

Mansúr was deprived of his sight after dethronement by Fáiq and Baktúzún who then by agreement with Maḥmūd were to hold Merv and Níshápúr.

Shortly after this (in 388 A. H.), the Sámání dynasty came to an end after the defeat of Abd-ul-Malik by Ilák-i-Nasr. It had lasted one hundred and eight years. See Raverty, pp. 53, 54. (see also D. Herbelot iii. 194).

Maḥmūd is related to have assumed the title of Sultán and to have been the first Oriental potentate who appropriated this term (Thomas, *Coins of Kings of Ghazní*, J. R. A. S. IX. 270. see also Elliott II. 480-481).

³ She was the daughter of Alptagín, governor of Ghaznín, which is here meant by Zábúl, the words 'that is Qandahár' only occur in one copy and are probably interpolated.

[that is to say Qandahári *] accordingly, he is called Mahmúd Zabuli—as Firdausi¹ says

The auspicious court of Mahmúd Zabuli is an ocean,
An ocean such that no shore can be found for it
I went to the ocean—I dived but found no pearl
The fault is my fortune's—not that of the ocean.

In the early part of his reign he had some unpleasant correspondence with the Khalifah of Baghdad Al Qadir billahí 'Abbasí² Eventually the Khalif despatched a magnificent robe of honour, and many presents of precious things and gems, and conferred on him the title of Amru u l Millat Yaminu d Daulat

Leaving Ghaznín he went to Balkh and Herát, and in 387 A H, (997 A D.) he returned to Ghaznín after having settled those provinces, and thence made repeated incursions and forays into Hindustán, and took several fortresses 'Asjadí³ composed the following *qasida* in honour of this expedition

When the king of kings marched to Somnat⁴
He made his own deeds the standard of miracles

In the month of Shawwal, 391 A H, (1000 A D.) Mahmúd 1e turned to Hindustán from Ghaznín with ten thousand cavalry,

* Not in MSS (A) or (B)

¹ Firdausi For an account of this famous poet see this volume page 32 Note 1 and Majma ul Fusáha I 382

² Al Qadir billahí Abul 'Alábas Ahmad ibn Ishák ibn al Muqtadir was born in 336 A H His Khalifate lasted from 381 A H to 422 the year of his death, a period of forty one years As Sayuti quoting from Al Khatib says that he was distinguished for his rectitude and nobility of character (History of Caliphs (Jarrett, p 431)

³ Hakim Abu Nazar 'Abdul 'Aziz ibn Mansúr contemporary of Hakim Ansuri, Hakim Farrukhí and Hakim Firdausi He died in 432 A H (Majma ul Fusáha, Vol I p 340) The *qasida* in which the lines quoted occur is given at length in the Majma ul Fusáha, loc cit MS (A) quotes them wrongly, MS (B) is the same as the text which reads $\text{عـ} \text{سـ}$ for $\text{عـ} \text{جـ}$ 'Asjadí was a celebrated poet of Merv The *Tabaqat i Nasirí* gives another couplet in addition to the above and attributes the poem to 'Ansuri (p 82 note 1)

⁴ Somnát Situated according to the Qanun in $97^{\circ} 10'$ long and $22^{\circ} 15'$ lat Somnát is on the shore, in the land of pirates which is part of India Ibn Said says that travellers often speak of it and it forms part of Guzerat or the country of Lar (See Bayley, History of Gujerat p 18, etc , Afn i Akbars Vol II (Jarrett) 246, etc Abul Feda II n 116)

See also Albruni India (Saclau) I 205, and Index Somanatha

See also p 27 of this volume &c

and reduced Pesháwar. He also again drew up his forces on these frontiers for battle with Jaipál who confronted him with large forces of cavalry and infantry and three hundred elephants. Sultán Mahmúd gained the day and Jaipál was taken prisoner together with fifteen of his relatives, his brothers and his sons; and five thousand infidels fell by the sword. Great spoils fell into the hands of the Gházis, among them a pearl necklace which was on the neck of Jaipál, which was worth some hundred and eighty thousand dínárs,¹ and the necklets of the others too, on the same.

I Note 1. Dínár.

There is some uncertainty as to the actual value of the Dínár, as there were different coins, one of silver and the other of gold bearing this name—

It was during the Khalifate of Abdul Málik ibn Marwán (A.H. 73 to A.H. 86, A.D. 692 A.D. 705) that a separate coinage was introduced. Thus As Suyútí gives the following account: "Yahyá-b-Bakayr narrates:—'I heard Málik say that the first who coined dínárs was Abdul Malik and he inscribed on them a verse of the Qurán. Musa'b states that Abdul Malik inscribed on the dínár "Say, God is One." (Qur. cxii.) and on the reverse, "there is no God but God;" and its circumference was a rim of silver and he inscribed outside the rim, "Muhammad is the Apostle of God, whom he hath sent as a guide unto Salvation and the true faith.'" (Jarrett, History of the Caliphs p. 222.)

Abdul Malik had introduced the custom of writing at the head of letters the formula, "say there is one God" This was a cause of offence to the Grecian Emperor who wrote saying that unless Abdul Malik abandoned this habit "there will reach you on our dínárs the mention of what you will not like." Abdul Malik consequently decided upon coining his own dínárs which he did in the year 75 A.H. (A.D. 694.)

The origin of the word dínár is attributed to the Latin *denarius* the words فلس *fals* and درهم *dirham* being in the same way derived from *follis* and *drachma*. (Prinsep I. 19-246.)

The *denarius*, a silver coin was worth approximately 8½d. its average weight being according to the authorities 60 grains. It was first coined B.C. 269.

Its relation to the *drachma* was at first as 8·5 to 9·75, but owing to a falling off in weight of the *drachma* they at one time were practically equal in value. The *drachma* was a silver coin and occupied among the Greeks the place of the *denarius* among the Romans. Both these coins then, the dínár and the *dirham*, were silver originally, and were in all probability of equal values, but there is another dínár mentioned in the Rájá Taranginí and elsewhere which was a gold coin—this answers almost exactly to the Roman *denarius aureus* of which Pliny speaks, the average weight of which was 120 grains. The gold coins of Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanchí inscription weigh from 120 to 130 grains and are indubitably copied from Greek originals in device as well as in weight. Prinsep I. 246.

scale. This victory was won on Saturday,¹ the 8th of Muharram, 392 H., (1001 A.D.) Leaving this place Mahmud proceeded to the fortress of Tabarkindah² which was the residence³ of Jaipal, and conquered that country.

After this in the month of Muharram 393 A.H. he left Ghaznî and proceeded to Hindustan by way of Seistan and assaulted Bhatia⁴ which is in the vicinity of Multan. The Raja of that place, Beji Râi, fearing the punishment of the Sultan killed himself with a dagger, and they brought his head to the Sultan. Many Hindus, more than one can number, were hurried along the road to non-existence by the pitiless sword, and Mahmûd took as spoil two hundred and seventy elephants while Daud ibn-Nâṣî⁵ the renegade ruler of Multan, being reduced to submission by the Sultan, agreed to pay twenty times twenty thousand dirhams⁶ annual tribute.

We may thus take it that the golden dirâr was double the weight of the silver dirâr and taking the ratio of gold to silver as 10 to 1 this would give us the relative values of the gold and silver dirâr in terms of dirhams of silver as 20 to 1.

This relative value is rendered more probable still by a comparison of our author's statement of the tribute paid by Daud ibn Naṣî (page II, line 18 of the Text) with that of Firishta (see note 6 below).

Against this however is the statement in the *Afnān Akbarī* (Blochmann I p. 36) that "the Dirâr is a gold coin weighing one misqâl, i.e., 1½ dirhams" but as both the dirham and the misqâl were variable the accuracy of this statement is open to question.

See Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities (Art.) Denarius

¹ Firishta says Monday, the 8th of Muharram

² Tabarkindah Firishta calls this Batindah which is also the name given to Jaipal's capital in a history of the Rajâs of Jamu. As to the identity of this with Wâshînd, see Raverty's *Tabaqat-i-Akbarî*, pp. 76-80 footnote, see Tiefenthaler's map, Vol III. See also L and D II 438

³ MS (A) has حاى نو تھا Text has جاؤ which is evidently an "improvement" on the author

⁴ MS (A) has بھات Bhata MS (B) has بھڑا Bhâra The real name of this place is according to Elliott Bhera which lies on the left bank of the Jhelum under the Salt Range—see L and D, Vol II, Appendix pp. 439-410

⁵ Grandson of Shaikh Hamid Lodi, first ruler of Multan (Briggs, p. 40).

⁶ Firishta says 20,000 golden dirhams According to the *Afnān Akbarī*, Vol I 35, the dirham is a silver coin, and no mention is made of a golden dirham. Taking the value of the golden dirham at twenty times that of the silver dirham the text would give the same amount as that given by Firishta (see note 1 p. 18)

As he was advancing to Multán, Anándpál, son of Jaipál, rose up against him to oppose the advance of the Sultán, but fled after the battle to the mountains of Kashmír, and the Sultán reached

2. Multán by way of Hindustán.¹ Those events occurred in 396 A.H. (1005 A.D.) In the following year 397 A.H. (1006 A.D.) a battle was fought at Balkh between Mahmúd and Ilak Khán² king of Mawará an-Nahr.³ Sultán Mahmúd was victorious; Ilak Khán finally died in the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.)

In the year 398 H. (1007 A.D.) Mahmúd entered Turkistán, and having settled the affairs of the Turkis, pursued Súkhpál⁴ Nabsa, Rájá of Sind (who having embraced Islám had been released from his captivity to Abú 'Alí Sinjúri but had again joined the idolators and apostates) overcame him⁵ and threw him into prison where he died.

In the year 399 A.H. (1008 A.D.) Mahmúd a second time entered Hindustán and engaging in battle with the aforesaid Anand Pál defeated him, and betaking himself with his vast spoil to the fortress of Bhímnagar⁶—which nowadays is known

¹ Firishta says by way of Ratindah. In the text we find by way of Hindustán and MSS. (A) and (B) have the same. According to Elliott (II. 438) we should here read Bihand or Waikhind, a place of considerable importance on the western bank of the Indus about fifteen miles above Attock.

² See Rauerty's *Tabaqat-i-Nasir*, p. 52 and note. Ilak son of Bughrá Khán took Bukhárá 10th Zí-Qa'dah, 389 H. See also pages 84-85, footnote 9.

³ See also Briggs' Firishta, pp. 42-44.

⁴ Transoxiána.

⁵ Firishta calls him Súkhpál, a son of one of the Rájás of India. MS. (A) and (B) have Súkpál Naba سوکپال نبا According to Elliott his name was Súkhpál-Nawása Sháh, the name Nawása denoting his relationship to Jaipál whose grandson he in all probability was (see E and D, II. App. 444.) He is called Rájá inasmuch as Mahmúd when leaving Multán to fight Ilak Khán had (according to Firishta) left his Indian possessions in his charge. See also Elphinstone, Hist. of India, p. 280.

⁶ This fortress is situated about a mile from the town of Bhím. The fort itself was called Nagarkot (Firishta) and is the same as Kot Kangra. In Tieffenthaler's map Nagarkoto is placed some 25 miles N. W. of Kot Kangra, but at page 107, Vol I., he says, "Côtgangra nommée aussi Nagar cett est une ville munie d'une forteresse et située dans les montagnes." See E and D, Vol. II. 34 and App. 445.

"The Town of Bhím which is about a mile from the fort, is now on a spot called Bhawan which means a temple raised to a Sakti or female deity, and Bhím is probably a mistake arising from its presumed foundation by the heroic Bhím."

as the Thanes of Bhüm—reduced it by promising quarter to the garrison, and gained possession of the treasure and valuables which had been buried and stored there since the time of Bhüm, and in the early part of the year 100 H he caused several golden and silver thrones to be placed in his court, and ordered that all that boundless and incomputable wealth should be scattered at the foot of his own throne that the people might gaze on it. In the year 101 H (1010 A.D.) he left Ghazniv and again marched towards Multán, and took possession of the remainder of the country and put to death the greater part of the Karmatians¹ and heretics of that region, and sent the remainder whom he did not put to death to the fort,² where they died. He took Díud ibn Nasr, the heretic ruler of Multán, to Ghazniv and kept him a prisoner in the fortress of Ghori,³ where he died.

In the year 102 H (1011 A.D.), he set out for Thánesar⁴ and Jaipil, the son of the former Jaipal offered him a present of fifty elephants and much treasure. The Sultán, however, was not to be deterred from his purpose, so refused to accept his present, and seeing Thánesar empty he sacked it and destroyed its idol temples, and took away to Ghazniv, the idol known as Chakar-



¹ A heretical sect of Muslims, so called from the founder Karmat, who rose about the year 278 H. They sought to attain their ends by violence and in the year 310 H under Abu Táher took the city of Mecca with fearful slaughter, plundered the temple and took away the black stone which they retained for twenty years.

(Elliott and Dawson II 673) (See also Sale's Quran, Prel Discourse pp 130-131) D Herbelot (Carmate).

² MS (A) در قع

³ Firishn عورک MS (A) عورى

⁴ Thánesar 76 62 E 29 30 N title Map, Tieffenthaler, Vol. III

Tieffenthaler describes it as a large and populous town one mile in length, having a pond surrounded by buildings towards the east. The Hindus he states, claim that when gold is thrown into this lake it increases in weight. He naively, goes on to say, however, "Mais c'est un fable ridicule car celles qui y jette son or n'en recouvre rien" The water is accounted holy.

He places Thánesar at a distance of 66 miles from Dehli giving the stages — Narca 12 miles Sonpat 6 Gonor 6 Panpat 12, Carnal 14, Asamribid 7, Thanesar 9 It lies N W of Dehli and is now called Thaneswar. See Cunningham, Anc Geog. of Indu, pp 330-332 See Alberuni I 193

sūm,¹ on account of which the Hindus had been ruined; and having placed it in his court, caused it to be trampled under foot by the people. In the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.), he conquered Ghurjistán,² and in the selfsame year an ambassador arrived from the ruler of Egypt, and when the Sultán heard that he was of the Bálíní sect,³ he exposed him to public ridicule⁴ and expelled him.

In the year 404 H. (1013 A.D.), he prepared an expeditionary force to attack Nandana,⁵ a city situated on the mountains of Bálnáth. Jaipál II⁶ left a force to defend that fortress, and himself proceeded to the Kashmír pass. The Sultán gained possession of that fortress with promise of quarter, and left Sárégh Kotwál to defend it, while he pursued Jaipál. He took the vast spoils of that mountainous region and put many infidels to death by the sword of holy war, and honoured the rest by admitting them to Islám—a certain number he led captive to Ghaznín.

In the year 406 H. (1015 A.D.), he contemplated the conquest of Kashmír, and besieged the fortress of Loliar Kot,⁷ which was a very high fort, but was forced to abandon the siege on account of the severity of the cold and rain, and the constant reinforcements available to the Kashmíris, and returned to Ghaznín. In that year he entered into a contract for the marriage of his sister

¹ Chakrasvámīn, or the lord of the Chakra. For an account of this idol, see Alberuni, I. 117.

"The city of Taneshar is highly venerated by the Hindus. The idol of that place is called Cakra svámīn, i.e., the owner of the Cakra."

² Ghurjistán, or Gharshistán, the country bounded on the west by Herát, east by Ghor, north by Merv, and south by Ghazní. See Jācut in voc. Gharshistán.

³ Esoterics, a sect of the Shí'a Muslims. For an account of them see Curzon's كتاب الملل والدول page 147 —They were variously called لقراء طه لباطنية - الملحدة - العلمية - المزدكية

⁴ تشهیر کردن Exposing to ridicule by seating on a donkey with the face to the tail, and thus leading him through the city.

⁵ Nandana, a fortress of brick situated on a mountain. Tieffenthaler I. 105, in lat. 32°. (Alberúni, Sachau trans, 317). In Rennell's map (1782) the Belnáth mountains are placed in long. 72° E., lat. 32° N. For a full description of this mountain, see Cunningham, Ano. Geog. of India, pages 164, 165.

⁶ Son of Anandpál, grandson of Jaipál I.

⁷ Called also Lohkot by Firishta. MSS. (A) (B) have لوهکوت.

with Abul Abbas ibn Mīmūn Khwārazm Shīh,¹ and sent her to Khwārizm.

In the year 407 H (1016 A D), a band of russians murdered ¹⁴ Khwārazm Shīh, and Mahmud leaving Ghaznī, proceeded first to Balkh and thence to Khwārizm, where a furious battle took place between his forces and those of Khamātash, the commander-in-chief of Khwārazm. The Sultan's forces gained the day and Mahmud appointed Altūn Tash governor of that country, investing him with the title of Khwārazm Shīh, he also took vengeance on the murderers of Khwārazm Shīh, and returned (to Ghaznī) after having arranged those important affairs.

In the year 409 H , he marched with the object of subduing Qanauj,² and having crossed the seven³ dangerous rivers of Hindustān, upon his arrival in the neighbourhood of Qanauj, Kuruh,⁴ the ruler of Qanauj, offered his submission, and sued for quarter, offering presents. Leaving that place he arrived at the

¹ For a full account of this dynasty, see Raverty's *Tabaqat-i-Nāsirī*, pp 231 &c, (note 2) Khwārazm is a country on both banks of the Oxus of which the capital is Gorgang (Jorjān) see Abul Feda II n 209 Chorasmia of Strabo Herodotus &c The Chorasmia are coupled by ancient authors with the Daco Massagetae and Soghdī (Smith's Dict of Geog.)

² Qanauj or Qanaj, was for a long time the Hindū capital of Northern India Firishta states that when Mahmūd approached Qanauj, 'he saw there a city which raised its head to the skies and which in strength and beauty might boast of being unrivalled. (Briggs I 57) See also Alberuni (Sachau tr I 109) (For a full account of this city consult Cunningham, op cit, 376, &c)

Tieffenthaler states that in ancient monuments Qanauj is called Cannia coubadj ce qui signifie la tuerce bossue Vol I pp 193 194

³ These in the order Mahmud met with them were the—

Indus Skst Sindhu Gr "Ινδός Indus incolis Sindus appellatus (Pliny)

Jhelam Hydaspes or Bidaspes Skst Vitasta (Vihut) or Viyatā

Chenab Acesines called in Sanskrit Chandrabhaga

Ravi Hydraotes (Arrian) Skst Iravati Hyaretus (Strabo)

Brah Hyphasis or Hypanis Skst Vipāsa

Satlej Zaradras Hesydrus (Pliny) Skst Shatladar

Jamuna Jaun or Yamunā

(See also Afn : Alberf (Jarrett) n 310) Alberuni Chaps xxiv xxv

⁴ MSS (A) (B) كوره Kuruh According to Firishta the name of the prince of Qanauj was Kunwai Rai see Elliott Vol n p 461

fortress of Barnah¹ whose governor Barwāt, having entrusted the defence of the fortress to his kinsfolk, retired into seclusion.

The garrison of the fort not being able to withstand Maḥmūd's assault sent a present of a lakh and fifty thousand² rupees, with thirty elephants, and thus obtained quarter. From thence Maḥmūd proceeded to the fortress of Mahāwun³ on the banks of the river Jon,⁴ where the governor of the fort named Kal Chandar⁵ attempted to escape by crossing the river riding on an elephant, but in the meantime the troops of the Sultān arrived, and he destroyed himself by stabbing himself with a dagger—

By that same watery path he went to Hell.

When to live is to fulfil the desires of one's enemies

Death is infinitely preferable to life.

At the taking of the fortress of Qanauj eighty-five elephants and a boundless amount of spoil fell into the hands of the troops. From thence he went to Mathra⁶ which is a place of worship of the infidels, and the birth place of Kishan, the son of Basudev, whom the Hindus worship as a divinity—where there are idol temples without number, and took it without any contest, and rased it to the ground. Great wealth and booty fell into the hands of the Muslims, among the rest they broke up by the orders of the Sultān, a golden idol, the weight of which was

¹ Barnah. Firishta gives Hardat as the name of the governor and calls the place Mīrath. Baran. See Elliott II. 458, on the reading بَرَنْه MS. (A.) has بَرْتَه Bartah and gives بَرْدَه Bardat as the name of its ruler.

² According to Firishta 250,000 silver dinars. This gives the value of the silver dinár as $\frac{1}{25}$ of a rupee. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* we find no mention of a silver dinár, but the dirham is stated to be $\frac{1}{10}$ of a dinár; as the dirham varied in weight it seems almost certain from the above that the dirham and silver dinár were identical. (see note 1 p. 18.)

³ Vide Tieff. 166. Mahāban avec une forteresse en brique.

⁴ The river Jumna. Alberuni "the river Jaun (Yamuna) p. 199.

⁵ Kul Chand (Firishta) Elliott I. 462. MS. (A) كُلْ‌چَانْد Kulchand.

⁶ Vide Tieffenthaler I. 201 et seq.

Muthra or Māhurā, celebrated as a holy place, the birthplace of Vasudeva,—see Alberuni, ii. 147 i. 199; famous also in the history of Krishna as the stronghold of his enemy Rājā Kausa. Arrian calls it Methoras while Pliny states that the river Jomanes (Jumna) passed between the towns of Methora and Clisobora (Kalikavartta or Vrindāvana) Cunningham *op. cit.* pp. 374-375.

ninety eight thousand three hundred *miskals*¹ of refined gold and a piece of sapphire² whose weight was four hundred and fifty *miskals* besides a celebrated elephant of huge size, like a mountain, belonging to Raji Gobind Chund, one of the Rajas of Hindustan, which the Sultan had long earnestly sought to buy, but which was not to be had. By chance one night, when they were returning, this elephant broke loose and came into the Sultan's camp without a keeper. The Sultan was greatly pleased with its capture, and gave it the name of Khudádad.³ When the spoil reached Ghaznín it was found to amount to over twenty million and fifty three thousand dirams, and three hundred and fifty odd elephants.⁴

In the year 410 H. (1019 A.D.), Mahmúd again turned his footsteps towards Hindustan and encountered and fought on the banks of the river Jon with Nandá the Rája of Kalinjar,⁵ who

¹ The *Miqál* = 1½ dirhams = 6 danga = 96 barley grains in weight. It is a weight used in weighing gold and is also the name of the coin (Afnán: Akbar, I 36) Cf Hebrew *shekel* شکل see also Alberuni I 160-161.

² احمد لازرق ایضن — یاقوت کھلی *Firishta* says a blue gem. The stone was in all probability a sapphire. There are four kinds of *lazraq* — red, blue, white, and coerulean.

³ The gift of God

⁴ From collating the MSS. A and B., I think the reading here is quite plain. It is
وچون نه زین و مدد شمار آن عناجم بیست و اند نار هزار هزار درم و پیشان و سه
هزار درد و سیصد و پیشان و اند قیل بود.

Both MSS. have بود but we must read بوده as in *Firishta*, Vol I p 51, line 9 et seq. we read thus:—

وچون نه زین و سید غنائم مقرر گذوح را شمار کردند بیست هزار دینار و هزاران
هزار درم شمار درآمد و پیشان هزار بوده و سیصد و پیشان قیل و دیگر غائیں
خارج اس بود.

and when he reached Ghaznín they counted the spoils of the expedition to Qanauj twenty thousand dinars and thousands of thousands of dirams and fifty thousand slaves and 300 elephants besides other booty in addition to these (*Firishta*, Vol I p 51, 19 et seq.)

⁵ *Kalinjar* in Dangaya Bundelkhan¹. A description of this fortress with two plates will be found in *Tieffenthaler*, Vol I p 214. He states that the fort was taken by Sher Sháh and passed into the possession of the Rajah of Dangaya (Bundelkhand) from the time of Muhammad, king of Delhi (1718 to 1748) Lat. 25 N, Long 85 5 E (See Afnán: Akbar (Jarrett) II 158 159)

had with him 36,000 cavalry and 15,000¹ infantry and 610 elephants, and who had put to death the Rájá of Qananj on the occasion of his submission to the Sultán, and who had also come to the help of Jaipál, who had several times fled from before the Sultán. The servants of the Sultán who had gone forward to 16. the attack, found the city deserted, and sacked it. A terrible dread overwhelmed the heart of Jaipál, so that leaving all his property and material of war just as they stood, he took to flight with some selected companies. Five hundred and eighty elephants during the pursuit, emerging from a forest, fell into the hands of the Sultán's troops. He then returned to Ghaznín.— Many regions passed from the possession of the infidels to the Muslims, moreover the people of that country, either willingly or perforce, made profession of Islám.

In the year 412 H. (1021 A.D.), Mâhîmud proceeded to Kashmîr and laid siege to the fort of Loharkot for a month, but it held out being exceedingly well fortified. Leaving Loharkot he went to Lahore, and in the beginning of spring returned to Ghaznín.

In the year 413 H. (1022 A.D.), he again made an attempt on the country of Nandá, and when he arrived at the fortress of Gwâliár, having reduced it peaceably and accepted presents from its governor, confirmed him in his governorship. As part of that present there were thirty-five elephants. Leaving that place he went to the fort of Kâlinjar, the commander of which first made an offering of three hundred elephants and sought his protection.²

He also composed a poem in Hindí in praise of the Sultán, and sent it to him, whereupon the Sultán read the poem in the presence of the eloquent men of Hindustán and the poets of his own country. They were all loud in their praises of the poem, and the Sultán was so proud of it, that he wrote a patent conferring upon him the governorship of fifteen forts as a reward for the poem. Nandá also sent large quantities of property and jewels,

Firishtha gives the date of this expedition as 412 A.H. See Elliot, Vol. I. 462, for an account of the various statements.

¹ The text has و چهل و پنج هزار Firishtha says 45,000. MS. (A) likewise says 45,000. MS. (B) is same as the text, which says 145,000, but 45,000 is no doubt correct.

² Abul Fazl (*Afn-i-Akbari*, Text I. 423) says this was in 416 A.H.

and countless articles of value as an offering to Mahmud. The Sultan victorious and triumphant returned to Ghaznî.

In the year 413 H (1024 A.D.), Mahmud went to Balkh, and passed the river Juhûn¹. The chiefs of the regions beyond the river,² hastened to meet him, and Yusaf Qadr Khan king of the whole of Turkistan, came to it to receive him, and visited the Sultan. They held great banquets and gave presents to each other, and Ali Tagin, of whose oppression the people of the regions beyond the river had complained, learning what was happening took to flight. The Sultan pursued him and having captured him sent him a prisoner to one of the fortresses of Hindostan, then he returned and spent the winter in Ghaznî.

Once more³ he led his army against Somnât, which is a large city on the coasts of the ocean,⁴ a place of worship of the Brah-

¹ The Amû Daryâ or Oxus. *Jahân* is the name of the great river which separates Khwârazm and Khurâskh from Bokhara, Samârcand and that country; all the region on the Bokhara side of the river is called the country beyond the river (*ma warâ annâbat*). It is 229. According to Abul Fazl Balkh is situated in Long 101° Lat 36° 41'. The Juhûn is also called "the river of Balkh". See also Abul Feda (Balkh) II p. 109-120.

² جهیلیہ - Transoxiana. The country lying between Khwârazm on the west and the Oxus on the south from Bulakhshan to the frontiers of Khwârazm. See Abul Feda (Balkh) II p. 212 and seq.

³ The accounts of this celebrated expedition are given in great detail by most authors. Those who follow Ibn' Asir and Mirkhond make it commence with 416 H. Those who follow Firuzta with 415 H. (Elliott, II 469).

⁴ Somnât, South west of the peninsula of Guxrat. Long 107° 10' Lat 22° 15' (Afn. & Albert (J.) III 54) on the sea shore. At a distance of 50 farsakh from Bahâna, (Alb.) The river Sivâni falls into the sea at the distance of a bowshot east of Somanâth (Alb 261). It was here that the Yâdayas killed each other (Alb 105).

The Idol of Somanâth is stated by Alberuni to have been the image of Mahadeva erected to remove the leprosy of the moon. The word Somanâth means master of the moon. This image was destroyed by the Prince Mahmud, may God be merciful to him!—A. H. 410' Alb II 103. Alberuni gives an account here of Somanâth, and states (p. 176) that the day of full moon in the month Sravana is a fast day holy to Somanâth.

See also Elliot, II 468-476 also Ilphinston 256, note 16-17, Briggs' Pic. I 68, 73-74. Afn. & Albert, Vol. II 216 and note.

Qazwîn in his *Aqâ'îd-Bilâd* gives an account of the idol of Somnât and states that it was suspended in mid air without support of any kind, and

mans who worship a large idol. There are many golden idols there. Although certain historians have called this idol Manát, and say that it is the identical idol which the Arab idolators brought to the coasts of Hindustán in the time of the Lord of the Missive (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him), this story has no foundation, because the Brahmins of India firmly believe that this idol has been in that place since the time of Kishan, that is to say four thousand years and a fraction. Its name too, in the Hindi language, is really Sobha Náth, that is to say Lord of Beauty, and not Manát.¹ The reason for this mistake must surely be the resemblance in name, and nothing else. In this expedition, having taken the city of Patan² which is known as Naharwála, a city of Gujerát, and having obtained a great supply of provisions from thence, he arrived at Somnáth where the garrison closed the gates of the fort against him, and reaped their reward in rapine and plunder. The fort was taken and Mahmúd broke the idol in fragments and sent it to Ghazuín, where it was placed at the door of the Jámí' Masjid and trodden under foot³.

18. At the time of his return, not considering it expedient to fight with Bairám Dev,⁴ one of the mighty Rájás of Hindustán who stood in his way, Mahmúd turned towards Multán by way of

further states that it was supposed to be kept in this position by magnetic action. Qazwíni died A. H. 682, (A. D. 1284.)

¹ Cf. Qurán LIII. 19, 20. Zamákhsharí in the *Kashsháf* states that Manát was an idol worshipped by the tribes of Huzail, Khuzáa and Ṣaqíf, and that it was called Manát *عَذَى النَّاسِكَ كَانَتْ تَهْنِي* (Calcutta Edn., Vol. II., page 1422).

² Pattan. Tieffenthaler I. 385, states that Pattan was a very ancient city founded even before Guzerát, 20 miles from Radhanpur, 40 miles north of Guzerát. Its ancient name was Nehroála. It was originally called Anhalpur. See *Aín-i-Akbarí* (J) II. 262, III. 59, 60. Compare Briggs' *Firishta*, I., 69., &c., Anhalwára (Elphinstone).

³ Cf. Alberuni II. 103.

⁴ Firishta calls this Rájá Brahma Dev, and states that having fled from Mahmúd he shut himself up in the fort of Gandaba (*Kandama Tárikh-i-Alfi*). Briggs states that the position of this place has not been ascertained, but it appears to me to be the place Canda mentioned by Tieffenthaler I. 402. "Canda est une bonne forteresse à 40 milles de Somnath elle est entourée d'eau comme une île: mais on peut y aborder à gué en quelques endroits." This description tallies so exactly with Firishta's that there can be little

utterly destroyed the Turkomans of that country, and thence he hastened to Rai¹ and laid hands on the treasures and hidden valuables of that country which had been there for many years, and eradicated the false religionists and Karamanians of that place, and bestowed Rai and Isfahán on Amír Mas'úd his elder son. He then returned to Ghazní and shortly afterwards became attacked by consumption,² his weakness day by day increased. Nevertheless he used to take great pains to pretend that he was well and strong, and in that condition went to Balkh and in the spring came to Ghazní, and died of that disease on Thursday, the 23rd of Rabi'ul Awwal,

tude et 37° 20' de latitude. On la nomme encore, dit le Lobâb, Abâward et Bâward (Abul Feda (Reinaud) II. ii. 185-186). Firishta calls it Badward (see also Meynard (Dict de la Perse) p. 13, Abiwerd).

¹ A district of Persian 'Irâq, situated according to Abul Feda quoting from the *Akwâl*, in long. 76° 20' and latitude 35° 35'. Its original name was he states, Râzî.

Ibn Hauqal in his article on Dailam, speaks of Reyy as a large city at a distance of eight marches from Azarbaiján. It is the ancient Rhages or 'Payâ' of Arrian, the capital of the province of Rhagiana, first known to us in history as the place to which the Jewish exiles were sent. It was the birth place of the famous physician Abu Bakr Muhammâd ibn Zakarîya Ar-Râzî, familiar to the medical world as Rhâzes who lived in the tenth century. His treatise on small-pox and measles (فِي الْجَدْرِيِّ وَالْحُمَدَةِ) was published in a Greek translation περὶ λοιμικῆς in 1548, and an English translation from the Arabic by Dr. Greenhill. (Sydenham Society, 1847) It was ten days' march from Ecbatana (*Hamadân*). It was called at different periods Europus and Arsacia. In modern times the ancient name has returned, and its ruins lie now to the south of Teherân and north of Ispahán. The famous jurisconsult Muhammâd ibn al-Hasan, and al-Kisâyî the reader of the Qurân, are buried there. Persian Irâq comprised the regions of Reyy, Qâshân, Ispahán and Hamadân. (Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog., Vol. II. art Rhagæ), (Abul Feda, (Reinaud) II. ii. 169, &c.) also see I. K. (Slane), iii. 311 *et seqq.*

² Briggs, Vol. I. p. 83, states that Mahmûd died of stone, but a reference to Firishta in the original shews that this is not the case. The words are مَوْضِعُ سُوَالْقَنِيَّةِ يَا سُلْبَقَنِيَّةِ &c.

The disease سُوالْقَنِيَّة Sú-ul qinya which literally means an undesirable acquisition, is thus defined by Vüller *sub rôce* قَنْيَتٌ "pravus habitus corporis, gr. καχέξια, while the following translation from the MS. copy of *Bâhru-l-Jawâhir* in this Library will show how it is there defined :

"The disease is so called because the skin which surrounds a man and changes with his changes (i.e. contracts and expands as necessity arises) is diseased, it is the beginning of dropsy, but inasmuch as the term dropsy is specifically

421 A H,¹ and was buried at Ghaznīn. His age was sixty years, and he had reigned thirty-one years. They say that when he was restricted to another disease, this term *Su ul qinya* is made applicable to this condition."

In the *Istilahdtu l Funūn* we find the disease described as "the commencement of dropsy due to weakness of liver and derangement of that organ." The quotation however is an erroneous transcription from *Al Muqas* of *Sadīd* a translation from which follows—he writes 'the commencement of dropsy due to weakness and derangement of the liver, with resulting pallor and whiteness owing to defect in the formation of good blood from disorder and weakness of the liver, it also arises from disorder of the stomach and weakness of that organ.'

The face and extremities, that is the hands and feet, and especially the eyelids become swollen owing to the weakness of digestion and the rising of moist vapours, and their effect upon the eyelids and extremities and at times it extends to the entire body, so that the body becomes like dough. One of its symptoms is flatulence and borborygma, with irregularity of the bowels. All of these are due to indigestion. The gums also are affected with pustules from the evil vapours which arise.

Its cure is a gentle course of treatment for the dropsy. Means must be taken at first to secure a minimum of excrementitious products and drinking much water must be forbidden, and the patient directed to bathe in borax and alum water, or in sea water, as bathing in fresh water is harmful. Drinking wormwood and *dīnārī* and *uārdī* is beneficial. The food must be appetising and strengthening to the liver, as for instance partridges, *Cantharides* flavoured with cloves and cinnamon and mastic and saffron are beneficial. The vomiting must be treated with aperients, when it will cease, but if more energetic treatment be required we may add agaricum and rhubarb which do no harm in this disease" (*Al Muqāṣīfī Sharḥ Mājaz* by *Sadīd*)

It is evident from the above description that the disease from which Mahmud died was not either hectic fever (*Bādūnī*) or phthisis *Uṣ* (*Firishṭa*), but an anaemia, very probably "idiopathic anaemia" or "progressive pernicious anaemia." The condition of the gums points to a possibly scorbutic taint, though it was probably ulcerous stomatitis so common at the close of wasting disease. Malaria may have shared in the causation of the illness. There is just a possibility that the disease may have been myœdema, the increase in bulk of the body with the alteration and sweating of the skin, the turgescence of the mucous membrane of the mouth—all point in this direction. Against this supposition however, is the sex and the age, both of which are in favour of pernicious anaemia. His age was 61.

The question of stone nowhere appears in the original authorities, and it is difficult to see why Briggs should put forward such a statement. See also Elliott, IV 188 note 1.

¹ This date is the same as that given by Firishṭa.

Raverty in the *Tabaqat i Nasīrī*, p. 87, note 9, gives Thursday, the 14th of

dying he ordered them to bring all his wealth and treasures and property before him, he lay looking at them from time to time regretfully sighing at having to part with them. He would not give the smallest trifle to any one.

He had made the journey to Hindustán and engaged in holy war, twelve times. Verily his reckoning is with his Lord ; and the story in connection with him and Firdausi¹ the poet is well known, and the holy Jámí² says :

It is well to recognize merits for when the arched sky
At last discharged the arrows of misfortune,
The glory of Maḥmúd passed away, nothing remained in the
world
Save only this saying “ He recognized not the worth of
Firdausi.

Rabī'u-s-ṣaná, 421 H. (A.D. 1030) quoting the *Magámát of Amíd Abú Naṣr* by Al-Baihaqí as his authority.

The *Tubaqát-i-Naṣirí* gives his age at the time of his death as 61, and states that he had reigned 33 years.

¹ Abul Qásim Firdausi the celebrated poet, author of the *Sháh Námah*, was a native of Tús in Khorásán where he was born about 339 A.H. (950 A.D.) He died in 411 A.H. (1020 A.D.) or 416 A.H. (Guzida). He was appointed by Maḥmúd to complete the *Sháh Námah*. As a reward for this labour he was promised a thousand *mísqáls* of gold for every thousand distichs. However by the machinations of Aiyáz one of Maḥmúd's favourites who bore Firdausi a grudge for a fancied slight, the poet was represented to Maḥmúd as being a schismatic and heretic, and eventually was put off with 60,000 silver *dirhams* instead of the promised 60,000 *mísqáls*. This so enraged him that he divided the 60,000 dirhams among the attendants of the bath where he was at the time of receipt. Finally he wrote a brilliant satire on the Súltan in the very copy of the *Sháhnámah* which he had presented to him on its completion, and fled from Maḥmúd's court to Mázinderán and thence to Baghdád. Maḥmúd at last relented, and sent Firdausi the 60,000 *dínárs* with a robe of state and apologies for his former harsh treatment, but when the presents arrived the body of Firdausi was being carried out for burial. See *Atashkada 'Ázur* p. 92 et seqq, also Atkinson's *Sháhnámah, Preface*: also Elliott, IV. 191. See also Hunter's Indian Empire, p. 219. and Beale's Dict. of Oriental Biography.

² Mulla Núrud-Dfn Abdur Rahmán (Jámí) author of “ Yúsuf and Zulaikha ” Beháristán, &c., was born at Jám in 817 H. (?) He died in 898 H. See *Atashkada-i-Ázur* p. 78.

He was called عارف the holy from his position as one of the greatest divines of his day. He was the spiritual guide of the Vazír Amír Alf Sher. He performed the Hajj in 877 A.H., and died at Herát twenty years later.

And in the *Tarikh* of Muhammad Ufi,¹ the following *Qata'ih* has been attributed to the Sultan Mahmud

From the dread of the world winning sword and the fear of
the fort crushing sceptre,

The world became subject to me as I am subjected to reason,
At one time there would I sit serene in my splendour and
riches

At another time following Avarice roamed I from country 20
to country,

Oft would I boastfully say Lo ! I am a man of importance,
But now I clearly perceive that the King and the beggar are
equals

I, with one wave of my hand, have conquered a myriad of
castles

With one firm plant of my foot I have broken lines without
number

When Death made the final assault, naught then did my
splendour avail me

Nothing continues but God, God's kingdom alone is a kingdom

SULTAN MUHAMMAD IBN SULTAN MAHMUD GHAZNAVI,

Who was styled Jalalu d Daulat, in the aforesaid year, by the provisions of his father's will, and with the acquiescence of Ibn Arsalan² a relative of Sultan Mahmud, succeeded to the royal throne in Ghaznin, and a month and a half after his accession Amir Ayaz³ came to terms with the servants, and having mounted horses from the royal stables took the road to Bust with the object of entering the service of Shahabu d Daulah Mas'ud who was at

¹ Muhammad Ufi author of a biography or *Tarikh Tabib al Albab*, and of another work called *Jami' al Hikayat*. The latter he compiled in 128 A.D. (623 A.H.) He was a native of Merv which under the Saljuq princes was the capital of Persia. He was also known as Nûru'din Muhammad Ufi (Beale O B D) See also J R A S Vol IX 113

Hajj Khalifa calls him Jamalu d Din Muhammali al Ufi See J R A S, Vol V, p 111

² Called in the *Ta-kirat ul Multâk* Ali son of Iyal Arsalan a relative of the late Sultan Mahmud (Raverty Tabigat-i-Nasri SJ note 8)

Firishta calls him Amir Ali son Kizil Arsalan father in law of Mahmud (Briggs 93) See Lliliott IV 193 Ali kurbat (Raverty) or Ali khishawandi

³ Abu'l Nasr Amir Ayaz (Firishta)

Sipáhán.¹ Amír Muhammád despatched Súndhí² Rái the Hindú with a large army in pursuit of them. Amír Áiyáz was victorious in the fight, and put to death Súndhí Rái the Hindú with a large number of Hindús, and sent their heads to Amír Muhammád. Amír Áiyáz joined Amír Mas'úd at Níshapúr,³ and four months later Amír Muhammád moved his camp in the direction of Bust,⁴ and came out in full force from Ghazná with the intention of fighting with his brother, and when he reached Takínábád⁵ all his Amírs having revolted against him, put out his eyes and threw him into the fort of Bujj⁶ in Mázbaristán⁷ and having gone over to Amír Mas'úd with the whole army and treasures, went to Herát and met him there. The blinded Amír Muhammád reigned five months, but according to Qázi Baizáví⁸ it was fourteen years, and the period of his imprisonment was nine years. God knows the truth. The author of the *Lubbu-t-Tawárikh* writes that Muhammád ibn Mahmúd wielded sovereignty in Ghazná for four years in the first instance, during the reign of his father, afterwards he was imprisoned for nine years by the command of his brother Mas'úd, and after the murder of Mas'úd he reigned for another year and then died.

An Amír in whose palace thou seest thousands of sentinels
Now on the vault of his tomb thou seest ravens keeping watch;

¹ Ispáhán, see Abú Feda II., ii. 170. (Reinaud).

² Seward Rai (Firishta).

³ The finest city of Khorásán situated at an equal distance from Merv, Herát, Jurján and Damaghán. See Abú Feda II. ii. 189. (Reinaud).

⁴ Fourteen marches from Ghazná in Sijistán, between Herát and Ghazná. Abú Feda II. ii. 108. (Reinaud).

⁵ Takínábád, see Elliott ii. pp. 271, 293 iv. p. 193 note 1. Briggs places it 30 miles N. of Ghazná; see *Aín-i-Akbarí* (J) III. 68. Long. 101° 5, Lat. 33°.

⁶ The reading مُجْدِر سَقَابَ in the text is absolutely without authority judging from the two MSS. I have before me. These both read,

⁷ در قلعه فوج که از بحر سناب میل کشیده در قلعه فوج که از بحر سناب میل کشیده I am unable to elucidate this, but it certainly gives no countenance to the reading in the text which, however I have translated, as it stands, *faute de mieux*.

⁸ Variously called Walaj (Firishta) Mangsál (*Nizámu-t-Tawárikh*) See Elliott IV. 193 note 3.

⁹ Abú Saíd Abdulláh ibn' Abú Hasan Alí Baizáví. See Elliott, II. 252.

¹⁰ Yahyá ibn 'Abdul Latíf Qazwíní Dimishqí. Died 960 A. H. (18th December, 1552) (Háji Khalfá).

Thou didst see the head of Alp Arslan¹ reach the sky in its
grandeur,
Come to Marv that thou mayest see the body of Alp Arslan
beneath the dust

SHAHĀBU D DAULAT SULTĀN MAS'UD IBN MAHMŪD

By the consent of the Amirs and Vazirs of Mahmud he ascended the imperial throne, and having come from Hāzi² to Balkh, spent the winter there, and summoning Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandi whom Sultan Mahmud kept a prisoner in the fort of Kāhūjār, made him a Vazir. Then leaving Balkh he came to Ghaznī and thence started for Sipāhan and Rāi and arriving at Herāt engaged in war with the Turkomans and not overcoming them, but on the contrary suffering defeat at their hands, turned back. The Turkomans increased in power day by day owing to his weakness, till affairs assumed the aspect which they eventually did.³

In the year 423 H Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandi died, and in 22
the year 424 Sultan Mas'ud having undertaken to conquer

¹ Abu Shuja Muhammad son of Chakirbeg Daud son of Mikail son of Sijāq son of Duqaq surnamed Azdū d Daulat Alp Arslan (arm of the Empire the hero lion) was the third monarch of the Saljuqiyah dynasty who ascended the throne of Khorāsān in 401 A H (see Raverty 132 note 2) Born 424 A H murdered 465 A H The lines are attributed by the author of the *Tubaqat-i-Nasri* to Hākim Sīnāt a celebrated poet of Ghaznī. His most celebrated work is the *Hadīqat ul Haqqat na Shari atu t Turīqat* otherwise known as *Fakhrīnāmah*. His full name was Abu Mu'mmād ibn Adīm Sīnāt Al Hākim. He died in the year 525 H (4th December 1130) (H K)

See also *Majmaul Fusulā I* 204 and *Atashkada-i-Azvī* p 108 cf I K (Sīnī) n 230

² Herat The well known city in Khurasan the ancient Aria ('Apeia) (see D G R G I 210) (Abul Feda II n 193,) founded by Alexander Meynard Dict de la Perse p 592 note 1, says

L'opinion générale des Persans est qu'Herat doit son nom et son origine à un des officiers de Nérimān le Pehlevān et qu'elle fut rebaptie par Alexandre
هرات نهاده است هر فرا ندیار گشتابپ زیو ندای دیگر نیماد نهمن پس
اراب عمارت دگر کرد اسکندرو رومش داد ندان

Le nom d'un gne qui en derive est Herāwi

³ i.e. The establishment of the dynasty of the Saljuqiyah in 409 H by Tughril Beg

Hindustán marched towards the fortress of Sarsatí¹ which is situated in the way to Kashmír, laid siege to it and reduced it and made his way to Ghaznín with great booty. Then in 425 H. Sultan Mas'ud reduced Amal² and Sári³ and sending legates to Kálinjar and Tabaristán established his authority there⁴ and sent Tughdí Beg and⁵ Husain ibn 'Alí ibn Maikál with a large army from Nishápúr against the Turkománs, and a severe battle ensued in which Husain was taken prisoner and Tughdí Beg fled and returned to the Amír Mas'ud.

Amír Ahmad Niyál Tigin⁶ the treasurer of Sultan Mas'ud whom Maš'ud had fined and had sent to Hindustán,⁷ on arriving in Hindustán revolted⁸ and the Amír Mas'ud nominated a general of the Hindús named Náhir⁹ to oppose him. Ahmad being overcome in battle fled to Mansúrah¹⁰ in Sindh and was drowned — his head they sent to Ghaznín. In the year 427 H. (1035 A.D.) a new palace was completed in which they erected a throne inlaid with jewels, and suspended above it a jewelled crown. The

Sultān took his seat upon that throne and having placed the crown upon his head gave a public audience. And in this self same year he bestowed upon Amīr Mūndūd ibn Mas'ūd (his son) the drum and ensign,¹ and despatched him to Balkh while he himself proceeded with an army against Hindustan—captured the fort of Hānsī² and thence proceeded to the fortress of Sonpat³ Deipal⁴ the commander of that fortress fled to the forest and lay hid there. They reduced the fort and captured immense booty putting to the sword the greater part of Deipal's army, but he himself escaped alone. From thence Mas'ud turned his steps towards the valley of Ram⁵ who sent a large offering accompanied by a written apology for his non appearance. Amīr Mas'ud accepted his excuses and giving the Amīr⁶ Abul Mujahid son of Mas'ud,⁷ the drum and standard (of commission) sent him to Lahore and retraced his steps to Ghaznī.

In the year 428 (1036 A D) he left Ghaznī for Balkh intending to crush the rebellion of the Turkomans who evacuated Balkh and retired into the surrounding country. The Sultan then

¹ As tokens of his commission as a general of the army

² According to Bīshāqī this fort had been hitherto known as 'The Virgin' as no one had yet been able to take it. It was taken ten days before the close of Rabi' ul Awwal Hānsī a city with a ruined castle 11 miles to the east of Hissar Tīssenthaler I 131

³ Sonpath, a city with a brick fortress Tīssenthaler I 133 It lies North of Delhi MSS (A and B) read قلعه سپت

⁴ MSS (A and B) دیال

⁵ Firishta's account is almost identical here

⁶ Firishta writes حبیب حوش اول ماجدیل His son Alul Majdil See also Raverty p 93, note 7 In the text we should read الولی مسعود بن مسعود

⁷ Here I follow MS (B) The readings of the MSS vary here very considerably MS (A) reads (agreeing with the text) سلطان اواب حیثون کدشہ تمام ماؤرا الیهر را متصرف شد و داده ترکمان که تعدی بیگ و امیر حسن را قبل از این شکست داده بود بمعیت تمام قصده بلخ نمود .

و سلطان از ایام حیثون کدشہ تمام قصده بلخ نمود MS (B) reads

Preference must be given to MS (A), the copyist evidently having mistaken his place after the first تام and instead of continuing the sentence he has gone on to show that he was a careless and incompetent copyist is shown by the next line where he writes دراز کرد و دریں انا تعدی نواحی کورکاں دراز کرد for دریں انا تعدی دست تعدی نواحی کورکاں دراز کرد

crossing the Jihún occupied the whole of Transoxiana. Dáúd the Turkomán, who had previously defeated Tughdí Beg and Amír Ilusain, marched with a large force towards Balkh. Amír Mas'úd therenpon returned from Transoxiana to Balkh and Dáúd the Turkomán¹ leaving Balkh went to Merv. In the meantime Tughdí Beg² had been acting oppressively in the neighbourhood of Gurgán. When the Amír Mas'úd perceived the symptoms of his rebellion he ordered him to be impaled. The Amír Mas'úd then exacted a stipulation and promise from Béghú³ the Turkomán who was the chief of that tribe, that henceforward they would never attempt any lawlessness, and having delimited their boundaries in a suitable way left for Herát. While on his way thither a body of the Turkománs fell upon the army of Mas'úd, killing some and plundering the baggage. The soldiers of the Sultán who were told off to attack them made the whole of that party food for the sword, and brought their wives and families together with the heads of the slain into the presence of Amír Mas'úd who sent asses laden with the heads to Béghú. Béghú apologized, and it so happens that this is the very same Béghú in praise of whom the poet Ziaí⁴ of Persia has composed several odes from which the following verses are selected—

4. It is wrong for me to bewail the misfortunes of others than thee,
 It is wrong not to weep with thy sorrow.
 My occupation day and night is to lament and bewail thy sorrow.

¹ See Raverty, p. 94, note 2.

² MS. (A) has تغدی بگ not تغدی.

³ Isráil-i-Béghú. See Raverty (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí*) p. 94, note 2, page 116, note 3, for an account of the rise of the Saljuqíyah dynasty. See also Ibn Khall: (Slane) iii. 225 and seqq.

⁴ Zéáu-d-Dín Khajandí *Al Fársí*, a native of Shíráz who left Shíráz in his youth and took up his abode at Khajand. He was a contemporary and panegyrist of Sultán Malik Sháh Saljúqí, and died at Herát in the year 522 H. (In the *Majma'-ul Fusahá* from which these particulars are taken, the date of his death is 622 H., but this is an error as Malik Sháh died in 491 H.)

Beale (Oriental Biographical Dictionary) gives the date as 622 H., but this is in all probability copied from the above authority.

Thou did'st say, "Thou did'st weep for love of me," but
verily there is a difference in shedding blood and shedding
tears

At all hours I suffer a thousand pangs for the grief of the
love of thee, nor do I weep alone

I cannot but melt with love of thee, nor is there any remedy
for the pain I suffer for thee, save weeping

Apart from thee Fate has nothing in store for me
Save vexation, one day, and weeping the next

From thy era discord springs, for if not how comes it to pass
that the whole world should weep from my time to that of
the King?

Béghu Malik Shah, he who by his sword made the brave
warriors to weep openly on the field of battle

The King Nizam Din to whom at the time of his conflict

Came from the tombs of Rustum and Dara the sound of weep
ing

The gems in the depths of the sea or in the heat of the
flinty rock were compelled to weep for shame at his elo
quence,

The inhabitants of the world above were compelled to weep,
cast down by the destroying arrow of his wrath

From envy of his splendour, which surpasses the sun in its 25
zenith,

The Gemini were forced to weep constantly in the heavens

Oh! thou in presence of whose pearl scattering hand the
ocean weeps like a cloud from every pole!

Who in view of thy majesty would dare or desire to weep
over the corpse of thy enemy?

Thy sword from very fineness of temper weeps tears of blood
over thy enemies in the field of battle,

What is prepared for thine adversary in either world?

There is the torture of hell, here he must weep

Lo' one who in the madness of his fear at thy displeasure
Seeks to hide himself in a corner and prepares to weep

Thy enemies have many manifest and hidden projects

But the wound is hidden, the weeping is manifest

I believe that this must have come into your exalted mind,
After all what use is praise to me with weeping

When I recite any poem in separation from thee

Both the first and last verses weep for anguish,
 Till lovers pass from excess of grief to endurance and to weep
 like Wámiq and 'Azrá¹
 May it be thy lot to smile after a happy life,
 May it be the fate of thy enemies perforce to weep.

26. The following is also by him :—

Oh thou whose lip distils sugar² at the opening of each
 smile !
 Thy ruby lip when thou smilest, rebukes the soul.
 In every movement thy curling locks ravish the heart
 In every smile thy ruby lip scatters the life blood.
 The trade of thy hyacinthine ringlets is to scatter perfume,
 The habit of thy delicate lips is to smile sweetly.
 Till thou seest not the cheek of gold thou smilest not,
 Every flower smiles from the enjoyment of the gold.
 When thou smilest a whole world smiles looking towards thee
 For no one before this has seen the sun and moon to smile (at
 one time.)
 I have a great sorrow and lamentation, and endless grief
 and pain,
 I have in separation from thee all of these, but no smile.
 What could mankind have learned of the shape of thy mouth
 Had'st thou not given them from thine own mouth the news
 of a smile.
 Because of thy cruelty I do not smile, for at the time of
 mourning
 The wise and excellent do not approve of smiling.
 All my disorder is due to grief on thy account,
 Why then do you smile at me disordered as I am ?
 It may be that from the crown and canopy of kings thy locks
 and cheek have learned to smile both morning and evening.

27. King of the East Malik Sháh who in his feasting is careful
 always to smile from joy and pride.

¹ The loves of Wámiq and 'Azrá form the subject of two Turkish romances, one by Mahmúd bin Aşmán, 'Lamái; and the other by Mu'íd, a native of Tarkhán. (D'Herbelot).

² ای لب شکریونز

must be read here.

Conqueror of infidelity, Nizim-un-Din, whose friends are always engrossed in enjoyment, and only vary it by smiling
 If the seed could receive the good tidings of his approbation,
 even from the lips of his father would one begin to smile
 A father to whom a son is essential to do him service, smiles
 from the pleasure he experiences at the success of his son
 It is not strange that from the excess of his joy, the cloud of
 weeping which shrouded his moist eyes gives place to smiling

Oh ye obedient ones, since the beauty of the rose is added to
 your own charms, ye are smiling in this garden¹ of two doors.
 Thy charms have power to add sweetness to sugar
 Thy words have power to add brilliance to the jewel
 Thy shaft when fitted to the bow has established the custom
 In the array of battle to smile at the helmet and shield
 Following after victory when thy sword is furious
 There comes to it from the sorceries of heaven a smile
 Doubtless the enemy of thy grandeur, smiles sweetly
 If scattering his heart's blood (in envy) be to smile

In order that the saffron² may fulfil the promise of its properties,
 namely to bring smiles to the lips of all conditions of men, may
 the lips of thy enemies be saffron, that their lips may always from
 fear of thee smile from his want of success

¹ i.e., the world Birth and death are the two doors

² Saffron was held by the Greek physicians to cause smiling when taken internally

It is its property of inciting to mirth and laughter which is here alluded to
 With regard to Saffron the الأدوية says

فعال وخاص آن مفرح ومحبب حواس ومحبب وصالح ومصلح
 عقوبات حلط بلعبي وصائح وحافظ آن ارتقير وساد ومدربيل ودقورة
 قافية ومحبب داير ومحبب حور روح حيواني وحمراء واحشا والاب تفليس و
 مورث دشاط وصيغ وصيغى گرده ومتانه ونشرة ورساندة قوت ادوره به قلب
 وسائل اعضا ومقاييس شدغ دماغ وحمراء سپرر *

Actions and properties of Saffron Exhilarating and tonic to the senses,
 excitant and digestive laxative and corrective of the impure humours of
 the phlegm and preventing and preserving them from alteration and
 badness It is diuretic and constipating aphrodisiac and strengthening to
 the essence of the animal spirits, to the liver, and bowels and respiratory

29. Then Amīl Ma'ād marched from Herāt to Nishāpur and thence to Tūs,¹ and a body of Turkomans giving him battle met their death; the people of Herāt gave up that town to the Turkomans and the Sultan having overcome that fortress and having put them all to death spent the winter at Nishāpur.²

Then in the year 430 H. having set out to attack Tughral³ the orator. It produces mirth and laughter, purifies the kidneys and bladder and skin. It cures the virtues of midwives to the heart and to all viscera—removes obstructions of the brain, liver and spleen.

The following extract from the بترالجی و اخوار gives a further account of its properties.

يمنع سيلان الماءات الى العين بطوطخا و اكتسلا [يلين المواة] حار في الثالثة و يasis في الاولى مفتح مثلك قابض عذبيع مسن اللون وبسكر مع الشراب جدا حتى يزعن وبهدع وينوم ويسجلو البصر ويسهل الولادة و النفس فزيادي القلب ويدر ويسقط الشيرة وينفع من الوجاع الباطنة ووجاع الرحم ويددب الشمار ويزده في الياقة ويوفق اعراض الطحال —

It prevents the flow of moist humours to the eye when used either as an ointment or a collyrium. It is hot in the third degree, dry in the first degree, laxative, or constipating, digestive, improving the complexion, and very intoxicating with wine causing heaviness, headache, and drowsiness, clears the sight and facilitates parturition, and respiration, is a cardiac tonic and is diuretic and controls the animal passions and cures internal diseases and uterine complaints; dispels the effects of debauch, and is a sexual tonic and cures diseases of the spleen.

وله خاصية عجيبة في تقوية جواهر الروح و تغريبه لها يبعث فيها من نورانية و انبساطة مع مثانة و يعيذها العطرية الشديدة —

It has a wonderful power as an exhilarant increasing the brilliance and strength of the mental powers. It is assisted by strong perfumes.

1 Tús, a district and city of Khorásán, one of the dependencies of Nishápur, distant from the city of Nishápur about 10 farsakhs.

See Abul Feda II. ii. 190. Dict. de la Perse, p. 396. According to Ibn Khalliqán the Saljúqs gained possession of Tús in 429 A. H. and in the month Ramazán of the same year they took Nishápur. I. K. (Slane) iii. 226.

2 MS. (B) has گذرانیدند showing clearly that the copyist was a native of Hindustán. A line or two lower he writes for قرار نمود This MS. is quite worthless for purposes of comparison. It abounds in errors and is plainly the work of an inferior copyist.

3 Tughral Beg. Abú Ṭálib Muḥammad Ibn Mikál Ibn Saljúq Ibn Dukák Ruknud-Dín Tughral Beg was the founder of the dynasty of Saljúqs (cf. Raverty, pp. 94 and 122, and also I. K. (Slane) iii. 224).

Turkoman who had roused a rebellion in Bâwaïd, when Tughral took to flight Amu Mas'ud turned back and came to Sarakhs¹ by way of Mahnah² and gave orders to raise the fortress of Mahnah. Then he put to death some of the inhabitants of Mahnah, and cut off the hands and feet of many more and thence went in the direction of Zirqan³ in which place the Turkomans brought together a large army and fought a severe battle with the Sultan. In this battle the majority of the generals of the army of Ghaznin mutinied and went over to the enemy. The Sultan remaining all alone on the field, felled several of the Turkoman leaders with sword, spear and mace, and eventually came out of that engagement safely. This event took place on the 8th of Rûmuzan, 431 H (1039 A.D.). From thence Amir Mas'ud came to Merv, and several of the soldiery from the neighbouring country having come in at last sided with him. He went to Ghaznin by way of Ghaur,⁴ and having fined these chiefs who had not fought and had fled, sent some of them, as for instance Ali Daya and Hajib-i Buzurg,⁵ and Beg Tughdi to Hindustan and imprisoned⁶ them in fortresses. All of them died in imprisonment. Amir Mas'ud now desired to go to India and collect some forces there, and to come from there with a large army against the Turkomans to punish them. With this intention he made Amir Maudud⁷ Amir of

¹ Sarakhs or Sarkhas (Meynard Dict de la Perse 307) said by the Persians to have been founded by Kalkauz a city situated between Nishapur and Merv, in a plain Abul Feda II n 193

² Mahnah Firishta says مهناہ Mahtaks but مهناہ is undoubtedly the right reading. In Persian this name is spelt مهناہ Maihana a small town of the district of Khaberan between Abiward and Sarakhs. See Meynard, Dict de la Perse 558.

³ Zirqan is not mentioned by other authors I have consulted and may be a clerical error. The name of the place where this battle was fought was Dan dangan a town in the vicinity of Merv cf Raverty p 94 note 3. Also Abul Feda II n 197 Meynard p 239. It seems to me most probable that we should read زندخان Zandkha though all MSS give زیرجان. Zandkha is a fortified town situated at the distance of one farsak from Sarakhs (Meynard 288).

⁴ Abul Feda II n 201 A province lying between Herat, Karawan and Gurjistan.

⁵ Firishta حاجت شیبانی Hajib Shaibani

⁶ MS (B) در غلبه حبس کرد

⁷ Shihabu d Daulat Maudud his eldest son Compare the account given by Firishta

29. Balkh, and having appointed Muhammad ibn Abul-Sa'mad as his Wazir despatched them thither. He then appointed the Amîr Muhammad¹ with two thousand soldiers to proceed to Multân, and sent the Amîr of that district² to the foot of the hills of Ghaznîn to restrain the Asghâns of that district who had broken out into rebellion; and having laden camels with the whole of Mahmûd's treasures which were stored in Ghaznîn and the neighbouring fortresses started for Hindustân and despatched messengers *en route* to bring his brother Amîr Muhammad who had been blinded³ and was then confined in the fortress of Bazgahand.⁴ When Sultân Mas'ûd arrived at the frontier fort⁵ of Mârikâla,⁶ his slaves plundered all the treasure-camels. In the meantime the Amîr Muhammad arrived there, and the slaves who recognised that this violence would have no successful issue unless another governor were appointed⁷ perforce, approached the Amîr Muhammad, raised him to the Sovereignty and breaking into open riot assaulted Sultân Mas'ûd who had taken refuge in that fort. The next day the whole army becoming violent brought Amîr Mas'ûd from within the fort of Mârikâla and made him prisoner confining him within the fortress of Kîrî,⁸ till at last in Jamâdi'u-l-Awwal 432 H. they sent a false

¹ Firishta says امير مجدد امير Majdûd—the second son of Mas'ûd MS. (A) has امير ماجد امير Majdûd, which should in all probability be read مجدد Majdûd. MS. (B) agrees with the text, both are probably wrong.

² The words in the text appear to be a misprint for the following امير ایزدیار which is Firishta's version. The Amîr Izad Yâr was Mas'ûd's fifth son. Both MSS. however have امیر این دیار را.

³ See page 21.

⁴ MSS. (A) and (B) برغنة.

⁵ Dozy quoting from de Slane gives casernes fortifiées qu'on construisait sur les frontières de l'empire as the meaning of لی.

⁶ Mârikâla. Firishta says Mârkala which according to some is on the Jhilam river which in those days was called the Behât. Raverty in his note 4, page 95 says: A pass somewhat difficult situated between Râwal Pindi and Attock—See Elliott II. 273, note 2.

⁷ MS. (B) این تھی از پیش In the text read غلامان دانستند کہ این قسم تھی از پیش Cf. Firishta تھی اور تھی از نخواهد رفت

⁸ Firishta reads کیری Kîrî. Cf. Raverty 95 (5). MS. (B) MS. (A) See Elliott II. 273, note 3.

message purporting to emanate verbally from Amir Muhammad ordering him to kill Amu Mas'ud and to send his head to him. The Kotwál in obedience to this order severed Mas'ud's head from his body and sent it to Amir Muhammad.

Of the vicissitudes of time, this much pleased me
 That I saw good and bad, right and wrong, pass away
 He who at morning time wore on his head a jewelled crown
 Him I saw, at the time of evening prayer, with a brick 30
 underneath his head (in the grave)

This story is according to the relation of Nizámi,¹ but the Qázi Baizáwi relates that in the year 132 Mas'ud fled defeated from before the Seljuqs to Gházni, and Amir Muhammad who had consolidated his power during Mas'ud's absence sent him to a fortress whither his son Ahmad ibn Muhammad followed him and murdered him.² The Government of Sultan Mas'ud ibn Mahmud lasted eleven years, but we ought to note that the Qázi Baizáwi (may God's mercy be upon him) assigns the year 433 H as the date of the death of Mas'ud, and writes that Muhammad ibn Mahmúd reigned in Gházni for fourteen years after his father,³ one year after his father's death, nine years in the lifetime of his brother, and four years after his brother's death, as has already been stated. God alone knows the truth. Apparently this is due to the mistake of a copyist. Among the poets who flourished in

¹ Nizamuddin Ahmad, author of the *Tibaqat-i-Albari*, Elliott v 177. Died 1003 H

² Baizawi's account is as follows —

Mas'ud after his arrival at Gházni sent Yusuf to prison and became master of all the dominions of his father. In his time the Seljuqs crossed the Jihun and invaded Khurasan. He fought with them and made peace with them several times but being defeated in A H 432, he returned to Gházni where his brother Muhammad had regained power in his absence. On his arrival he was consigned to a fort and Ahmad, the son of Muhammad, went direct from his father to the fort, and there slew him, A H 433, Elliott II 256

³ That is from 421 A H to 434 A H with interruptions during the supremacy of Mas'ud. Mahmud died in 421 A H. Mas'ud was murdered on the 11th of Jamadí al Awwal, 433 H (Raverty, pp 95 G.)

Muhammad was put to death by Maudud in revenge for his father's murder in the year 434 H. Maudud reigned seven years and died in 441 H (1049 A D.)

the time of Sultán Mas'úd is Manúchihrí⁴ who speaks as follows in a *qasídah* concerning his Wazír.

Couplet.

Shah Mas'úd is as proud of his rectitude
As is the prophet of Naushirwán⁵ the upright.

SULTÁN MAUDÚD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD,

Ascended the throne of Empire (after the murder of his i
in Bámián¹) with the consent of the Wazírs and Amírs, and with
the object of avenging his father purposed to march towards
Mári galah, but Abu Naṣr Áḥmád ibn Muḥammad ibn Abdus
Samad opposed his projected expedition and brought him to
Ghazní, whence he proceeded with a large army to attack his
uncle the blind Amír Muḥammad. On arriving at Dípúr² he en-
gaged in a severe battle with the Amír Muḥammad and thus
31. passed the whole day till nightfall when both fell back upon their
positions. The next day Sultán Maudúd induced the Amír Saiyyid
Mansúr who was one of the trusted (generals) of the Amír
Muḥammad to side with him, and engaging in battle took
prisoners the Amír Muḥammad and his son Áḥmád and put them
all to death. The Amír Maudúd founded there a city which he

⁴ Manúchihrí Dámaghání. Hakím Abunnajm Áḥmád, a pupil of the poet 'Unṣuri, whom he is said to have surpassed in sweetness and facility of expression. He was called **شاست گل** *shaṣṭ galla* because of his possessing numerous flocks and herds. He died in 432 H. (*Majma'-ul-Fuṣahá*).

⁵ Náushirwán. Chosroes I. son of Kobád, one of the Sassanide dynasty, ruled over Persia from 531 A. D. to 579 A. D. (See Dict. G. and R. B., p. 720, Vol. III). The prophet Muḥammad was born in the fortieth year of his reign, April 20th, 571 (Sprenger) or August 20th, 570 A. D. (Cauſſin de Perceval I. 283). Muḥammad used to boast of his good fortune in having been born during the reign of so just a king. Cf. D'Herbelot III. 57.

¹ Bamián. "Situated ten days' march from Balkh and eight from Ghazní. There is a building there of a prodigious height ornamented with paintings of all the birds created by God, and containing two enormous images called سرخ بود *Surkh bud*, the Red idol, and سفید بود *Khīng bud*, the White idol." Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, p. 80.

Abul Feda II. ii. 203, between Balkh and Ghazní. The district in which Ghazní and Kábul are situated.

² Text has Deipúr (MS. A دینور Dínúr). For the locality of this place, see Raverty 96, note 2. The name is in all likelihood Dínúr as in Baihaqí.

named Fathabád¹. This victory was gained in the month Sha'bán of the year 432 H, or according to another account in the year 434 H². And in the year 433 H being angry with Khwája Ahmad ibn Abdus Samad he imprisoned him in Ghaznín where he died in prison, and in this same year he sent Abu Násr Muhammád bin Ahmad towards Hindustán to fight with Náṣir ibn Muhammád³ and Náṣir was killed in the course of that war. And in the year 434 H Artágín at the order of the Sultan proceeded with an army to Tabarístan against Da'ud⁴ the Turko man, and having lost in battle a large number of his men came to Balkh and established the homage and proclamation of sovereignty in the name of the Amir Maudud. Afterwards when the Turko mans attacked him several times in force not being able to contend with them, he quitted Balkh and came to Ghaznín. Then in the year 435 H Amir Maudud imprisoned Abu 'Alí the Kotwal of Ghaznín for a time, but eventually appointed him as the Diwan of the kingdom and Kotwal of Ghaznín, and imprisoned Yasúr ibn Iyamghur the Diwan, till at length he died in confinement, he also punished Altágín⁵ and in the year 436 H Khwája Táhir who had succeeded Khwája Ahmad as Wazír, died, and was succeeded by Khwája Imám Abul Fáth 'Abdu'l Razzáq⁶. In this same year he sent Tughraíl Hajib in the direction of Bust, who took prisoner Abu Mansúr Zangi,⁷ the brother of Abul Farz and brought him to Ghaznín, he then departed for Seistan and having

¹ Raverty OG note 2

² The latter date must be the correct one as Mas'ud was not put to death till 433 A H. See note 3, page 4.

The Taríkíl Mas'udi however writes as follows —

وَامْرُورْ صَوْدُودْ دَرِسْ شَعْدَانْ ۲۵ شَهْرَ مَلَكْ حَطَّبَهْ بَغْرَادِهْ [۱۴۳۲] بَدَبُورْ
آمَدْ وَحَنْجَ كَوْدْ وَعَمْ رَا بَغْرَفَتْ نَا پَسْرَاسْ وَكَسَانِيْ كَهْ نَا گَنْ پَادَشَاهْ دَارْ
بَوْدَهْ هَيْگَانْ رَا بَكْشَ

See Thomas Coins of Kings of Ghaznín J R A S ix 279

³ Firishta describes him as ولد مُحَمَّد مَكْرُول the son of the Blinded Muhammád

⁴ See note 1 p 38

⁵ Alptig n Hajib

⁶ Grandson of Hasan Maimandí

⁷ Firishta says also Zangi Briggs in his translation has said Oozbuky'

32. engaged in conflict with the Turkománs at the Ribát Amír,¹ put most of them to death after which victory he went to Garm Sír, where he put to death the Turkománs of that district who were known as Red-caps² and took many of them prisoner, and brought them to Ghaznín.

In the year 438 H., he sent Tuglral to Takínábád who on arrival there revolted. Accordingly Alí bin Rabí' was nominated to proceed thither and Tuglral fled with a few followers. Alí plundered his army, and having captured some of them brought them to Ghaznín. In the year 439 H. the Amír Qazdár raised a rebellion³ and suffered defeat at the hands of Hájib Buzurg Bártagín⁴ and after a time tendered his submission.

And in the year 440 H. having conferred upon his two sons Abul Qásim Maḥmúd and Mansúr on the same day robes of honour and the drum and ensigns of commission sent one of them towards Lahore and the other towards Parshúr⁵ and he sent Abú Alí Hasan Kotwál of Ghaznín to Hindustán to punish the rebels there, and when Hasan returned to Ghaznín after having done good service Maudúd made him over to Mírak ibn Hasan with orders to imprison him. He died in prison. As a sequel to this, Mírak ibn Hasan the Vakíl who had murdered Abú 'Alí Hasan without the orders of Amír Maudúd and had kept it secret, incited the King to

¹ Firishta ریاض امیر Ribát Amír, Long. 105, Lat. 34, *Aín-i-Akkári* (J.) iii. 68.
Both MSS. have ریاض اسیدر

² Firishta also says سرخ کلاہ and does not mention the word قزیباش though Briggs translates "called Kuzil Básh, owing to their wearing red caps" Briggs, Vol. I, p. 121. Qizil Red is Turkish باش Básh. Head is Turki.

³ In one copy we find باغی قصہ ورزیدہ Firishta has the following امیر قضدار باغی ورزیدہ so we should read here امیر قزدار طغیان ورزیدہ

⁴ According to Firishta باستگین MS. (A) reads Báitigín, MS. (B) reads Bábtigín. Briggs says, "In the year 439 he was sent against Khoozdár, the ruler of which paid the usual tribute" but in the original of Firishta we find these words: وقزدار جنگ کردہ شکست یافت which looks as if امیر قزدار Amír Qazdár was his name. Elliott V. App., p. 558, states "Kusdar lies to the south of Bust, and is the present Khuzdár of our maps the capital of Jhálawán in Bilúchistán."

See pp. 557-559 from which the above is quoted.

⁵ Parshúr, the modern Pesháwar, called originally Parasháwara. Cunn. Anc. Geog. of India, p. 78.

proceed to Kábul so that that misdeed of his might remain concealed. When the Amír Maudúd reached the fortress of Súlkot¹ he was attacked with colic² and was forced to return to Gháznín, and ordered Mírák to release Abú Alí Kotwal. He accordingly prayed for a week's respite, and in the interim Amír Maudúd departed this life on the 24th of Rajab A.H. 441, having reigned nearly nine years. The *Lubbu-t-Tawaríkh*³ states that Sultan Mandúd asked in marriage the daughter of Chughz⁴ Beg Saljúqí, by whom he had a son whom he named Ma'súd, that he reigned seven years, and that in the month of Rajab 411 he attempted to go to Khorásan to visit Chughz Beg, but died on the journey of colic.

¹ Firishta writes سانکوت Sankot Both MSS. read میاکوت very plainly written

² قرلیخ قرلیخ Probably intestinal obstruction which is included under the term *Quluj* of which there are stated by Sadidí to be five varieties. Of Sadidí *Ait* قرلیخ

القولیخ العقیقی : True or spasmodic colic

القولیخ السدی : Obstructive colic—due as he says to an accumulation of لعوم or mucus in the cæcum or colon

القولیخ الرسی : Flatulent colic

ورم حار او ناره اندیاد و ماساچورها مثل الكدد والكلية An acute or chronic swelling of the bowels and neighbouring parts such as the liver and kidneys

القولیخ الالتواي : Twisted colic which he defines as a twist of the distal end of the small intestine Volvulus

In the *لحر الباهر* we find the following definition of the disease "A disease in which the bowels become disarranged on account of some unnatural obstruction (لاحتداس غير طبقي). It is very painful and increases in violence and is fatal.

اکثر تولہ القولیخ فدها و قولیخ بشق عنہا Defining the Colon the author says

Colic principally arises in this bowel and is a strangulation of part of it.

³ Lubbu t Tawaríkh, 'The marrow of History' The author was Yahya ibn 'Abdal Latif Qazwini who composed it in 1541 A.D.

He died 18 Dec 1552 See H. K. Lubbu t Tawaríkh also Elliott, Vol. iv p. 293

⁴ Jaghar Beg See Raverty Tabaqat-i-Naqsh p. 97, notes 3 & 4

MS (A) چغز بیگ (B) Chaghz Beg MS (B) Chaghz Beg

SULTÁN MAS'ÚD IBN MAUDÚD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MÁHMÚD.

Ascended the throne in the third year of his age by the machinations of 'Ali ibn Rabí', however his affairs did not prosper and they raised his uncle to the throne after he had reigned only five months.¹

SULTÁN 'ALÍ IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MÁHMÚD.

Ascended the throne by the consent of the nobles, and when 'Abdu-r-Razzáq ibn Ahmad Maimandi who had been sent by the Amír Maudúd towards Seistán arrived at a fort between Bust and Isfirár,² and learned that Abdu-r-Rashid ibn Máhmúd was confined in that fort by the orders of the Amír Maudúd, he brought him back and placed him upon the throne, 'Alí having reigned for a period of about three months. This event took place in the year 443 H. (1051 A. D.).

SULTÁN 'ABDU-R-RASHÍD IBN MÁHMÚD.

34. Came to the throne, and with the consent of 'Abdu-r-Razzáq proceeded to Ghazní. 'Alí ibn Mas'úd fled without engaging in battle, and Tughral Hájib who was one of the household slaves of Sultán Máhmúd having conquered Seistán turned his steps towards Ghazní. Amír 'Abdu-r-Rashid fortified himself there till Tughral obtaining an opportunity in the year 445 H. (1053 A. D.) put the Amír Abdur Rashid with all the descendants of Sultán Máhmúd³ to death and married the daughter of Mas'úd against her will. One day when he was on the throne a body of determined wrestlers inspired with hatred against him tore him to pieces. 'Abdu-r-Rashid's reign lasted for four years,

¹ The account given by Firishta differs slightly from this—he says—that on the death of Maudúd 'Alí ibn Rabí' who laid claim to the throne placed Mas'úd the son of Maudúd, who was then a boy of four years of age, upon the throne of Ghazní; this arrangement was opposed by Báshtigín Hájib who fought with 'Alí ibn Rabí' whereupon the whole populace of Ghazní rose in arms, and eventually Báshtigín Hájib succeeded in deposing Mas'úd ibn Maudúd after a reign of five or six days, raising his uncle Abul Hasan 'Alí to the throne. Compare also: *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* (Raverty, p. 97 and foot-note).

² اسفرار MSS. (A) (B) Firishta says Isfirain which is in the neighbourhood of Nishapúr, see Meynard, p. 34. (Abul Feda II. ii. 188).

³ کے نفر بودندہ Nine people in all. (Firishta).

but in the *Nizamu'l Tawârikh* his reign is said to have lasted for seven years,¹ and in the *Lubbu'l Tawârikh* his death is said to have occurred in the year 445 H God knows the truth

SULTÁN FARRUKH ZÁD IBN MAS'UD IBN MAMMÚD

Being released from confinement succeeded to the kingdom by consent of the nobles A body of Saljuqs came up against Ghaznin, and Farrukhzad put most of them to death and overcame them, and made many of them prisoners and sent them to Ghaznin. Alp Arsalan² the Saljuq King brought an army against Ghaznin from Irâq and Khorâsan, and being victorious in fight conveyed a large number of the notables of Ghaznin to Khorasan Eventually upon the arrangement of terms of peace the prisoners of both sides obtained their release, and since Zabulistan had been laid waste the Sultan remitted the usual tribute, and treated the inhabitants with kindness He used to fast three months, and used to spend the greater part of the night in prayer He died of colic in the year 450 H³ The period of his reign was six years

SA'ÝYIDU'S SALÁTIN IBRÁHIM IBN MAS'UD IBN MAMMÚD

Ascended the throne He was a just and devout king and used to write each year a Quran with his own hand and despatch it to the holy city of Mekka He built no house for himself with the exception of a temple and a school to the honour and glory of God When the affairs of state devolved upon him, he made peace with the Saljuqs and being free from apprehension, went to Hindustan and conquered many fortresses and districts

¹ Firishta says "less than one year" Tabaqat Nâṣirî says two and a half years

² Alp Arsalan son of Daûd son of Mîkâil son of Saljuq was the second Sultan of the family and dynasty of the Saljuqs He succeeded his uncle Tughrâl Beg in 455 A H (1063 A D) He was born in 421 A H and was murdered 466 A H and was buried at Merv

For a full account of this prince see D Herbelot pp 198-203

See also Ibn Khalliqân (Slane) iii 230 and seqq where it is stated that Alp Arsalan was born in the year 424 (A D 1032 3) and died on the 10th of Rabi u l Awwal 466 A H (1072 A D)

³ Firishta mentions that a year previous to his death an attempt was made upon his life while he was in the hammam

From one city¹ the inhabitants of which were of Khurásánían descent, whom (Afraháib) had expelled, and who had become a populous community in Hindustán, he took prisoners a hundred thousand persons,² and sent them to Ghazní, with other spoils on the same scale. He built a number of towns, among them Khirábád, and Imániábád and others. He has been described by the title of Saiyyidu-s-Salátín, and enjoyed the reputation of being a Wálí.³ In his reign in Ghazní, the Dárú-i-Chashm (eye medicine) and other mixtures and medicaments and dietaries for all diseased folk used to be obtainable from his store-house. His death took place in the year 472 H.,⁴ after a reign of thirty years. Qází Baizúwí says that his reign extended from the year 450 H. to the year 492 H. Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán⁵ flourished in his time and the following verses are taken from an ode which was written in his honour.

که افراسیاب از سو کشی
ایشان بشک آمدہ بازن و فرزنه از ولایت خراسان اخراج کرده بود و پسند وستان
قرستاده
.....

In our author's text we read — و آخر ایشان را اخراج کرده — which is evidently corrupt. The words in the *Zabaqát Akbar Sháh* are almost identical with those quoted from Firishta and some such change as the substitution of the word افراسیاب for the words آخر ایشان which may easily have arisen from a copyist's mistake, seems necessary in our text. (MSS. (A) and (B) are like the text).

² Because they were idolaters and refused to embrace Islám, according to Firishta.

³ والی Wálí. Abu'l Fażl (*Ahn-i-Akbarí*) (Jarrett) iii. 350 gives the following definition of a wálí : "In ancient works many significations have been given the outcome of which is that it means one who has attained to the knowledge of the Supreme Being : a lofty soul will indeed love God alone A wálí in my opinion is one who acquires four great virtues and avoids eight reprehensible actions. He should always wage a victorious war by circumspect conduct against the myriad disorders of the spirit and never for an instant relax his attention from its deceits. This lofty station is attainable by the grace of God and the guidance of fortune and is sometimes to be reached through the spiritual powers of a mediator, and sometimes without it."

⁴ Firishta says 482 H. or 492 H. *Zabaqát-i-Násiri* 492 H. with a reign of forty-two years.

⁵ Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán Jurjání. Known sometimes as Hamadání. The son of Khája Sa'ú ibn Salmán. A famous poet native of Jurján who attained

Abul Qasim Malik Mahmud Ibrahim ibn Mas'ud
 In whom four things exult, each of them glories in him
 Firstly, his expanded canopy, secondly, his flaunting banner,
 Thirdly his golden pen, fourthly his brilliant dagger

This ode he finished completely in the same style, and in another place he says —

Emperor of the higher world, from the blessings of whose reign
 The sword's lofty occupation is the control of things temporal and spiritual
 Mas'ud (Fortunatus) because from the fortune of the expanse of kingdom a conquest
 He has gone beyond that which comes within the scope of the sword

Ode

Oh thou that hast formed the design of travel and girded the loins of conquest,
 Right and left of thee the heavens have opened for thee the doors of conquest,
 Mas'ud, the world conquering for whom the age of fortune
 Has sent forth every moment the heralds of conquest,
 Like a lance point thou hast placed thy head in the direction of battle,
 Like an arrow thy waist girds up the loins of conquest,
 In sooth, a hundred victories thou winnest, and a hundred years hence
 In Hindustan in all directions will be seen the traces of thy conquest 37
 So many are thy conquests, that in the expanse of the world
 Every day in every place they tell the tale of thy conquests

high distinction in the service of Mas'ud bin Mahmud and Sultan Ibrahim of Ghazna but was imprisoned for a time in the fortress of Nai owing to the spiteful rancour of Abul Firaq Rumi. He obtained his release upon the death of Mas'ud ibn Mahmud. He was however again made prisoner for some years and upon being released left the court and went into retirement in Ghazna where he died. There is a very long account of him with copious extracts from his various poems in the *Mujma ul Faasha* Vol I pp 514 and seqq. See also Beale (OBD p 173) and *At'islakat-i-Azur*, p 162.

Thy spear and thy arrow and thy sword will be
 If my fancy limns a line, the painter of the forms of con-
 quest.

When thy sword said I will deal a light blow
 Its oath lay not heavy save on the head of conquest.

The Ustád Abul Faraj Rúní¹ too was eulogist of Sultán Ibrahím, and also the panegyrist of Sultán Mas‘úd, and many odes in their honour are to be found in his Díwán, and Rúín² is the name of a village of the dependencies of Lahore, and in these days it is as one may say in ruins, because not a trace of it remains, and the following *qīṣā’h* in praise of Sultán Ibrahím is by the Ustád Abul Faraj.

Hail to the might of thy powerful sword
 Precious as the breath of life, and rare as wisdom itself.
 Thou hast imprisoned that lifeless one, as one seizes the
 throat,
 Thou hast made orphan this which has no issue like a
 peerless pearl.

38. And Mas‘úd Sa‘d Salmán with that envious nature which is peculiar to poets, bore a grudge against Ustád, who became the cause of Mas‘úd’s imprisonment for ten years, he wrote this rubá’í (quatrain) in prison.³

¹ Abul Faraj Rúní, a celebrated poet. The name Rúní is from the village of Rúna. (رونا) in Nísápur. He was a great favourite and companion of Sultán Ibrahím, and we learn from Mas‘úd Sa‘d Salmán Jurjání that he fell under the displeasure of that king and was imprisoned in the fortress of Nái by the calumny of Abul Faraj, as is stated in the text a few lines further on. Abul Faraj lived for some time at Láhore, so that he is known to a few as “Láhorí.” His writings were very elegant and served as a model for the poet Anwari. A Díwán of his containing about 2,000 verses is extant. (Majma‘ul Fuṣahá I, 70). See also *Atashkáda-i-Azur*, pp. 137, 138.

² Beale (O.B.D., p. 15) says that he came from “Rún a place near Lahore.” It would appear from the text above that Badíoni attributed his name of Rúní to his connection with the village of Rúín. The author of the Majma‘ul Fuṣahá gives no authority for the statement above quoted so that it is difficult to decide which of the places is to be given the honour.

³ He was imprisoned in the year 572 H. by Maḥmúd ibn Ibrahím in the fortress of Nái. (Majma‘ul Fuṣahá loc. cit.). See note 5, page 52.

For thy prison such a prisoner as Mahk Sháh is necessary
 So that thy fetter may chafe the foot of monarchs¹
 That one who springs from the loins of Sá'd Salman
 Even were he a serpent would not sting thy realm

The following verses are also by him

My heart has become rent in all directions like a comb from
 regrets
 Because I saw a white hair in the tooth of the comb

There are extant also Diwans by him in Arabic, Persian and
 Hindi

'ALAU D-DÍN MAS'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM IBN SULTÁN MAS'ÚD,

Succeeded after the death of his father and died in the year
 508 H (1114 A D), having reigned seventeen years

SULTAN SHERZÁD IBN MAS'UD IBN IBRAHIM,²

By his father's order became king, and reigned for one year
 His brother Arsalán Shah revolted against him and killed him in
 the year 509 H (1115 A D)

SULTAN ARSALÁN SHÁH IBN MAS'UD IBN IBRAHIM,

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and seized upon the whole 39
 of his brothers with the exception of Bahram Shah who fled and
 went to Sultan Sinjar³ who was the son of his maternal uncle⁴
 In spite of all the apologies for Bahram Shah which Sultan Sinjar

١ شاهزاده سعید بن ابراهیم بن شاهزاده

² Cf Raverty *Tabaqat-i-Nafir* page 107 note 7 Firishta also mentions the accession of Kamálu d Daulah Sherzad and calls the preceding monarch 'Alau d Daulah also Ellott II 278

³ Sultan Sinjar Muizzuddin Abul Háris Sinjar was the third son of Sultan Mahk Sháh and the last of the Saljuq dynasty in Khurasan He was born A H 479 (1086 A D) in the environs of Sinjar and it was on account of this circumstance that he received this name See I K (Slane) I 600 He governed the province of Khurasan for 20 years He died in 552 A H, at Merv of a colique compliquée avec un devoyement D Herbelot

See also Beale (O B D p 236)

⁴ The sister of Sultan Sinjar called Mahd-i 'Iraq" was married to 'Alau d Din Mas'ud father of Sultan Arsalan Shah Cf Raverty *Tabaqat-i-Nafir*, p 107, note 6

made the subject of several letters, Arsalán Sháh would not listen to him, and eventually Sultán Sinjar raised an army against him. He gave battle with thirty thousand cavalry, and being defeated went to Hindustán. Sultán Sinjar remained forty days in Ghaznín and after presenting that country to Bahrám Sháh retraced his steps. Arsalán Sháh having collected a large army in Hindustán proceeded thence to attack Ghaznín, and Bahrám Sháh not being able to withstand him sought refuge in the fortress of Bámíán and with the assistance of Sultán Sinjar having again seized Ghaznín and taken Arsalán Sháh captive put him to death in the year 510 H. (1116 A. D.). The reign of Arsalán Sháh had lasted for a period of seven years.¹

SULTÁN BAHRÁM SHÁH IBN MAS'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM

Succeeded to the throne. Hakím Sanáí² was his panegyrist. *Kalílah Damnah* and many other books were composed in his reign and on the day of his accession Saiyyid Hasan Ghaznaví³ declaimed an ode of which this is the opening couplet.

A shout went forth from the seven heavens, saying
“Bahrám Sháh is Lord of the world.”

And this ode he wrote in his honour, and despatched it from the sacred city of Mekka.

Should it ever be that I again behold the face of the king
I will apply, as a thank-offering, the dust of his feet to
both my eyes

¹ This account differs from that given in other authors. The *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* says that Arsalán Sháh died in 511 H., after a reign of two years. Firishta says three years. Baizáwí gives 512 A. H., as the year in which Arsalán Sháh was put to death. (D'Herbelot).

² Abú Muhammád ibn Adam Sanáí, died 525 A. H., A. D. 1130 (H. K.). A celebrated poet, author of the *Hadíqatu-l-Haqiqat*, a Persian poem commonly known as *Fakhrí-námah*. Among his other works were :

طريق التحقيق - عشق امه - سير العباد الى المعاد - كارنامه بلخ - عشق نامه

According to *Majma'u-l-Fuṣahá* (I. 254) he died in 590 A. H. but, see note 1 p. 35.

³ Ashrafu'l-Dín Hasan ibn Násirí-l-'Alaví, died 565 H. *Majma'u-l-Fuṣahá* I.

Bahrám Shah for whom may the lives of emperors be the ransom

May it be that their lives are even worthy of the king
The planets of the sky fall like meteors, if they but place
a foot outside the boundary of fidelity to the king

Another

Bahram Shah from desire of whose sweet honied name
The young tree of the kingdom hereafter brings forth
parrots, (poets)

And the *Hadiqatu l Haqlqat*¹ of Shaikh Sanai is written in honour of Bahram Shah, it was written during his imprisonment, the reason of which imprisonment was Ghaznivide fanaticism with regard to Sunni doctrine, when this book having reached the capital of Bagdad received the *imprimatur* of the chief men and nobles, it attested the reality of his faith, and they wrote a memorandum which led to his being released. A short time subsequently he departed this life. It is said that when they accused the worthy Shaikh Sanai of heresy after he composed the *Hadiqat*, he wrote the following letter to the Sultan Bahram Shah

In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate

Praise be to God the Lord of the worlds, and blessings upon the best of His created beings, Muhammad his family and companions all of them. To proceed, it is said in certain traditional sayings, that two things tend to prolong life, and to cause rain to fall and trees to grow, one of these is to assist the oppressed—the other to repress the tyrannical. An argument which they have advanced in support of this is that the prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, declared that the heavens are established by righteousness (equity). Equity is like the bird² which, wherever it casts its shadow, secures an amplitude of

¹ The work mentioned in note 2 page 56. Its full title is *Hadiqatu l Haqlqat wa Sharifatu t Tariqat* (*hortus veritatis et lex iure*) and it treated among other subjects of the Imams Abu Hanifa and Shafi, the founders respectively of the Hanifite and Shaf'i sects of Sunnis.

² *کس بیاند نزدیک سانگ دوم ور همای اور جهان شود مددروم*

No one would go under the shadow of the owl even if the Humá were extinct from the world. See Roebuck, Oriental Proverbs p 327. The ۴۵

wealth, and the place where it builds its nest becomes the centre of durability, and rain falls from the heaven, while tyranny and oppression is as a bird¹ which, wherever it flies, leads to famine and life and modesty are lost from among mankind. And God, *may He be glorified and exalted*, preserves the Emperor of Islám, and the just king Bahrám Sháh ibn Mas'úd Sháh ibn Ibráhím Sháh ibn Mas'úd Sháh ibn Mahmúd Sháh, from iniquity and oppression, and although the whole world should combine to write and describe the stock and supply of grateful acknowledgement of this slave's heart, they would have no power to express it, and the tree which the king of the kingdom planted² for the discovery of the secrets of the unseen, even Gabriel and Michäel³ were precluded from having any share therein : it is certain that in all circumstances the just man is happy and the tyrant is miserable, and the worst of all oppression is this that a small party should read a subject and not understand it, but become arrogant with regard to it and loosen the tongue of censure-against the learned. Hence it is that our prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, said, Pity three people, a rich man who has become poor, the great man of a tribe who is disgraced, and a wise man among fools.⁴ A book which is written in the language of the learned in the knowledge of God, demands an acute and discriminating mind such as that of Báyazíd⁵ and

Humá, is a fabulous bird of good omen ; it is supposed that every head it overshadows will wear a crown.

1 The owl بومة on the other hand is the type of ill omen.

ماری تو که هو که را بینی بذی يا بومی تو که هو کجا نشینی بکنی e.g.

Thou art a snake biting everyone thou seest, or an owl destroying every place where thou alightest.

بلدای عزیزه بهار بیار خیر بد ببوم شوم گدار again

O nightingale bring the glad tidings of spring and leave bad news to the ill omened owl. Roebuck, Oriental Proverbs pp. 140, 349.

2 Expunge حکم from line 6 and read حکم میکائیل از

3 By this tree is meant the lotus tree of Paradise صدرة المنهی Sidratu-l-Muntahá. See Mishkát, XXIV. vii.

4 Cf. Qurán II. 90-95.

5 Báyazíd Anṣári also called Pír Roshán, founder of a Súfi sect, called the Roshániyyah or enlightened. Beale (O.B.D., p. 70).

A good account of him will be found in The Emperor Akbar by Beveridge. Vol. II. pp. 139 and seqq.

Shibli¹ these men of wisdom who read that book and appreciate that which is written in it, but who have not the slightest trace of religious knowledge, it must be from spite and ignorance that they find fault with the book, and this is a proof of their blindness of heart that they call the Al-i-Marwan contemptible, and carry their eulogy of the elect family, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon it*, beyond bounds while they exalt the commander of the faithful 'Ali, *may God be merciful to him*, above the other companions, *may God be graciously pleased with them*, and they do not see that he has been placed below Siddiq² and Farúq³ and Zu' Nurain⁴ on the ground of descent and rightful succession, and there is a true story related of the Lord of the Created beings Muhammad Muṣṭafa, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, with reference to the vices of the Al-i-Marwan and the virtues of the Al-i-Muhammad Muṣṭafa, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*. If it is a lie, and most people believe it to be so, reason tells us that it is true, and the word of the true God is this, "Oh God, adorn the world with those learned men who fear thee or who reverence thy people, and do not make me to suffer at the hands of those who are wanderers from the path of thy love, for thy mercy's sake.

¹ Abu Bakr Dolaf Ibn Jahdar (or Jatār) Ibn Ḥunay (his name is thus inscribed on his tomb) surnamed As Shibli a celebrated saint was born and brought up at Bagdad, but his family belonged to Khurāsan. This highly respected *Sufi* followed the doctrines of the sect of Malik and had for masters Al Junaid and the other holy men of that epoch. As Shibli died at Bagdad A H 334 (A D 946) and was interred in the cemetery of Al Quzurān. He was born at Sarra man raa (Samarrā on the Eastern bank of the Tigris) Shibli means belonging to Shibli a village in the dependencies of Osrushua a large town beyond Samarcand in Transoxiana I K (Slane) I 513 See also regarding Samarrā J R A S 1895 p 36

² "The Faithful" The title given by Muhammad himself to the first Khalifah Abu Bakr, who reigned two years and died A D 634 (A H 13)

³ The second Khalifah Umar A H 13 to A H 23 Called Fīrūq or 'the Discerner' as distinguishing Truth from Falsehood in Islam

⁴ U'man The third Khalifah A H 23 to A H 35 Called Zu Nu'aim the possessor of the two lights because he married two of the Prophet's daughters Ruqaiyyah and Ummu Kulsum

The above three Khalifahs the first three successors to Muhammad according to the Sunni Muslims are rejected by the Shi'ahs who assert that 'Ali was the first legitimate successor the others having been usurpers

and for thy bounty and beneficence oh Thou most merciful," and this verse is from the *Hadíqat*.

If the earth is a fit place for any court
It is for the court of Bahrám Sháh that it is fitted.

Then Sultán Bahrám Sháh brought up several armies against Hindustán and conquered the cities which his forefathers had not taken, and leaving one of his Amírs of high rank in Hindustán returned to Ghaznín. That Amír revolted, and fought a severe battle with the Sultán in the vicinity of Multán, and a bitter conflict ensued; in the end the Sultán's enemy fell a prisoner into his hands and was put to death, and a second time the country of Hindustán came into his possession, and 'Aláu-d-Dín Hasan ibn Husain Súrí who is one of the kings of Ghor revolted against him and proceeded to Ghaznín. Bahrám Sháh fled and 'Aláu-d-Dín left his brother Saifu-d-Dín Súrí in Ghaznín. Bahrám Sháh returned and retook Ghaznín, and having seated Saifu-d-Dín upon a cow, and having exposed him to public ridicule, killed him in the worst possible way. 'Aláu-d-Dín upon hearing this news was most distressed and made for Ghaznín with a huge army—before his arrival however Bahrám Sháh had reached the other world and his son was on the throne in his stead. 'Aláu-d-Dín by way of avenging his brother carried several loads of the earth of Ghaznín to Ghor² and set rivers of blood flowing, he is accordingly famous in his own country. Bahrám Sháh left this world in the year 547 H. (1152 A.D.) the period of his reign was thirty two years.

Mas'ud S'ad Salmán wrote the following hexastich in praise of Bahrám Sháh.

Bahrám Sháh became the world conquering king.

He became the Sun of the Age, and the shadow of the glory of God.

His canopy which was auspicious became the glory of the humá.³

1 Cf. Raverty, *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* p. 347 note 2.

2 Cf. *Tabaqát-i-Násirí*, Raverty p. 356. This earth was mingled with the blood of certain Saiyyids whom he took prisoner from Ghaznín, and from it several towers were built on the hills of Firúz Koh.

3 The *humá* is according to the *Ghíásu-l-Lughát* "a bird which eats bones."

God be He exalted and glorified became his guide
 That polished dagger became of increasing authority
 The face of his enemy became black like his canopy.
 As long as the emperor of the world in his time sowed the
 seeds of justice,
 Every criminal that he detected, he passed over his crime,
 If the sky placed his praise upon the running water
 The flowing water retained¹ his image like an engraving on
 stone
 He roused² true religion and justice to the zenith
 The Emperor, dispenser of justice, lover of truth, and defender
 of the faith³

KHUSRAU SHÁH IBN BAHRÁN SHÁH

Ascended the throne after his father, and 'Alau-d Dín Husain ibn⁴ Hasan Ghorí came up against him Khusrau Sháh fled and came to Lahore, and occupied himself with the empire of Hindustán, and when 'Alau d Dín, as has been related, returned from Ghaznín successful, he went back and recaptured that country, and after that the tribe of Ghuzz⁵ seized Sultán Sinjar he turned towards Ghaznín Khusrau Sháh was not able to withstand him

and its shadow falling upon any one ensures his attaining royal dignity"
 See note 2 page 57

¹ MSS (A) (B) دسته نہ not دسته as in the text,

² MS (A) not در فراشتن سو فراشتن as in text

³ MS (A) reads دن ور حق پیغ

⁴ The text has حسن نا حسین but the MSS A and B have ن which is the correct reading 'Alau d Dín Husain Ghorí Jahansoz, the first of the kings of Ghor

⁵ A tribe of Turks They took Sinjar prisoner in 558 H From them sprung the Seljuq dynasty the founder of which was Ruknu d Dín Tughril Beg Originally from beyond the Oxus they established their power by the conquest of Tus in the year 429 A H, when under the leadership of Tughral Beg and Daud they defeated the forces sent against them by Mas'ud ibn Mahmud Ravaging Armenia they entered Diarbakr in 433 A H and in 435 A H entered Mosul but in the same year were defeated in an encounter with the Arabs and fled to Nasibin, and thence passing through Armenia returned to Azerbaijan

Cf D Herbelot art Gaz who attributes the origin of this tribe to Gaz tenth son of Japhet son of Noah, from Bulgar, one of the sons of Gaz, sprang the Bulgarians and from Perthus the other son sprang the Ghuzz tribe

and for the second time returned to Lahore, where he died in the year 555 H., after a reign of eight years. In his time many great poets flourished and wrote odes in praise of him. The following poem is of the kind called *Tarjī-band*¹ and was written by one of them in his honour.

The revered Emperor Khusrau Sháh who with ease
Conquers with sword and mace from Hindústán to Khorásán.

It must be stated, that in the historical works by Qází Baizáwí and others² it has been written that when 'Aláu-d-Dín plundered Ghaznáh and put many of the inhabitants to death, he left there Ghiyásu-d-Dín Abul-fath Muḥammad and Shihábu-d-Dín Abul Muẓaffar who were his nephews. They then with great craft put Khusrau Sháh at his ease with regard to themselves and took up their abode in his city. Khusrau Sháh³ was imprisoned in the year 555 H., and died in the same year, and the days of the Ghaznévide family came to an end. After a time Ghiyásu-d-Dín died, and the whole kingdom remained in the possession of Shihábu-d-Din, but since Khwája Nizámú-d-Dín Ahmad deceased, has written in the *Tárikh-i-Nizámí* copying from the *Rauzatu-s-Safá* that Khusrau Malik ibn Khusrau Sháh was the last of the kings of the Ghaznévide dynasty, I have followed him—God knows the truth.⁴

KHUSRAU MALIK IBN KHUSRAU SHÁH.

Ascended the imperial throne in Lahore after the death of his father, and spent the greater part of his time in luxury and licentiousness, so that in his time great damage found its way into the

¹ The Tarjī-band consists of a series of couplets followed by a couplet in the same metre, but having a different rhyme, recurring at regular intervals.

² See *Ain-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) iii. 341. See also Elliott II. 258.

³ The *Rauzatu-s-Safá* however states that Khusrau Sháh reigned at Lahore two years after he fled from Ghaznín, and on his death was succeeded by his son Khusrau Malik.

The account in the text is that given by Baiżawí and other reliable authorities.

⁴ Cf. Raverty op. cit., p. 112 note 5.

Baiżawí states that the Ghaznévide dynasty ended with Khusrú Sháh. The work here quoted is best known as the *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí*, but its author called it *Tabaqát-i-Akbar-Sháhí*, and Badáoni calls it also by that name as well as by the name *Tárikh-i-Nizámí*. As has been seen the present work is admitted by the author to be merely an abridgment of the

Kingdom, and the dynasty of the Ghazniviyah was growing old while that of Ghor was in full vigour, accordingly Sultan Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad Sam, who is well-known under the title of Sultan Shihabu-d-Din Ghor, having gained the upper hand and making Ghaznín his capital, brought an army against Hindústán and came with overwhelming force near to Lahore Khusrau Malik fortified himself there and was compelled to ask for quarter in a personal interview Sultan Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad Sam took him to Ghaznín, from thence sending him to Sultan Ghiyásu d-Din, who imprisoned him in Firoz Koh¹ and sent an order, and after ten years' confinement made him taste the cup of destruction

Set not your heart on this world, for it is without foundation

It is a newly wed bride entangled with many a lover

This event took place in the year 583 H (1187 A D) He reigned twenty-eight years; the times of the Ghaznivido dynasty came to a close, and the Empire passed from their hands to those of the Sultáns of Ghor "Thou givest the kingdom to whom thou seest fit."²

HEMISTICH

Nothing endureth but God, God's kingdom alone is a kingdom

And Qází Bairáwi may God's mercy be upon him states that

Tárík : Nizámí Khwaja Nizamu d Din Ahmad was the son of Khwája Muqim Harawí Diwan of the household to Bábar, he subsequently served under Akbar (Elliott V 177 et seqq). The real facts are that the son Khusrau Malik succeeded his father and reigned till 583 (II) (1187 A D), as is stated by our author

¹ The Tabaqat-i-Nasiri states that Khusrau Malik was imprisoned in the fortress of Balarwan in Ghurjistan Firuz Koh was the capital The story of the treachery by which Shuhabu d Din Ghorí took Khusrau Malik prisoner is told by Firishta

See also page 41 where the author states that Ghiyásu d Din imprisoned Khusrau Shah in one of the fortresses of Ghurjistan where he died a prisoner

² Quran III 25 قُلْ لِلّٰهِمَّ مَا لِكَ الْمٰلِكُ تُؤْتِي الْمٰلِكَ مَنْ تَشَاءُ وَتَنْزِعُ الْمٰلِكَ مَنْ تَشَاءُ "Say 'O God, Lord of the kingdom, thou givest the kingdom to whomsoever thou pleasest and takest the kingdom from whomsoever thou pleasest'"

10. the duration of the Ghaznvide dynasty from Sultán Mahmúd to Khusrau Sháh was one hundred and sixty-one years in the hands of twelve persons, while Qází Yahya Qazwíní, *may God's mercy be upon him*, says one hundred and fifty-five years in the hands of fourteen persons, and the author of the *Tarikh-i-Nizámí*, as has already been quoted above, says two hundred and fifteen years in the hands of fifteen persons, and God knows the real truth of the matter.¹

II. THE GHORÍ DYNASTY.

Who reigned in Dehlí. This dynasty commences with Sultán Shihábú-d-Dín Ghorí² who is known as Muizzu-d-Dín Muham-mad ibn Sám.

SULTÁN MUIZZU-D-DÍN MUHAMMAD IBN SÁM GHORÍ.

Ascending the throne as regent in place of his elder brother Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín, king of Ghor and Iráq and Khorásán, in the year 569 H., in Ghaznín, had the *khutba* read and the currency struck in his own name,³ and in obedience to the command of his brother brought several armies against Hindustán and raised aloft the standard of holy war. Dehli was reduced in his time.

¹ None of these estimates are exactly accurate, that of the *Tárikh-i-Nizámí* is the nearest. The actual duration of the Ghaznvide dynasty taking Khusrau Malik as the last representative was from 366 A. H. (976 A. D.) to 583 A. H. (1187 A. D.) a period of 217 years during which time there were fifteen sovereigns.

It is difficult to see how Baizáwí arrives at his statement above quoted as from the accession of Mahmúd in 387 A. H., to that of Khusrau Sháh in 552 A. H. is 165 years during which twelve kings reigned.

The statement of Qází Yahyá Qazwíní is so far from the truth as to be impossible.

If we take Khusrau Sháh as the last Ghaznvide king the dynasty lasted from 366 A. H. to 555 A. H., a period of 189 years.

² Who was nominated with his elder brother Ghiyásu-d-Dín to the charge of a province of Ghor by his uncle Alá'u-d-Dín Husain Jahánsoz.

³ As a matter of fact the coins were struck in the joint names of Ghiyásu-d-Dín and Muizzu-d-Dín, and as Thomas remarks the superlative *العظمى* "The greatest" is applied to Ghiyásu-d-Dín while Muizzu-d-Dín is only styled *العظيم* "Great" (Thomas, Pathán kings of Dehli, p. 13).

In brief, Sultan Ghiyāṣu d Dīn when he had seized Taghīnābūl¹ which was one of the dependencies of Garmisir and had made over the governorship of that place to Sultan Shihabu-d-Din, used continually to bring up armies against Ghaznī, till at last in the abovementioned year Sultan Ghiyāṣu d Dīn brought that country within the circle of his conquests, and drove out of Ghaznī the tribe of Ghuzz, who after the captivity of Sultan Sinjar had been in possession of it, and bestowed upon Sultan Muizzu-d-Dīn Muhammad, the title of Sultan Shihabu-d-Dīn² Sultan Shihabu d Dīn after one year of sovereignty as vicegerent

تکیه ناد که از اعاظم والد گرمسیر بود . - Takīnah which was one of the chief cities of Garmisir *Tibaqat-i-Nisār* p. 115, line 9 (Cal. Edn.), see *Ain-i-Albars* (J) in C8, also Elliott, II 292 293

² The statement in the text forms the subject of considerable controversy as there are found those who assert that the title Shihabu d Dīn is an impossible one as applied to Muizzu d Dīn popularly known as Muhammad Ghori (see Poverty's *Tibaqat-i-Nisār* p. 416 note 5). It is true that the author of the *Tibaqat-i-Nisār* states that Muizzu d Dīn was originally called Zangi while Ghiyāṣu d Dīn was called Ḫalīṣ—both of them being called Muhammad. He goes on to say that prior to Ghiyāṣu d Dīn's accession to the throne *Khur* he was called Shamsu d Dīn and that Muizzu d Dīn was called Shihabu d Dīn. The actual statement is

و پیش ازین لقب او ملک شمس الدین بود و لقب درادرش شهاب الدین بعد از مدتها که بر تخت بود لقب او سلطان غیاث الدین شد و درادرش ملک شهاب الدین بعد از فتوح حربسان سلطان معز الدین شد . -

"Before this his title had been Malik Shamsu d Dīn and the title of his brother had been Shihabu d Dīn. Some time after his accession his title was changed to Sultan Ghiyāṣu d Dīn. From this the possibility is not excluded that the author of the *Tibaqat-i-Nisār* intended to lay stress not so much upon the change of names as the change of dignity, the assumption that is, by both of the title of Sultan.

But whatever may be decided about this there can be no question that the name "Shihabu d Dīn" is just as applicable to the person known more familiarly as Muhammad Ghori, as is the name "Muizzu d Dīn," and Badaoni evidently held this opinion as he henceforth speaks of him constantly as "Shihabu d Dīn."

On the other hand if this really was a subsequently acquired title it is certainly strange that it does not appear on any of his coins on which he is always styled As Sultan Al Muazzam (or Al A'zam) Muizzu d Dunya wad Dīn Abu l Muazzam Muhammad ibn Sām.

It is not however a point of serious importance as it involves no disputed question of identity.

for his brother, in the year 570 H., conquered Kardíz¹ and in the year 571 H., took Uchh and Multán and drove out the tribe of the Karmatians from those regions, and utterly destroyed the Bhatí² tribe who had fortified themselves in the fortress of Uchh,³ and having entrusted that country to Alí Kirmáj⁴ returned to Ghaznín.

Then in the year 574 H. (1178 A. D.) proceeding by way of Multán⁵ he brought an army against Gujrát, and suffered defeat at the hands of Rái Bhím Dev ruler of that country, and with great difficulty reached Ghaznín and obtained relief.

And in the year 575 H. he seized Parshúr,⁶ and in the year 580 H. (1184 A. D.) marched against Láhore; Sultán Khusrau Malik who was the last of the kings of Ghaznín, shut himself up in the fortress of Lahore as has been related, and after considerable correspondence by letter and messenger, he sent his own son with an elephant as a present, and Sultán Shihábú-d-Dín made peace with him, and set about building the town of Siálkot⁷ and having left his deputy there, proceeded to Ghaznín; and in the year 581 H. he brought an army against Díwal by which is meant

¹ Kardíz a district lying between Ghazna and Hindustán, Yáqút. Or Gardaiz, the name of a large "darak of the Tájiks, *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* Raverty, p. 449, note 9.

² MSS. (A and B) agree with the text **بَهْتَرِي وَجَاهَ** For a full account of this from Firishta with a comparison of other translations, see Raverty, p. 459, note 2. Raverty's translation corresponds exactly with the original and, as he very justly remarks, the incorrect translations given by Briggs and others have placed Muizzu-d-Dín's conduct in a wrong light. Bhátia a strong fort of this name was situated between Multán and Alor. The Rájá referred to according to the *Mir'át-i-Jahán-Numá* was chief of the Bhatí tribe. See Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* 451, note 3 last paragraph. See Elliott, Vol. I. p. 61.

³ Uchh. On the Eastern bank of the Panjnad 70 miles S. S. W. of Multán. See Cunningham, A. G. of India, p. 242.

According to Tieffenthaler it is 20 miles from Multán, Tieff. I. 118.

⁴ So also Firishta **عَلَى كِرْمَانْجَ** though Briggs translates, Alí Kirmány.

⁵ In the text read **اُز رَّالہ مُلْتَان** Firishta says, "came again to Uchh and Multán."

بِجَانِبِ پِيشَاورِ کے در کتب سلف بکوام و پرشور و فرشور مشہور است ⁶ (Firishta) cf. Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, p. 452, note 8. Peshawar was known as Bagrám or Farshúr.

⁷ Siálkot is said by other authors to have been founded by one of the early Hindú rulers. Tieffenthaler. "Un chateau très fort bâti par Małmoud

Tattah¹ and having thrown into confusion the cities on the sea shore took a vast amount of plunder and returned.

And in the year 582 H. he came again to Lahore and plundered the surrounding country, and having provided Husain with the means of fortifying and holding Sialkot retraced his steps, and from *Tárikh-i Nizamí* which is the original source of this selection we gather that the building of Sialkot took place in this year, in contradiction to the *Mubaraksháhi*² from which we learn that the building of Sialkot was two years earlier. God knows the truth. And inasmuch as the house of history is, like the house of dreams and other things of that sort, ruinous, apologies must be made for discrepancies, and in that year Khusrau Malik with the assistance of the Khukhars³ and other tribes, besieged the fort of Sialkot for a long time, but had to return without attaining his object. In this year also Muizzu-d-Din again besieged Khusrau Shah in Lahore, who after striving for some days, found himself

Gasnaví . La petite rivière d'Ayek coule le long de cette forteresse au couchant" Firishta states that Muizzu d Din founded the fort of Sialkot which lies between the Chenab and Ravi and left Husain Kharmil as governor, in the year 580 H (1184 A D)

¹ Cf Raverty 452 note 2 See also Tieffenthaler, I 121 Tatta est très ancienne , on la nomme aujourd hui Dobil Tatta is not the same as Debal which lies between it and Karachi See Abul Feda, (Reinaud) I. ccclxxxvi

The position of Debal Judging by the map given in Tieffenthaler Debal lay between Karachi and Tatta at a distance of 30 miles from the former and seventy from the latter, almost due East from Karachi and N W. of Tatta It lay at a distance of about 20 miles from the sea on one of the large arms into which the Mehran (Indus) divided in those days, but which to judge from modern maps have now disappeared or much diminished in size It also lay a short distance to the North of Lari Bunder which was at the head of an arm of the sea which had evidently in former times been an arm of the Indus also, at a distance of about ten miles to the South , the arm of the river joining the sea from Debal lay some six miles or so to the westward

This position tallies with that of the ruined city mentioned by Ibn Batuta, Paris Edition III 112, 113, 114, a translation of the description of which is given in Cunningham's Anc Geog p 299, 300

² By Yahyá ibn Ahmad ibn Abdullah Sirhindí Elliott, IV 6

³ The Khukhars This seems to be the same tribe as the Gakkhars, cf *Ain-i Akbari* (Bl.) Vol I 456 note 1, and Vol II (J) 383 note 1, but see also Raverty (455 note 4), who asserts that the two tribes are quite distinct

unequal to the task, and yielded to the Sultán who conveyed him to Ghaznín and sent him to his brother Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín at Firoza Koh. Ghiyásu-d-Din imprisoned him in one of the fortresses of Ghurjistán, where he died a prisoner, and the plain of Empire once for all passed to the dynasty of Ghor without the thorn of a partner or rival, as has been already mentioned.

QITA'II.

If you saddle the piebald horse of Circumstance,
and if the white horse of state leads thee beside him,
And if the garden of your pleasure in happiness
copies fair the past memories of Paradise,
Be not proud, for this mean time will unexpectedly
draw its pen through the writing of your fortune.
Time is like a wind, which at the first
draws from the cheek of the rose the veil with all respect,
Then after a week has passed in the midst of the garden,
drags its body with ignominy to the dust.
The world at one time brings forward by turn in the
narrow course, the horses of honour and disgrace.
The crafty fowler gives the bird grain, and then draws it
into the noose of his artfully laid snare.
One man who has lost all hope, gains honour,
Another who is always hopeful in spite of all is disgraced.
Strange is it if a man who has walked in the shadow of
poverty should court a favour from the sun ?
19. Be content, if you have a portion of wisdom,
that the ignorant should be oppressed by the foolish
What of that man who, in the assembly of mirth and merri-
ment quaffs the wine of pleasure from the cup of
luxuriousness ?
What of him who sitting behind the wall of sorrow suffers
from the after effects of sorrow and the worry of
toil ?
At last the hand of fate takes both of them straight off to
the brink of the pit of death.
Happy is the brave hearted man who like Sharaf draws the
foot of fidelity beneath the skirt of retirement.

And in this year Sultan Muizzu d Din left Ali Kirmaj¹ who was governor of Multan, as his Vicegerent in Lahore, and in the year 587 H coming from Ghaznī he reduced the fort of Tabarhindah² which was the capital of the great rajas of Hindustan, and left Malik Ziau d Din Tuliki³ with a *corps d élite* consisting of one thousand two hundred cavalry soldiers, and was contemplating a return. In the meantime Rai Pathurā the Governor of Ajmir, and Khandī Rai his brother who had been Governor of Dehlī before Pathurā, arrived with a vast army at a place called Tarayan⁴ on the banks of the river Sarsutī at a distance of seven *krohs*⁵ from Thanesar. It is now known by the name of Tarawarī⁶ and is distant forty *krohs*⁵ from Dehlī. A great conflict ensued with the Sultan and the Muslim troops were defeated. The Sultan evinced great bravery on the field of battle, and in that engagement also Khandī Rai who was mounted on an elephant at the head of his army, received a spear thrust in his mouth from the hand of the Sultan. The Sultan also was struck on the head by the Rai's spear, and his arm was also wounded but both escaped in safety. The Sultan got off his horse and taking up his son Khuljī upon his horse and mounting behind him took him off the field, the Sultan proceeded to Ghaznī, and Rai Pathura took the fortress of Tabarhindah from Ziau-d Din Takih on peaceable terms after a

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¹ *Tabaqat-i-Nasirī* says Ali Karmakh Firishta Ali Kirmaj
MS (A) على کرماج MS (B) على کرماج

² Both MSS A and B have تبرھنداہ Jarrett (*Aṣṭā Albarī* trans III 360 note 2) says he is not able to determine the position of Tabarkundah and Raverty (*Tabaqat-i-Nasirī* p 457 note 3) thinks Tabarhindah is a copyist's error for Bathindah apparently relying on the *Lubbu t-Tauarikh* *Hid*. From Rennell's map in Tieffenthaler it would appear that the situation of the fortress of Tiberhind which is there marked though not described in the text, was about half way between Bikair and Jhanjhnu in Rajputana that is to say about 100 miles north of Ajmir.

See also Raverty 458 note 3

³ Malik Ziyau d Din Tulaki (*Tabaqat-i-Nasirī*) Raverty p 457 note 3

⁴ MSS (A) and (B) read نارائی See Raverty, *Tabaqat-i-Nasirī* 459 note 7 Tieffenthaler mentions this place calling it Narain but it is not to be found in the map he gives see Vol I p 155

It is placed by Cunningham (map facing p 327) S E of Thanesar

⁵ The كروہ Sh. کروہ *krosh* is equivalent to about two miles

See also *Aṣṭā Albarī* (J) n-p 116 note 2 and 414 note 2 Gunn Geog of A I, App B p 571 See also *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* Elias and Ross p 424 note 1

siege of one year and one month. And in the year 588 H. the Sultán again came into Hindustán with a large and brave army of 40,000 cavalry, and divided his forces into four army corps, and having given battle time after time in the place above mentioned gained a victory. Pathúrá was taken prisoner and Khandí Rái having been overcome in battle was killed and hastened to his resting-place in Hell. The Sultán then having reduced the fortresses of Sarsuti¹ and Hánsí proceeded to Ajmír the capital of Pathúrá, reduced it and plundered its environs killing and taking prisoners. From certain other sources we learn that Hazrat Khwájá Muínud-Dín Chishtí² may God sanctify his heart, that revered one who is the fountain head of the great and holy men and the dignified elders of the land of Hind, whose blessed tomb is a place of pilgrimage situated in Ajmír, was at that time in the company of the Sultán, and this victory occurred through the impulse of the blessed and divine soul of that pillar of holiness. And in this year leaving Sultán Malik Qutbu-d-Dín Aibak who was his servant and adopted son and vicegerent in the town of Kúhrám which is distant seventy *krohs* from Dehli, he invaded and plundered the Siwálik range which lies to the North of Hindustán, and proceeded to Ghaznín. In the same year too Qutbu-d-Dín having captured Dehli took it away from the kinsmen of Pathúrá and Khandí Rái. Then in the year 589 H. (1193

51. A. D.) Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín fought with Rái Jai Chand the governor of Qanauj, on the confines of Chandwár³ and Atáwali,⁴ killed him and went to Ghaznín. The fort of Kol⁴ fell into the hands of Qutbu-d-Dín Aibak, and he made Dehli his capital and brought its surrounding districts under his sway. From that date Dehli once more became the metropolis of the Sultáns. The erection of minarets and other buildings of that kind, such as mosques, was

¹ The country south of the Himálaya between the Sutlej and Ganges as far south as Hánsí. (Raverty).

² Khwájah Muínud-Dín Hasan Chishtí was the son of Ghayásu-d-Dín Hasan born in A. H. 537 in the village of Sijz of the province of Sijistán.

He died in A. H 633 and is buried near Ajmír.

³ Tieffenthaler I. 166 mentions Atáva and Chanouá as belonging to the Serkár of Agra. (See Raverty (*Tabaqát-i-Násiri*) also p. 470 note 1).

⁴ Cól—ville munie d'une forteresse qu'on appelle Sábetghar et Ramghar. Tieff. I. 200, in the province of Agra 40 miles North of Agra.

commenced in the reign of Sultan Shamsu d Din Altamash¹ in the year 606 H, as will be related, if God (may He be exalted) so will it, in its own place. And in the year 591 H, he took the fort of Bhungar² and Badaon. And in the year 593 H he conquered Gujerat and took his army to Nahrwali which is known as Pattan,³ and having taken vengeance for the Sultan on Bhim Rai Dev and having taken much spoil returned, and in that year Sultan Ghiasu d Din removed his effects from the transitory world to the eternal abode,⁴ and Sultan Muizzu d Din having heard this news when on the confines of Tus and Sarakhs,⁵ turned towards Badghis and performed the duties of the mourning ceremonies and having divided his brother's dominions among his kindred⁶ came to Ghaznin and brought an army against Khwarazm, and on the first occasion Sultan Muhammad Khwarazm Shah suffered defeat, and the Sultan pursued him and fought the Khwarazmians at the head of an aqueduct which they had dug from the eastern bank of the Jaihun and a number of the noted generals of Ghor were martyred and he could not take Khwārizm he also fought a great battle with an army of Khitai⁷ kings of Turkistan who had come to the help of Sultan Muhammad,⁸ on the banks of the river Jaihun—he fought right bravely but at last was defeated, and being left with a hundred thousand cavalry soldiers he entered the fortress of Andlhud where he entrenched himself, and

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¹ Sultan Ul Muazzam Shamsu d Dunya wa d D n Abú Muzaffar Iyal Timish the 1st of the Shamsiyah Sultans See Raverty 597 note 4

² MS (A) قلعہ Thankar but it should be بانگھار apparently as in Tiefenthaler we find Banghar described as un Fort triangulaire construit de terre par ordre d'un prince Indou nomme Harcaran Banghar est à 30 milles d' Aunla a 40 de Barel et à 8 de la rive alterieure du Gange

Buddon ville ancienne elle à une forteresse au dehors de laquelle sont des maisons Elle est à 20 milles de Barel; à 10 d' Aunla et à 5 de Banghar

Badaon was the birthplace of the famous Nizámud Dín Auliya called Al Bahat or the controversialist and Mahfil shikan the assembly router

³ 20 miles from Radhanpur 40 miles from Guzerat to the NW Tief I 395 See also Bayley Hist of Gujarat 25 &c Abul Feda (Reinaud) II n 117 Afn : Albari (J) II 262 and III 59

⁴ He died at Herat

⁵ See Raverty (*Tabaqat-i-Násirí*) 257 note 2 and 471 text and note 5

⁶ The details of this partition are given in the *Tabaqat-i-Násirí* (Rav p 472)

⁷ Sultan Muhammad Khwarazm Shah applied to Gú khan of Qara Khita for assistance See Raverty (*Tabaqat-i-Násirí*) 473 note 2

having asked for quarter¹ returned to Ghaznín ; and at that time the tribe of the Khúkhars in the neighbourhood of Lahore shewed symptoms of revolting the Sultán accordingly brought an army against them, and also summoned Quṭbu-d-Dín Aibak from Dehlí, and having given the Khúkhars a severe lesson returned to Ghaznín, and while on the way back was martyred at Damyák,² which is the name of a village of the dependencies of Ghaznín, at the hands of Khúkhar bandits—the following *qitá'h* has been written to chronicle this event³ :—

The martyrdom of the king of sea and land Shihábú-d-Dín,
Whose like has never yet been seen since the world began,
On the third day from the first of Sha'bán, in the year 602
Happened in the road to Ghaznín at the stage Damyák.

The days of his reign from the commencement of the rule of Ghaznín to the end of his life were thirty and two years and some months, and he left no heir save one daughter, but he left behind him much treasure of gold and silver and precious stones, among these latter were five hundred *mans*⁴ of diamonds jewels of great value, besides cash and estates and other property the value of which we may estimate on the same scale. He made expeditions to Hindústán nine times, twice was defeated and seven times was victorious.

Thou didst see Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad Sám, who in war
Was stronger in heart and hand than Sám and Narímán
He obtained, like Maḥmúd, from the elephants of Hindústán
Governments of Sásán and many kingdoms of Sámán

¹ For an account of the incidents here briefly referred to see Raverty, (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí*) 478 note 6.

² A village beyond the Indus on the road to Ghaznín. Its exact situation is a matter of some uncertainty. Firishta (Bombay text) has كھیکھی ! Rohtak

³ No author that I have seen records the name of the author. The *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* attributes it to "one of the learned men of that period."

⁴ The Tabriz *man* must be meant, being somewhat less than 2 lbs. while the *man* of Hindustán varies from 40 to 80 lbs. (Raverty).

The *Aín-i-Akbarí* makes no mention of the *man* as a weight unit for jewels.

Two *sér*s are equal to half a *man*. As the *sér* was nearly two pounds this would make the *man* equal to eight pounds nearly. (See *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) II. 366 note 4).

The *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* says 1500 *mans* of diamonds.

He departed this world, and they say (the writer vouches for it)

That there remained of his secret treasure 500 mans of diamonds.

And in his reign many learned doctors and scientists and poets flourished, of whom was Imám Fakhrud-Dín Rázi¹ may God be merciful to him who wrote the *Lafáif-i-Ghiyásí* and other books in honour of his brother Sultán Ghuyásu-d-Dín Abú-l-Fath. He remained with the army of Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín Muhammad Sám, and every week used to stand up to preach, and at the termination of his sermon the Sultán used to evince great emotion, and since the Imám got very wearied of this continual coming and going, and everlasting service, one day addressing the Sultán from the pulpit he said Oh! Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín, some time hence neither will this greatness and glory of yours remain nor the flattery and hypocrisy of Rázi: The following *qī'a'h* is by him :

If an enemy does not agree with you O friend
 If behoves you to agree with your enemy,
 If not, then have patience for a few days
 He will not remain, nor will you, nor the pride of Rázi.

And after the assassination of the Sultán certain mischievous persons out of envy accused the Imám of having conspired with the Fidáis,² and asserted that the Imam was well aware of their

¹ Abú Abdulláh Móhammad Ibn Omar Ibn al-Hásan Ibn al-Hásan Ibn Alí al-Jaumí al-Bakrí at Tabarestání Ar-Rázi (native of Rái in Tabaristán) was a doctor of the Sháfítú sect, he was born at Rái A H 544 (A D 1150) and died at Herát A H 606 (A D 1210). (Ibn Khalliqán) See D'Herbelot *art Rázi* See also *Majma'u'l Fusahá I* p 374, where he is called Al Quraishi at Tamími, Ibn Khalliqán does not mention the *Lafáif-i Ghiyásí* among Ar-Rázi's works, while on the other hand Hájí Khalifa gives a work of this name but does not mention the author. His reference to it is as follows "11124 El-Letáif El Ghíyathiyeh, subtilitates Ghíyáth ed-Dín Liber persicus in quatuor partes divisus, quarum prima de principiis religionis, secunda de jurisprudentiâ, tertia de ethica, quarta de preicatione agit."

² The term Fidái is particularly applied to the disciples of the chief of the Muláhidah heretics, at whose hands Muizzu d Din met his death according to the express statement of the author of the *Tabaqat-i Náṣirí*. (See Ravery 485 note 3) This attempt to implicate Razi in the responsibility for the murder is recorded also in the *Jamí'u t-Tawaríkh*, and the *Taju l Maasir* See Elliott II p 236

hypocrisy. They made an attempt upon the Imám and he fled for refuge to Muaiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjarí¹ who was one of the distinguished generals of the Sultán ; he despatched him in safety to a place of security. A poet has written an ode in praise of him of which the following are two couplets.

Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín Sháh Ghází whose sword in the world
has become like the famous Zulfiqár² of Alí Murtazá.

The true Sultán Muhammad Sám, he whose love for
the people is like the Sun of the friendship of Mustafá.

¹ *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* states that he held the office of Vazír, and was put to death by the Turkish Maliks and Amírs of Ghaznín, together with Malik Násiru-d-Dín Husain the Amír-i-Shikár.

² *Zúl Fiqár*. The following is extracted from Ibn Khalliqán (Slane) Vol. IV. p. 220.

"It is related that Hárún ar Rashíd on sending Yazíd ibn Mazyad against Al Walíd gave him Zú'l Fakár the sword which had belonged to the Prophet "Take it, Yazíd, by it you will be victorious." To this Muslím Ibn al-Walíd alludes in the following verse of a *kasída* composed by him in praise of Yazíd :

' You caused the Prophet's sword to recollect his way of acting and
the bravery displayed by the first (Musulmán) who ever prayed and
fasted.'

By these last words he meant Alí the son of Abú Talib for he was the person who dealt blows with it."

Lower down, quoting as his authority Hishám ibn al Kalbi, Ibn Khalliqán states that Zúl Fiqár belonged to Al-Aásí son of Nabíh, both of whom were killed in the battle of Badr; Al-Aásí being slain by 'Alí who took the famous sword from him—and he continues "Another author says that Zúl Fagár was given to 'Ali by the Prophet." I must observe that *faqár* with an *a* after the *f* is the plural of *Faqára* which means a vertebra of the back. The name of this sword is also pronounced *Zál Fiqár* the word *fiqár* is the plural of *fiqra* (Vertebra).

At Tabarí states that Zúl fiqár came into the possession of Hárún ar Rashíd in the following manner :

"Zul fiqár was borne by Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah ibn al Hasan ibn al Hasan ibn Alí ibn Abí Tálib on the day in which battle was given to the army of Abú Ja'far al-Manṣúr the Abbaside ; when he felt death to be near he gave Zul fiqár to a merchant who had followed him, and to whom he owed four hundred dínárs 'Take this sword,' said he, 'any member of the Abú Tálib family whom you may meet with will buy it from you and give you the sum to which you are entitled. The sword remained with the merchant till the Abbaside prince Ja'far the son of Sulaimán ibn Alí ibn Abd Allah ibn al Abbás ibn Abd-al-Muttalib obtained the governments of Yemen and

Another poet says —

The Emperor of the age, Khusrau Ghazi Muizzu d Din
 From whom the glory of crown and diadem gains increase,
 The origin of victory, Muhammad ibn Sam ibn Husain
 His very presence has become the mark for princely glory¹

And Nazukⁱ Maraghai too says in praise of him —

Shah Muizzu d Din before whose princely might
 The heaven stands girt like a bunch of flowers
 He came to the throne like a rose at the time when
 The heaven brought the Sun into the Balance *

Medina, and he purchased it from the merchant for four hundred dinars
 From him it passed to al Mahdi the Son of Al Mansur (Khalifah from 775
 A H to 785 A H) from him to Musa al Hadid and from Musa to his brother
 Harun ar Rashid

Al Asmaⁱ relates that he saw Harun ar Rashid at Tus wearing a sword
 and that he said Asmāⁱ would you like to see Zulfiqar and on Asmāⁱ
 expressing a wish to see it Harun ar Rashid bade him draw the sword—on
 doing so he found on it eighteen faqaras—The word *faqara* is said in a note
 to the above to designate a sort of waving ornament on the blade or else
 a notch on its edge It is doubtful which is meant probably the latter

The word *Zulfiqar* means vertebrated I think it quite possible that the sword
 in question was so called from its strength and pliability the vertebral column
 being the type of the combination of these two somewhat incompatible
 elements

¹ MS 'A) has میسرا میر سے میر MS (B) agrees with the text

² : e In the time of year (autumn) when the Sun was in the sign of Libra
 (صبران)

The sun enters	Gemini	Taurus	Aries (Spring)	21st March
	حورا	ثور	حمل	
	السماء	السماء	السماء	السماء
	Virgo	Leo	Cancer (Summer)	21st June
	السماء	أسد	سرطان	
	Sagittarius	Scorpio	Libra (Autumn)	21st September
	صبران	عقرب	قوس	
	Pisces	Aquarius	Capricornus (Winter)	21st December
	دلو	دلو	دلو	

The sign Libra was a later addition to the Zodiac It was known to the
 earlier Greek astronomers as χελώναι of Virg Georg I 33

Hè in the fire of whose wrath evil doers
 Give up their sweet lives like sugarcane.
 The sugar of religion and the rose of sovereignty
 The revolving sphere has mixed together ;
 Oh Lord ! let this conserve of religion and sovereignty
 Be the cause of health to the whole world.

And Qázi Hamíd¹ of Balkh says :

Gházi Muizzu-d-Dín wad-Dunyá with whom
 On the day of battle victory marches with his auspicious
 standard,

Qua locus Erigonon inter Chelasque sequentes Panditur.

Subsequently it was called *Zvrys* (the yoke) by the Latins *Jugum* and was first formally called *Libra* in the Calendar of Julius Cæsar. This name seems to have been derived from the East, and must be regarded as a symbol of equality introduced into the heavens at the period when the entrance of the sun into that constellation marked the Autumnal Equinox. "In the commentary of Theon on the Almagest *Libra* is frequently represented by Λίτρα (a pound) or Λιτραι, a word originally borrowed by the Romans from the Sicilians, transformed into Libra and then restored to the later Greeks in the new sense of a balance." See Smith's (D. G. R. A.) p. 151, also *Aín-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) III. p. 13 and notes. Also Albirúní (Sachau) p. 173, where a table is given of the signs in seven languages. Sir William Jones (Jones' Works Vol. I. p. 334) leant to the opinion that "both Greeks and Hindus received their divisions of the Zodiac from an older nation" and there can be little doubt that this was the case; the almost absolute identity of the nomenclature in Arabic, Greek, Persian, Syriac, Hebrew and Sanskrit points to a pictorial rather than to a verbal original, the more so as in the case of a pictorial symbol of ambiguous shape it was possible for the name to differ in different languages. Thus we know that the sign Libra was first known as χηλαι to the Greeks from its resemblance to the claws of a scorpion, then this name was changed to ζvrys from the resemblance to a yoke, and finally called *Libra* a balance.

The same pictorial idea is applicable to all three words, and it is more than probable that we must look, for the origin of the Zodiac, to the same source whence we trace the origin of our Alphabet.

See also Albirúní [Sachau (Trübner)] Vol. I. p. 219.

¹ Fakhru-l-Ulamá wa Zinu-l-Fuzalá Hamídú-d-Dín Umar ibn Maḥmúd Balkhí, a celebrated writer whose Maqámát called forth the praise of the poet Anwari. He was the author of several works written in a style of great and studied elegance. He was an accomplished poet. Several of his works are mentioned by name. See *Majma'ul Fusahá* I. 197.

Sultán from East to West, Monarch from West to East
 Maḥmúd ibn Muḥammad ibn Sám ibn Ḫusain.

having sent to Malik Qutbu-d-Dín from Fíroza Koh the canopy and insignia of royalty, addressed him by the title of Sultán,¹ and in the year 602 H. (1295 A.D.) having come from Dehlí to Láhore on Tuesday, the sixteenth of the month of ZuQa'dah in the aforesaid year, ascended the throne of empire and became proverbial for his kindness and clemency. He used to bestow upon deserving recipients rewards far in excess of their anticipations, and inaugurated his custom of *lak bakhshí* (bestowing laks). One of the learned men of the time named Baháu-d-Dín Ushí² said in praise of him.

Quatrain.

Oh thou that hast brought into the world the bestowal of laks;
 Thy hand has brought the mine into great straits;
 From envy of thy liberality the heart of the mine has seized blood drops,
 And placed them forward pretending that they are rubies.

And after some time enmity arose between him and Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, who was one of the slaves of Muizzu-d-Dín and had read the *Khuṭba* in his own name in Ghazní, on account of Láhore, and the fire of war and conflict blazed forth on the confines of the Punjáb; Táju-d-Dín was defeated, and went to 56. Kirmán which was his usual abode. Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín went and took possession of the fort of Ghazní and staying there for a period of forty days, spent his time in rioting and wantonness and dissipation. Accordingly the people of Ghazní were annoyed at his behaviour and secretly summoned Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, who arrived without warning, and Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín not being able to oppose him came to Láhore by way of Sang Surákh³

¹ He appears to have already possessed the title of Sultán (see note 3 page 77).

² Baháu-d-Dín Muḥammad Ushí Farghání was a very famous preacher and learned divine, very famous according to Ufí as an extempore speaker, and an extremely able poetry and prose writer. (Majma'u-l-Fuṣahá, I. 172).

³ One of the routes between Ghazní and the Punjab, for he did not dare to take that through Kirmán (Raverty, 527, note). The *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* omits all reference to this, and merely mentions Qutbu-d-Dín's death without saying where his fatal accident happened. As to the exact date of his death, see Raverty 528, note 2.

Verse

When the head of a Sultan becomes unsteady from wine
Without warning the crown of Empire falls from his head

And after wielded power for some time he fell from his horse
when playing chaugán at Láhore in the year 607 H., and died¹
and was buried in that city and his tomb is at present the resort
of pilgrims The period of his reign after the conquest of
Hindustán, was twenty years, out of which period he was for four
years a Sultan

This ancient revolving heaven has overthrown many heroes,
So far as you are able, place no reliance on the sun and
moon and Jupiter²

Seven other individuals of the generals and slaves of Sultan
Muizzu-d-Din reached princely power in Hindustán and Ghaznín
and Bengálá and other places, whose affairs are written in their
proper places, among others Táju d-Din Yalduz on the confines
of Taráyan, otherwise known as Tarawari, having fought with
Sultán Sháman d-Din Ijaltamish was taken prisoner Another
is Saltán Násru d-Din Qabácha³ who is also one of the slaves of
Muizzu-d-Din, and had married one of the daughters of Taju-d-
Din Yaldúz, the other daughter was married to Sultan Qutbu d-

قالب قلب ماحت ^ل Literally, emptied the mould (in which he was cast).
The word قلب though Arabic in appearance is not really so It is in
reality the Persian word قالب (cf. ^ل قالد) in an Arab dress

The game of chaugán is the origin of the modern game of "polo" the
chaugán چوگان called in Arabic سولیڈن Sulaydén is a name applied to a
stick with a curved extremity Curling locks are called چوگان سدل
A pony which is fit for the game of چوگان is called Burhan-i Qají⁴

³ In the 'Ajáibu l Makhlúqát of Qazwini we find that the astrologers con-
sidered the sun as holding the place of king, and the stars are his courtiers
and troops The moon is his Vazir and Jupiter the Qazi The planet is
considered to be a very fortunate one by astrologers who called it سعد (Kadr)
The moon is also lucky so much so that everything lucky was called by the
Hindus Somagraha, Soma being the Sanskrit word for moon The sun was
called 'Aditya,' i.e., the beginning as being the origin of all things See
Albiruni (Sachch) I 217 and seqq

⁴ Who on the death of Qutbu d Din proceeded to usurp Uchh and Multán
according to Ravery (530 note 6) The Tubaqdīt u Naṣīrī states that Násru d
Din Qabácha married two of the daughters of Qutbu d Din (See note 4,
p 520) (note 2 p 532)

Dín and Sultán Muizzn-d-Dín during his lifetime had bestowed upon him the governorship of Uchh and Multán. After the death of Sultán Quṣbu-d-Dín, he brought the whole country from Uchh¹ to Sarsutí and Kuhrám under his own rule, and also took possession of Lahore, and having fought with the army of Malik Táju-d-Dín who was on his way from Ghaznín, Khwája Mu'aīyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjarí² being in command of that army, was defeated and went to Sindh in which country he obtained great ascendancy.

57. In the year 611 H. (1214 A. D.) a Moghul army arrived and laid siege to Multán for forty days and the Sultán Násiru-d-Dín, having opened the doors of the treasury, evinced great bravery and warded off their attacks, and at last after a reign of twenty-two years fell a prisoner into the hands of Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín and trod the way to the next world.³ Another is Malik Baháu-d-Dín Tughral, when Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad Sám reduced the fortress of Bahankar⁴ he entrusted the command of it to Malik Baháu-d-Dín Tughral, and he having built a fortress in the country of Bhasiyána⁵ elected to reside there⁶ and used continually to

¹ 70 miles south-west of Multán. For the situation of Uchh, see Cunn. A. G. I., p. 242.

Tieffenthaler says that under this name are comprised seven villages the chief of which contains the tomb of Syud Bukhári. Tieff. I. 118. In Rennell's map, Vol. III. Surusty is shewn as in Long. 74°5 Lat. 28°5, Koram Long. 75°4 Lat. 29°4.

² See note 1 page 74.

³ In the year 612 H. according to the *Táju-l-Mádsir*, but from the text it appears to have been in 610 H. or early in 611 H.

According to *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* he was drowned while trying to escape. See Raverty 542-543, notes. cf. Elliott II. 304.

⁴ Both MSS., but according to *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* and Alfí the name of the fort was Thankír or Thangír. (See however Raverty 544 note 1).

⁵ MS. (B) has Bhasiyána, MS. (A) has Bhayána. *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* says "the fortress of Thankír which is in the territory of Bhiána." This fortress he built was called Sultán Kot (*Tabaqát-i-Násiri*).

Tieffenthaler mentions a place which he calls Beána and says, concerning it, *Beána* étais autrefois une ville bien peuplée, aujourd'hui le nombre de ses habitans est fort diminué, apres que le Rajah Indou en a chassé, il n'y-a que peu d'années, les Mahometans, Afgans, et Saïdes, qui se vantent de descendre de la race d'Alí. Elle est au pied des montagnes, à 14 milles communs de Fatepour au Sud-Ouest.

He mentions no fortress named Thankír or Bahankar nor does he mention Sultán Kot.

⁶ Cf. *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* where this fort is called Sultánkot.

harass the environs of Gwaliári, and Sultán Muizzu d Dín at the time of his return from Gwaliur had promised to give that fortress to Malik Baháu d Dín who accordingly strongly fortified a position at a distance of two *Irohs* from Gwalior and harassed the garrison of the fort, so that after a year the garrison sending messengers and presents invited Sultán Qutbu d-Dín and surrendered the fort to him. On this account enmity arose between Malik Qutbu-d-Dín and Bahau d-Dín. Malik Baháu d-Dín died a short time afterwards¹.

Another is Malik Muhammád Bakhtyár Ghúrī². He was one of the great men of Ghur and Garmsir, a man adorned with all good qualities who came to Ghaznín in the reign of Sultán Muizzu d Dín and from thence went to Hindustán. He did not approve of having to live in Láhore with Sultan Qutbu d Dín, and joined hands with Malik Husainu d Dín Ughal Beg³ ruler of the country between the two rivers (The Doáb) and the country beyond the river Ganges, and Kanpilah and Patialah⁴ were allotted as his reward. He proceeded to Oudh and conquered that coun-

¹ No date is given of these events

² Called also Muhammád Bakhtyár Khiljí: the first to lead a Musulmán invasion of Bengal in 596 A H. He belonged to the Khiljí tribe of Ghúr, a Turkish tribe. Regarding him the *Afnā : Akbarī* states that the astrologers had predicted the overthrow of the kingdom of Nadiya by Muhammád Bakhtyár Khiljí. He destroyed the city of Nadiya (in 1203 A D, 600 A H) and transferred the Capital to Lakhnauti. From that time Bengal has been subject to the kings of Dehli. *Afnā : Akbarī* (Jarrett) II 148

He was a nephew of Muhammád son of Mahmud (See *Tabaqát : Nasirī* 549). Raverty denies his having ever been a slave but from the statement in the text there seems to be no doubt that the author so regarded him (See Raverty, p 550 note 6)

Mahku l Muazzam Husainu d Dín Ughul Beg held in fief a considerable tract of country in the Doáb independently of Qutbu d Dín

³ See Raverty *Tabaqát : Nasirī* 550 note 6

⁴ MSS (A.) and (B.) كپلہ Kanpila MS (A.) پیلائی Pancaff MS (B.) پتیلائی Patisali Raverty p 550 note 6, says Pattishah پتیشہ (Lat 25° Long 82° 54') and Kuntishah کنٹیشہ [Lat 25° 7' Long 82° 35'] the Kuntil of the Indian Atlas

See the note above for a discussion of the question

In the text کدیں is evidently a copyist's error for کلیں

try, reduced Behár and Munér,¹ and having taking large booty Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín sent him royal honours and a banner of Sultánship. He then brought many presents to the court of the Sultán, and received great favours and distinctions; the grandees of the court seeing they were powerless against him, became envious of him, and instigated the Sultán to such an extent that one day he made him fight with a rogue elephant,² but he struck the elephant so hard upon the trunk with a heavy club that the elephant turned and fled. The Sultán was overwhelmed with astonishment to see this, and nominated and appointed him ruler of the whole country of Lakhnautí³ in Bengála and sent him away. In the second year after this arrangement Muhammad Bakhtyár brought an army from Behár towards Lakhnautí and arrived at the town of Núdiyá⁴ with a small force, Núdiyá is now in ruins. Rái Lakhmia (Lakminía⁵) the governor of that

¹ Manér ville assez distinguée située sur la rive citérieure (du Gange) à 4 milles ouest de Scherpour—(qui est à 6 milles, de Patna) l'embouchure du Son (Soano) se trouve entre Manér à l'ouest et Scherpour à l'est. Le Son se jette dans le Gange à de cosse avant Manér. Tieff. I. 423 note (a).

Behár the capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadh is situated on the Pancháná river. Tieffenthaler describes it thus “Une grande ville moins peuplée aujourd’hui qu’elle ne l’a été, remarquable par des tombeaux magnifiques de Mahométans (Shaikh Sharafuddín Munnírí is buried there).

Elle a été la capitale autrefois de la province. Sa distance de Patna en ligne droite est de 17 milles.”

See Hunter Gazetteer of India.

² On the occasion of a public audience held by Qutbu-d-Dín in the Qasr-i-Safed.

³ The ancient capital city of Bengal called originally Lakshmanáwati, and possibly also Gaur. Called Jannatábad by the Emperor Húmáyún. See Aín-i-Akbarí II. (Jarrett) 122, 131 also Imp. Gaz, art Gaur. See also Raverty Tabaqát-i-Násiri 559 note 2.

⁴ Both MSS. ندیہ نúdiyá. Also Tabaqát-i-Akbarí. See Imp. Gaz. Nadiya, Nadiya or Nabadvíp is on the west bank of the Bhágirathí, it was founded by Lakshman Sen son of Ballál Sen King of Bengal who is said to have left Gaur for Nadíyá owing to the superior sanctity of the Bhágirathí at Nádiyá. The name was called Núdiá until the time of Aurangzeb—

See Raverty op cit 559 note 2.

⁵ Aín-i-Akbarí II, (Jarrett) 148. Tabaqát-i-Násiri, 555.

town who had heard from astrologers¹ the fame of Muhammad Bakhtyar and his great power, fled thence to Kamaran, and property and booty beyond computation fell into the hands of the Muslims, and Muhammad Bakhtyar having destroyed the place of worship and idol temples of the infidels founded Mosques and Monasteries and schools and caused a metropolis to be built called by his own name, which now has the name of Gaur.²

VERSE

There where was heard before the clamour and uproar of heathen

Now therio is heard resounding the shout of "Allaho akbar"

And after having the *kutubah* read and the currency struck in his name,³ having collected a large body of men, under the command of Amir Ali Masiq⁴ (Mich) he attempted to conquer the countries of Tibet and Turkestan and twelve thousand cavalry fully armed and equipped arrived at a city which they call Bardhan⁵ A river

¹ For an account of the birth of Lakhmaniya see *Tibaqat-i-Albars* which relates that in order to delay the birth for two hours his mother caused herself to be suspended head downwards with her legs bound together till the auspicious moment predicted by the astrologers to ensure his reigning for eighty years arrived immediately after delivery of her child the mother died (see also *Raverty Tabaqat-i-Nasir*, p. 655)

² There is no authority for the statement that Gaur was ever knownly the name of Muhammad Bakhtyar Concerning the name Gaur see Hunter Imp. Gaz. Gaur

³ The recitation of the *Azha* or public prayer in the name of the new Sovereign and the issue of coins bearing his name was regarded by Muhammadan nations as constituting actual accession to the throne and the statement is probably incorrect

As to this passage see *Raverty* 659 note 3 See Thomas Pathan Kings of Delhi p. 37 and p. 110 and notes It appears unlikely that Muhammad Bakhtyar issued coins in his own name as he was nothing more than Sipahsalar of the Sultan Muizzuddin Muhammad Sam moreover no such coins are known

⁴ A chief of the tribes of Kunch and Mij called Ali Mij (*Tabaqat-i-Nasir*) tribes between Tibet and Lakhnati

⁵ Regarding this the *Tibaqat-i-Nasir* says that a chief of one of the

here crossed their route called the Brahmaput्र,¹ which they also call Brahmakādi. It is three or four times the size of the Ganges. Sháh Garshasp² when he came to Hindustán built a bridge over that river, and crossed it at Kámrud and went on his way. Muham-mad Bakhtyár crossed by that bridge, and leaving certain of his trusted generals to protect the bridge and command the road, entered the territory of Tibet, and spent ten days among the mountains and difficult roads, and at last arrived at a plain in mountain tribes between Lakhnautí and Tibbat the Kúñch-Mij-and Tihárú who are all of Turkish countenance (چورہ اند همچو ترک) and speak a language differing both from that of India and that of Tibbat, adopted the religion of Islám and agreed to act as guide to Muhammad Bakhtyár whom he conducted to a place where there is a city called Mardhan Koṭ (or Bardhan koṭ) ... in front of which flows a vast river called the Bang Matí and when it enters the country of Hindustán they style it Samundar in the Hindi dialect; in magnitude, width, and depth it is three times the size of the Ganges.

From this point the account differs, the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* says that they journeyed up the river for ten days among the mountains till they came to an old bridge built of hewn stone, &c.

Our text on the other hand states that they crossed the old bridge immediately on reaching the river after which they journeyed for ten days in the mountains, &c.

Bádáoni's statement has more *prima facie* probability, the statements of the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* moreover are somewhat confused and contradictory. Neither author mentions how long the cavalry force took to reach Bardhan.

It seems fairly certain from Bádáoni's account that the city of Bardhan was on the near side of the river and that the crossing of the river was impracticable at that point, how far it was from Kámrud, where Bádáoni says they crossed by the bridge; does not appear.

MS. (A) ابردین Abardín; MS. (B) ابردھن Abardhan.

Tabaqát-i-Násirí says Bardban (Raverty 561 note 8). Calcutta text has مردھن کوٹ.

¹ *Tabaqát* calls this river the Beg-Matí (see Raverty 561 note 1.)

For a full discussion of the identity of the river crossed and the place of crossing see Raverty pp 561-565. The only additional information given by the text is that the bridge was at Kámrud, and it seems not impossible that it may be the bridge of Sil Hako and the river the Brahmaputra though Raverty thinks it was the Teesta.

² See Raverty p. 561 note 9 and *Aín-i-Akkári* III. (Jarrett) 328 note 4.

which was a fort of great strength: the garrison of that fort who were descendants of Gushtasp (that fort too was one of the buildings erected by Gushtasp) came forth to fight, and fought so bravely till nightfall that many men were lost on the side of Muḥammad Bakhtyár. He pitched his camp on that very spot, and coming down received tidings that five farsangs beyond this city there was another city¹ from which 50,000 Turks all warlike and ready for battle would come to the relief of their city. The following day Muḥammad Bakhtyár not thinking it advisable to remain there, and not being able to oppose them, turned back and came to the head of the bridge. Before his arrival the Generals in charge of the road had fought among themselves, and the infidels had broken two arches of that bridge. The army of Muḥammad Bakhtyár had this bridge in front and the infidels kept coming up in their rear, and fought with determined bravery. In that neighbourhood there was an idol temple of great strength.² They passed the night there by some stratagem, and in the morning a ford was found, and a party of men who crossed by the ford found the sand of the river was a sort of quicksand, and the water of the river gradually growing deeper and deeper, the greater part of the soldiers of Muḥammad Bakhtyár were drowned in the ocean of destruction, and the remnant which remained became fuel for the fire of the infidel's sword and attained the exaltation of martyrdom. Muḥammad Bakhtyár, out of many thousand men, arrived at Deo Kot with some three or four hundred only, and fell ill from vexation and was attacked by hectic fever³ and used to say "no doubt Sultan Muḥammad Muizz-ud-Din Sám has met with an accident that fortune has gone so against me." And when weakness took possession of him 'Alí Mardán one of Muḥammad Bakhtyár's greatest generals arrived at Deo Kot from the district of Nárnáli⁴ and finding him

¹ Called Karpattan (*Tabaqd-i-Násir*) see Raverty p. 567 and notes for a full account of Bakhtyar's retreat and disasters.

² See Raverty 570 note 9. regarding the possible locality.

³ I take this to be the meaning of the text منجیر گشت.

⁴ MSS. (A) and (B) نارنلی See Raverty 572, note 7, where he calls this نارنکوی Nárn-Loe.

bedriddein, pulled down the sheet from his face and ruthlessly despatched him with one blow of a dagger. This event happened in the year 602 H. after the death of Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín : and after the death of Sultán Qutbú-d-Dín this same Alí Mardán eventually seized the reins of power by great craft, and promulgating the *kutba* and *sikka* of Lakhnauti in his own name was styled Sultán Aláu-d-Dín, and from the excessive folly and pride and arrogance of his mind sat quietly in Lakhnauti and divided the country of Irán and Túrán among his adherents, and no one dared to say "these dominions are outside the scope of the Sultán's power why do you divide them ?" They say that some unfortunate merchant laid a complaint of poverty before Aláu-d-Dín, who asked "where does this fellow come from ?" They answered "from Isfahán" then he ordered them to write a document to Isfahán which should have the force of an assignment of land to him. The merchant would not accept this document, but the Vazírs did not dare to represent this fact and reported "the ruler of Isfahán, by reason of his travelling expenses and assembling his retinue for the purpose of subjugating that country, is in difficulties." He thereupon ordered them to give a large sum of money far beyond his expectations ; and when his tyranny and oppression exceeded all bounds the Amírs of Khilj consenting together put him to death and raised to the throne Malik Husámu-d-Dín Khiljí who was one of the nobles of Khilj and Garmsír and one of the servants of Muhammad Bakhtyár. The reign of Alí Mardán lasted thirty-two years.²

Another was Malik Husainu-d-Dín³ abovementioned who became possessed of the whole country of Tírhut and Bengálá and Jánagar and Kámrud and gained the title of Sultán Ghayásu-d-Dín, till in the months of the year 622 H., he sent to the Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltimish thirty-eight head of elephants and

¹ Cf. *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí* 578. He would appear to have been the subject of expansive delusions very likely an early symptom of the general paralysis which would have declared itself later had he not been removed.

² Both MSS. have سی و دو سال but as a matter of fact Alí Mardán reigned only two years and some months (see also Raverty 580 note 7.)

³ Maiik Husáinu-d-Dín 'Iwaz.

seventy thousand *tangahs*¹ in cash as a present and acknowledged the Sultan's authority, as will be mentioned, if God (be He exalted) so will it. And in the year 624 H Malik Nasru d Din Muhammed ibn² Sultán Shamsu d Din went from Oudh to Lakhnauti at the instigation of some of the Amirs,³ and Ghíyasu d Din⁴ who at that time had taken an army from Lakhnauti to Kamrud turned back, and fought a severe battle with Malik Nasru d Din and was taken prisoner together with the majority of his generals and was put to death. The duration of his reign was twelve years.⁵ The mention of these few kings of the regions of Hindustan incidentally with the affairs of the Sultans of Delhi was both opportune and necessary, and the affairs of the remaining Muizziyeh kings who attained to the Sultanat of Multan and other kingdoms are mentioned in other places.

SULTÁN ARAM SHÁH IBN QUTBÚ D DÍN ALBARÍ

After his father, succeeded to the throne

In the world no family remains without a master
 If one departs, another takes his place
 This too is the way with this deceitful world
 The father departs, the son's foot is in the stirrup

By the consent of the Amirs he marched from Lahore to Delhi. In the meantime Malik Shamsu d Din Iyaltimish, who was a servant and adopted son, and son in law of Sultan Qutbu-d Din,

¹ *Tangah*. For the value of this see J R A S New Series Vol 1 p 313 also Raverty 584 note 2 Thomas Chr Pathan Kings of Delhi pp 161 and p 49 note

The silver *tangah* weighed 175 grains. There was a coin known as the *kauf* which was $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *tangah* while another coin was introduced under Muhammad Tuglaq known as the *black tangah* which was $\frac{6}{7}$ of the silver *tangah*.

The value of the silver *tangah* was about the same as the rupee. See *Ain-i-Albari* III (Jarrett) 362 note 3

² The text should read میاں شمس الدین MSS A and B

³ Malik Izzu d D n Jaaf See Raverty p 591 note 1

⁴ Ghíyasu d D n Iwaz Husain Khilji

⁵ He was the last of the Muizziyeh Sultans according to the *Tbagat-i-Najat*

⁶ Succeeded his father in 607 H Cf Raverty, 529 note 4 Thomas pp 40

and had tributary relations with Malik Násiru-d-Dín Qabáchá, at the invitation of Sipah Sálár Alí Isma'il, had come from Hárduwár and Badaún to Dehlí and had taken possession of the city and its country. When Arám Sháh arrived in the vicinity of Dehlí Malik Shamsu-d-Dín came out against him in battle array, and Arám Sháh was defeated. The duration of his reign was just a year.¹

²All of us young and old are doomed to die
No one remains in this world lastingly
This is the way of the lofty sky. It holds
In one hand a crown in the other a noose.

62.

SULTÁN SHAMSU-D-DÍN IYALTIMISH³

Called by the title of "Yamín-i-Amír-al-Múminín"
(Right hand of the Commander of the Faithful.)

In the year 607 H. ascended the imperial throne of Dehlí; and the reason of the name Iyaltimish is that his birth occurred on the night of an eclipse of the moon, and the Turks call a child

¹ Minháj-uṣ-Siráj mentions that at Arám's death Hindustán was divided into four principalities. Sind in the possession of Násiru-d-Dín Qabáchah : Dehlí and its subordinate divisions belonged to Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltimish : Lakhnautí was held by the Khilj chiefs 'Alí Mardán having thrown off his allegiance on the death of Qutbu-d-Dín, and Lahore remained a subject of contention between the rulers of Sind, Dehlí and Ghazní. See Thomas' Pathán Kings, p. 40.

² Not in either MS. These verses are from the Shahnámah of Firdausí. (vide Shahnámah, Calcutta Edition, by Turner Macan, 1829, Vol. I. p. 361, line 3, and Vol. I. p. 372, line 6. The editor of the text has apparently quoted these lines from memory or possibly they were in the MSS. from which he prepared the text.

³ In MSS. A and B this word is clearly written ایلتمش This text has القمش

Iyaltimish or Altamish as he is generally called was the first sovereign who reigned in Dehlí with independent power. He received a diploma of investiture from the Khalif of Baghdád [Al-Mustanṣir b-illáh, A. H. 626] a most important recognition to a Muhammedan sovereign and one that is remarkable as being the earliest notice taken by the arrogant court of Baghdád of this new Indo-Muhammedan kingdom. (Thomas, p. 43).

born under these circumstances Iyaltimish.¹ His father was the chief of many of the tribes of Turkestán. His kinsmen under pretence of taking him for a walk took Iyaltimish into a garden and sold him like Joseph to a merchant, from thero he happened to be taken to Bolhárás, and thence in the time of Sultán Muhammad Sám to Ghaznín; and in these days Sultán Qutbú-d-Dín after the conquest of Nahrwáñh and the taking of Gujrát had gone to Ghaznín, and since without permission of Sultán Muhammad Sám no one could purchase Iyaltimish he asked permission from the Sultán to sell him. Sultán Muhammad Sám said that since he had given orders that no one therò should buy that slave they were to take him to Dehli and sell him there. Sultán Qutbú-d-Dín after his return from Ghaznín bought a slave named Ibak, a namesake of his own, and Iyaltimish, at Dehli for 100,000 tangahs: at first he called him Amír Tamghách,² and appointed him to the Amirship of Tabarbindhah,³ and at the time when Sultán Qutbú-d-Dín fought with Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, Ibak his slave tasted the cup of death. At that time he made Iyaltimish an especial favourite, and after the capture of Gwálíár he made him Governor of that place, and subsequently bestowed upon him the rule of Baran⁴ and its environs, and since he began to shew signs of extraordinary hardiness he entrusted the country of Badáún to him, and in the war of Muizza-d-Dín with the Khúkhars (as has been already related), Iyaltimish having got together a huge army from Badáón and the foot of the hills, joined hands with Sultán Muizza-d Dín in the service of Sultán Qutbú-d-Dín, and armed as he was having forced his horse into the river⁵ engaged the enemy bravely several

¹ Concerning the origin of the name see Thomas, p 44, note 1. The note is too long to transcribe here, but briefly it may be said that Mr Redhouse to whom the above text was submitted by Mr. Thomas thinks it probable that owing to errors of transcribers of the Turkish compound word the *J* has become displaced and that the word should really be written ایتلامش *ay-tutulmash* = eclipse of the moon.

This explanation seems most plausible. In Turkí the word التمش *altamsh* means the advanced guard of an army, or the number sixty.

² قاتل. MS A. طغماج MS. B.

³ Tabarbindhah in MS. A is written تبرهندہ.

⁴ Buland shahr, (Thomas). See Hunter Imp. Gaz. (p. 141).

⁵ See Tabaqát-i-Nusuf. It was the river Jhism.

Jalálu-d-Dín Mangburní¹ son of Khwárazm Sháh who having suffered defeat at the hands of Changiz Khán after Táju-d-Din, came to Ghazní and thence from fear of the incursions of Changiz Khán had gone to Lahore with his family and relations; and Sultán Jalálu-d-Dín not being able to withstand him went towards Sindhu and Síwistan and from there by way of Kuch and Makrán arrived at Kirmán and Iráq.²

And in the year 622 H.³ Sultán Shamsu-d-Din, took an army towards Behár and Lakhnauti and brought Sultán Ghiyázu-d-Dín Khilji, who has been before mentioned, into obedience, and having accepted the present above mentioned,⁴ established the khúba and silka in his own name⁵ and having given his elder son the title of Sultán Násiru-d-Dín Mahmúd⁶ made him his heir, and having made over that country to him returned to the metropolis of Delhi. Eventually Malik Násiru-d-Dín Mahmúd having fought with Ghiyázu-d-Din on the confines of Lakhnauti got the upper hand, and having taken him prisoner put him to death, and great booty fell into his hands which he divided into portions and sent it as rewards⁷ to each of the nobles of Dehli. 65.

¹ So called because of a mole which he had on his nose (Raverty 285, note 3). He was the last of the Kharazm Sháh dynasty. He is said to have turned devotee and to have lived till 688 II (Raverty 290, note). There is some question as to the orthography of this name Thomas p 90, note 1, judging from inscriptions on his coins calls him Mankbaran, as he considers the final letter to be و not ئ. The etymology given above is probably correct as the word مینگ (meng) in Turki means grain de beauté while بورز means "nez" (Dict. Turk. Orientale Pavet de Courteille) the word originally being میگبوز میگبوز would in Persian have become altered in pronunciation to مگبوز and with the addition of the ya i nisbat مکبوزی Mangburuni.

² For a full reference to the bibliography of this expedition, see Elliott II. 549. See also Ata-i-Akbari, Vol. II. Jarrett 343, and notes. D'Herbelot art. Golaleddin, Vol. II. p. 87.

³ Mistake in text ٤٢٢ where ٤٢٢ H. is in figures.

⁴ "Thirty elephants and eighty laks of treasure." (Zibaqdt + Nasir.)

⁵ See Thomas' Pathán Kings, p 46 It is not said here what kind of coinage—Thomas puts the year 626 A.H. as the first of the silver coinage.

⁶ مهند MS. (A)

⁷ The word ملک in MS. A is omitted in the text after the word دادی. MS. A continues after the word قوستاد as follows — و سلطان شمس الدین در میان ثابت و عشیرین و ستمائی سپاهی گران

¹ It is well known that a poet named Nájirí arrived in that country from Dehli in the service of Hazrat Khwája Qutbú-d-Dín Ustí² may God sanctify him and said I have composed a Qaṣida in praise of Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín. Read the Fátihá that I may get the accustomed reward." They read the Fátihá and he having been admitted to the Sultan's presence read this *Maqṣat*.

Oh thou from dread of whom sedition has sought refuge,
Whose sword has sought from the infidels property and
elephants.

The Sultán by the mere reading of that *maqṣat* learnt it by heart and repeated it, and when the poem was finished he asked How many couplets does this Qaṣida contain? The answer was fifty and three. He thereupon ordered them to give him fifty-three thousand white tangahs.³] Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín in [the year] 623 H. made an attack upon Ranthambhúr⁴ and having brought an army thither reduced that fortress, and in the year 624 H. having

بعزیمت تسبیح قلعه سندور نامزد ساخته ان قلعه را با کوه سوالک در حیز مضبط اورد و بدھلی مراجعت فرمود و هم درین سال امیر روحانی که از افضل ان روزگار بود و در حادثه چنگرخان از انجبا بدھلی اعد و در تهذیت این فتوحات
قصائد غرّاً گفته از آنیمه اینست قصيدة

و سلطان شمس الدین ... عزیمت و نیتور نمود MS. (B) reads as follows
رسکریان طرف بوده از قلعه را مستفتح گردانید و در سنّه اربع و عشرين
و ستماهی سپاهی گران بعزیمت تسبیح قلعه سندور نامزد ساخته ...

I do not know what MS. the Maulaví Ahmad Alí used for his edition, but it cannot have been either of the MSS. to which I have access.

1 The words in [] brackets are not found in either MS. I have consulted.

2 A famous saint known as Kákí from the "Kák" or Cakes which were supplied by the prophet Kliizr for the sustenance of his family for whom his devotions left him no leisure to make provision. See *Ain-i-Akbari* II. (Jarrett) 303, note 2. He died A.H. 634, and is buried in Dehli. See also Rayerty p. 621, note 6, third para. [*Ain-i-Akbari* II. (Jarrett) 279.]

3 The silver tangah piece of 175 grains.

4 A figure of this fortress is given in Tieffenthaler Vol. I. facing p 320, plato xx. He describes it as a fortress so situated at the head of a narrow gorge that it can be held by "une poignée de soldats" having a spring of water arising from the rocks and forming a stream which runs down

detailed a large army to attack and capture the fort of Mandú,¹ brought that fort together with the Siwálik hills into the circle of his conquest and returned to Dehli, and in this same year Amir Rúhání² who was one of the most learned men of that time came to Dehli from Bubhárá in the affair of Changíz Khán, and wrote several brilliant odes of congratulation upon these victories, of which the following verses are an extract.

The faithful Gabriel carried the tidings to the dwellers in heaven,

From the record of victories of the Sultán of the age
Shamsu-d-Din,

Saying—Oh ye holy angels raise upon the heavens,
Hearing this good tidings, the ³ canopy of adorment.

That from the land of the heretics the Shahansháh of Islam

Has conquered a second time the fort resembling the sky ;
The Sháh, holy warrior and Gházi, whose hand and sword
The soul of the lion of repeated attacks ⁴ praises.

And there are also other many charming poems attributed to him, of which the following ode is one :—

From the tongue of the pen my own story I tell in the words of the pen

to Scherpour two miles distant (This place is not marked on Rennell's map). Besides this there are cisterns hewn out of the rocks in the fort to collect the rain water. It is entered by four gates approached by steps cut in the rocks.

¹ Or Mandawar (*Tabaqat-i-Nasir*, p. 611, note 3, Mandwar MS. (A)

See Rennell's map. Monorpour Long. 77 Lat. 27. This fortress answers apparently to the situation of Mandú or Mandawar. Tieffenthaler I. 323, mentions "Manoarpur ville de marque avec une forteresse a 15 milles Nord de Djépon". This is probably the fort here called Mandú.

² Hakím Abu Bakr ibn Muhamad Ali Samargands.

³ MS. (A) we have instead of كله مظیق as in the text, the words كله نزیق which appears a better reading, "the canopy of adorment," I have preferred it.

MS. (B) has كله برقین which is evidently a copyist's error for كله نزیق

⁴ حیدر کوار is a name of علی 'Ali who is called Asad 'Ullah or by the Persians Shfr-i-Khudá, The lion of God.

On the page of my life, though the writing of grief has
 been traced by the pen
 Since I lived in this world with the pen all my days have
 been black as the pen
 And swift as I write my account, so fierce is the point of
 the pen
 That like to my own gentle voice is the sharp loud lament
 of the pen.
 Although in the midst of my loss I reap always rewards
 from the pen,
 Still no one will mention my state to my Lord save the
 tongue of the pen.
 'Tis from Khwája Mansúr bin Sa'íd thrives the market of
 test of the pen
 That great one whose words load the burden of truth on
 the van of the pen.
 He has mounted his beautiful thoughts on the steed of his
 swift running pen.¹
 In the road of just ruling he gallops, light holding the rein
 of the pen.
 His skill hand in hand with his wisdom reveals hidden
 arts of the pen.

And in the year 626 H. Arab Ambassadors came from Egypt²
 bringing for him a robe of honour and titles, and out of joy at this
 they built triumphal arches in the city and held banquets. And in
 this same year the tidings arrived of the death of his son Sultán
 67. Násiru-d-Dín, Governor of Lakhnauti, and the Sultán, after com-
 pleting the duties of mourning, gave his name (*i.e.*, Násiru-d-Dín)
 to his younger son after whom the Tabaqát-i-Násiri is named. In
 the year 627 H., he proceeded against Lakhnautí and quieted the
 disturbances of those regions, and after entrusting the govern-
 ment of that place to Izzu-l-Mulk Malik 'Aláu-d-Dín Kháfi³
 returned to the capital and in the year 629 H. reduced the fortress
 of Gwálíar. Málík Táju-d-Dín the Secretary of State, wrote the

¹ خود بنان را سوار کرده بود (A).

² This must have been from Baghdád from the Khalifah Al Mustansir b-illah. See Raverty 616, note 2.

³ MS. (A). عال الدین خافی MS. (B). عال الدین as in the text. Tabaqát-i-Násiri reads Aláu-d-Dín Jání. See p. 618, notes.

following quatrain upon the taking of that fort, and they engraved it upon stone —

Every fort which the king of kings conquered
He conquered by the help of God and the aid of the faith
That fortress of Kalewar and that strong castle
He took in the year six hundred and thury¹

It is apparently the date of the siege which accounts for the difference of one year. And in the year 631 H² having made an incursion in the direction of the province of Malwah and taken Bhilsa³ and also captured the city of Ujjain,⁴ and having destroyed the idol temple of Ujain which had been built six hundred years previously, and was called Mahakal, he levelled it to its foundations, and threw down the image of Rai Vikramaditya from whom the Hindus reckon their era⁵ (the author of this selection, by the order of the Khalifa of the time, the Emperor, the Shadow of the Deity, in the year 972 H and again anew in the year 1003 H⁶ with the assistance of Hindu pundits translated 32 stories about him which are a wonder of relation and strange circumstance, from the Hindu into the Persian tongue and called it Nama-i-Khirad Afza —) and brought certain other images of cast molten brass placed them on the ground in front of the door of the mosque of old Dehli⁷ and ordered the people to trample them underfoot and a second time he brought an army against Multan,⁸ this expedition was in every way unfortunate

¹ 26th of the month Ŝafar 630, A H (*Tabaqat-i-Nasirî*), 1232, A D

² 632 H (*Tabaqat-i-Nasirî*) p. 621, note 6

³ Bhilsa on the Betwa is a place of Hindu pilgrimage, in its neighbourhood are many interesting Buddhist topes

⁴ Ujjain on the Sipra, was in ancient times the capital of Malwa, and the spot which marked the 1st meridian of Hindu geographers. It was the city of Vikramaditya. See Hunter, Imp. Gaz., and Lieff. Vol I p. 346

⁵ An-i-Albari (Jarrett) II 15, notes 2, 3 Alberuni, (Sachau) II 5, 6 The Sunvat era commencing from 57 B C

⁶ 1564 A.D. and 1594 A.D. Al Badaoni died according to the *Tabaqat-i-Shah Jahân* in the year 1024, A H (1615 A.D.) I can find no mention of the Nama-i-Khirad Afza, and can offer no suggestion as to what this work was a translation of, possibly it was of one of Kalidasa's poems می و دو (A) نلت و الف می و دو (B) The text (C) agrees with MS (B)

⁷ See Imp. Gaz. art. Dehli

⁸ See Raverty 623, note 8, who holds that this should read بیان Banian. Both MSS (A and B) have ملک as also has Firishta

for him, and a very severe bodily illness afflicted him, he so returned and came to Dehli, and in the year 633 H, (1235 A.D.) left this lodging house of the world for the eternal mansions of the next world. The duration of his sultanate was twenty-six years.

Verse.

For this reason this heart-entralling palace became cold.
Because when you have warmed the place, they say to you
Rise¹

And the prince of poets² (*on him be mercy*) says:—

³ [In all Hindustán you saw the dust of the troops of Iyaltimish]

Look now drink your wine, others walk in his plain]
It is the same Dehlí one would say, yet where is his victorious canopy?

It is the same kingdom at all events, where has that royal dignity of his gone?

The earth is a house of mourning, and mourns too for its own sake

At the time of the birth of that child whom they see weeping.

It is a well known story that Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín was a man of a cold temperament, and once upon a time he desired to consort with a pretty and comely girl, but found that he had not the power. The same thing happened several times: one day the girl was pouring some oil on the head of the Sultán and shed some tears upon the Sultán's head. He raised his head and asked the cause of her weeping, after a great deal of hesitation she answered: I had once a brother who was bald like you and that reminded me of him, and I wept. When he had heard the story of his being imprisoned it became evident that she was the own sister of the

¹ Nizámí.

² Mír Khusrú Dehlaví. A few translated selections from the works of this poet will be found in Elliott, Vol. iii. p. 523, and a notice of the poet historian at p. 67 of the same volume. His full name was Yamínu-d-Dín Muḥammad Ḥasan, he is said to have left behind him some half million of verses. He was born in 651 A.H. (1253 A.D.) and died in 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) but according to the *Atash Kada* his death occurred A.H. 752 (A.D. 1351).

³ Not in MS. (A.).

Sultān, and that God be he glorified and exalted had preserved him from this incestuous intercourse. The writer of these pages⁶⁹ heard this story from the lips of the Khalifah of the world, I mean Akbar Shah may God make Paradise his Kingdom in Fathpur and also in Lahore, one evening when he had summoned him into the private apartments of the capital and had conversed with him on certain topics, he said, I heard this story from Sultān Ghīyāṣ-d-Dīn Balban and they said that when the Sultān wished to have connection with that girl her catamenia used to come on [and this occurrence was at the time of writing].¹

Sirr-i-Rukn-e-Dīn Firoz Sain ibn Shams-e-Dīn

Who in his father's time had several times been in charge of the districts of Budāon, and afterwards had received the canopy and staff of authority, and while holding the country of Lahore was his heir-apparent, succeeded to the throne by consent of the authorities in the aforesaid year,² and Malik Tāju-d-Dīn his secretary³ wrote this congratulatory ode in honour of his accession —

All hail to the everlasting kingdom,
Above all to the king, in his heyday of youth,
Yaminu-d-Daulat Ruknu-d-Dīn
Whose door became like the Rukn-i-Yamān⁴ from its auspiciousness

When he ascended the throne, he opened the doors of the treasury, and gave full scope to his taste for rioting and wantonness and indolence and sloth, and used to spend his precious hours in the company of prostitutes and vagabonds.

When thy heart inclines towards the wine shop
Except the tavern keeper⁵ and the musician who will praise thee.

¹ The words in brackets are not found in either MS. (A) or (B).

² 633 A.H.

³ MS. (A) omits *و* before *رکن*.

⁴ The south corner of the Ka'ba, a spot of special veneration to pilgrims. Barton's pilgrimage to El Medina and Mecca, III, 182. Hughes Dict. of Islam, 518. See also Muir's Life of Mahomet, II. 30, note.

⁵ مکان text MS. (A)

And his mother Turkān Khātūn,¹ who was a Turkish slave girl, having gained absolute power, used to vex the other concubines of the Sultān against whom her envious heart burned, in various ways, and put to death Qutbū-d-Dīn the eldest son of the Sultān by another concubine. The treasury became empty, and 0. Malik Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh the younger brother of the Sultān, who was ruler of Oudh, refusing to acknowledge his authority revolted against him, and Malik Izzu-d-Dīn² and Kabīr Khān Sultānī governor of Multān, and Malik Saifu-d-Dīn feudatory of Hānsī, entering into correspondence with one another raised the standard of opposition. Sultān Ruknu-d-Dīn Firoz Shāh had arrived in the neighbourhood of Mausūrpūr and Tarāyan with the intention of quelling this disturbance, and before this occurrence Nizāmu-l-Mulk Junaidī the Wazīr and Agent of the territory of Hindustān, fearing the Sultān had fled to Kilūgharī³ and had gone in the direction of Kol and joined hands with Malik Izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sālārī; and other trusty Amīrs who had remained in the army having fled from the vicinity of Mausūrpūr went to Dehli and having sworn⁴ fealty to Razziyah Khātūn who was the eldest daughter of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn, and his heir apparent according to her father's will, and a woman endowed with excellent qualities, brave, generous, and intelligent, raised her to the throne and imprisoned Turkān Khātūn. When the Sultān having returned from the army, arrived at Kilūkhari, the troops of Sultān Razziyah went out to meet him, and having seized him without fighting imprisoned him, and he died in prison.⁵ The duration of his reign was six months and a fraction.

¹ Shāh Turkān, styled Khudāwanda-i-Jahān.

² The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says, "Malik Izzu-d-Dīn, Muḥammad Sālārī who was the feudatory of Budāun broke out into rebellion: and in another direction Malik Izzu-d-Dīn Kabīr Khān Ayāz feoffee of Multān, Malik Saifu-d-Dīn Kūjī feudatory of Hānsī, and Malik Alāu-d-Dīn Jānī who held the fief of Lahor united together" and revolted. Raverty, pp. 633, 634.

³ Kilūkhari, a suburb of Dehli.

⁴ MS. (A) بُرْغِيَّةٌ خَاتُون (Burghiyat al-Khatun).

⁵ In the year 634 H., 18th of Rabī'u-l-Awwal.

His death was probably due to violence, occurring as it did according to Minhāju-s-Siraj on the day of his seizure and imprisonment. See Raverty, p. 636, note 4.

Do not set thy heart upon the world, for it is a stranger
Like the singer who is every day in a new house

Among the poets of that age [and the master of that time]¹
of Ruknud Din was Shihab Muhamra Budaoni² as Mir Khusru³
on him be mercy says in one of his opening odes

In Budaon Muhamra rises intoxicated from sleep
If there comes forth from this melody the sound of the
birds of Dehli

And Malikul Kalam Fakhru l Mulk 'Amid Tuliki⁴ mentions
him as a master⁵ and since the speech of the modern (poets) after
the appearance of the cavalcade of the Prince of poets has be
come like the stars at the time of the raising of the banner of
the glorious sun, and like the seven poems⁶ at the time of the
descent of the inspired revelation upon the best of men, and the

I [] not in MS 'A)

² The name is wrongly given in MS (A) MS (B) and the text The real
name of this poet is Shihabud Din ibn Jamalu d Din Mutmara (شہب الدین موتمنرا)
He was known as Shihab ul Mutmara The verse here quoted should be as
follows

در صفا ران مست در حیزد شہاب صنمہ
شہزاد گر نعمت مرعان دہلی دن دوا

In Madaran Shahab ul Mutmara rises intoxicated

If he hear the sound of the singing of the birds of Dehli in this
melody

Vide Majma ul Fusaha Vol I page 304

³ Mir Khusru the celebrated poet born at Patula 651 A H Died 725 A H.
the author of 99 poetical works (Beale) (Majma ul Fusaha) see note 4 page 68

⁴ MS (A) لوعکی Luyaki We should read 'Amid Lumaki Fakhru l Mulk
Khwaja 'Amidul Din commonly known as 'Amid Daulami the panegyrist of
Sultan Muhammad Yamin said by some to have been a native of Gilan,
called also 'Amid Lumaki Majma ul Fusaha I 353

⁵ MS (A) وجوب

⁶ The السَّابِعَاتُ سبع السَّابِعَاتُ or seven poems The well known poems of the
Jahiliyat or pre Islamic age

See Introduction to Ancient Arabian Poetry by C J Lyall pp xxxiii (Effect
of al Islam on the old Poetry) and xliv (The Muallaqat)

See also Nöldeke (Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araben,
pp xvii and seq

See also Arabian Poetry (Clouston) pp xxxi and seq

Lord of the world *on him be peace*, remains concealed as by a curtain—men speak and write less concerning them, nay more they do not even possess them—accordingly in harmony with the saying, *The first comer has the best of it*, I have thought it incumbent upon me to include a few odes from that eminent author as a benediction and blessing, in this composition of mine, and to leave a memorial for his friends, and to establish my own connection with the master, and to display upon the däis of evidence the excellencies of that doughty knight of the arena of eloquence, and more especially to fulfil the demands of fellow-citizenship. The master poet Shihâb¹ Muhamra [Badûoni] then says as follows :—

I am Alif in the table of existence and of no value as a sign.²

My existence depends upon the duration of the existence of others, my own existence is transitory.

I stand at the end of the row³ in the hope of obtaining a better position, having rested from all movement with the attributes of insignificance.

I have not the attributes of Alif for Alif has no crookedness.⁴
All my writing has become crooked on the page of desire.

There is the song of the nightingale, the rose is happy; while
I am careless like the lily.⁵

¹ See note 5, page 70.

² Alif stands for 1, in the numerical value of letters, and is looked upon as having no intrinsic value, but merely serving as the starting place or origin for other numbers.

In its literal value also it is ساکن بالذات that is, it has no capability of being pronounced till it is compounded with some other sign such as *hamza*.

³ Alif must stand at the end either of a word as in بَاقِي *baqî*, or a syllable as in قَامَت *qâmat*. The Alif at the commencement has a *hamza*.

⁴ MSS. (A), (B) كُرثى ندارن

⁵ The lily is said by the poets not to be affected by the song of the nightingale and to remain speechless, cf. Hâfiż.

حیفست بلبلی چو من اندر چنین چمن

با این لسان عذب که خامش چو سو سنم

Pity it is that such a nightingale as I living in such a garden and having so sweet a tongue should be silent as the lily.

Like Alif I have no tongue, what have I to do with ten tongues¹ ?

Since I can seize it² while thus at rest, Why should I pursue?

Since I cannot see openly how can I follow a hidden path?

By stratagem, I can recognize no distinction between earth and heaven, although I am like the heaven in my whirling, and like the earth stationary

I am not like water in freshness, nor like fire in sublimity, nor like the wind in sweetness, nor like the earth in heaviness

¹ The ten tongues of the lily are of frequent mention in Persian poetry, cf. Hafiz

سنان موسن اگر ده زبان شود حافظ
چو علیجه بیش تو اش مهر بردهش ناشد

Were Hafiz like the lily endowed with ten tongues
His lips in thy presence would remain sealed like the lips of the rosebud,
also

زسر و قاعده است بخشید — م آزاد
همه تن گر زبان ناشم چو موسن

I sit alone utterly heedless of thy cypress like form
Even though like the lily my body were cleft into tongues

The lily *Susan* is of four varieties The white variety is called *Susan-i-dzad*, see *Burhan-i-qati* s.v. موسن, according to the *Bahru-l-jauahir* its properties are those of heat and dryness and it is useful in the headaches of fever

The *Makhranu-l-adwiya* states that the word *Susan* is an Arabicised form of the Syrian *Susani*. The article may be consulted for further information regarding the varieties and properties of these lilies. The linear leaves of the lily are compared to tongues

² MS (B) چون گیرم MS (A) چون گیرم

The text should read —

چون گیرم آرمیده چه روم پسی دورده
چونه سیسم اشکارا چه دوم راه نهانی
ملک او رسین لحیلت نشامیم ارجه شستم
چو ملک لحیره گردی چو زمینی ندا روانی

- [2.] I am not made out of these four elements.¹ I am composed of the effluvia of the kennel. The refuse of the sewer water has boasted of piety.²
- My wisdom, as though incarnate, seems to have taken to praise my faults; my avarice,³ huge as a mountain, has girded its loins for taking presents.
- I am become fixed in the way of avarice, not a sign of truth remains in me. The oppression of my vices has overwhelmed the mercies of the Sacred Book.
- My greediness has so deceived me that the five sensual appetites have taken away from my heart with disgrace the blessings of the readings⁴ of the 'ashars.
- My inner nature as well as my body is devoid of meditation and recollection. My eye like my ear is inclined to the singing women and their songs.
- I desire brilliant speeches to fall from my tongue which is like a well-tempered sword. My pen has made me bent like a sickle⁵ in the pursuit of my daily bread.
- My speech has failed me because its glory was in the relation of this story. Yes! all this loss of honour was owing to inordinate desire for bread.
- I am that mean one, less than the least, who am not worth a groat,⁶ if you think me worth a barleycorn, you will not buy me for nothing.

¹ For the constitution and properties of the four elements, see *Sadīdī*, (Asiatic Lithographic Press, Edition 1244 A. H., page 7.) بجهت الار کان *Bahqu-l-Ārkān*, two of the four are light and two of them are heavy. Fire is absolutely light, air is relatively light. Earth is absolutely heavy while water is relatively heavy..... The three kingdoms (animal, vegetable and mineral) are composed of an admixture of these four elements.

² MSS. (A) (B) نہ ازین چہار طبعم ز بخار پار گینڈم فضلاٹ پار گینی ز دھ لاف پار گانی

³ MS. (A) طمعم

⁴ The reading of the Qur'ān, which is divided into portions called 'ashars consisting of ten Āyat.

⁵ The دھر ھ a bill-hook or reaping hook, is curved like a sickle and very sharp. It is also called داس *dās*, (*Burhān-i-Qāti'*.)

⁶ MS. (A) بجهة نیززم

Oh Shihab it is strange that you in this road of kingly affairs
are neither the Amir of the Eight Squares¹ nor the Knight
of the Seven Places²

You are not an angel, nor are you a devil, from what workshop
are you? You are not a sojourner nor yet a traveller,
from what court are you?

Your heart and intellect are careless of the tortures of the
grave, you have dressed yourself in Gurkhanī silk³

You have become utterly regardless from lust owing to desire 73
for license, from urgent desire, by means of false accusation
you have planted the foot of success

Sorrow for the tulip cheeked beloved has shut fast the door of
your wisdom The vein of your eye has shed blood from
desire for the cup of red wine

You are corrupt like the wind, you stand paralysed like the earth
You are a pearl of transitory existence a shell empty mouthed

With breath like the burning lightning you are the enchanter
of bad and good with heart like a flint, you are the
whetstone of dry and moist

Naturally with desire you revolve like the sky in its figure-
designing, from your youth hastening with greed, you are
like a child in weakness

You carry the sorrow of the seven (heavens) and the four
(elements) in your heart, and every moment from pride you
are put to a hundred thousand devices in the performance
of one genuflection

You are as coarse as the earth, and yet your speech is always
of the moon in the heavens, you will not reach⁴ the dignity
of a king from the station of a doorkeeper

¹ The Wazir at chess

The Wazir having a straight move can be placed on all the squares which shows the great honour and advantage attached to rectitude of conduct
Bland On the Persian game of chess J R A S XIII p 11

² The seven labours of Isfandiyar, see the *Shah Nama* (Turner Macan)
Vol II pp 1126 and seqq

³ Gurkha, the hereditary title of the kings of the Kara Khans, the meaning of the title being universal king It must not be confounded with the title of Gurkan which was a Mongol title bestowed upon all who were allied by marriage with the house of Chingiz Khan

See *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* Eltas and Ross p 278 note

⁴ MS. A دروسی I prefer دروسی as in the text

You yourself owing to frivolity have not attained even for a moment, freeing yourself from the imperfections of the world, to the religious duties at stated times.

From the advice of the holy men may you be informed at least once, that in these two worlds at any rate¹ you are famous for creating dissensions.

Perversity springs from your heart as pride springs from foolishness. Evil arises from your body as rashness does from youth.

You are the moisture of the gullet of hypocrisy, the blast of the forge of tyranny, you are the flower of the garden of inordinate desire, and the mud which befouls the reservoir of the soul.

When present you melt the soul, perchance you spring from the heat of Tamūz²; in your ode you scatter snow³ perchance you are of the breath of autumn.

You like a child seek throughout your life after vain images; from your fancifulness the sorrows of time have made you old in your youth.

Poetry is but a desire, and its metre is like the mirage which is void of water. This breath of life is grief to me, but its savour is better than the water of life.

When your desire becomes collected that fancy becomes enjoyment, when your breathing is harmonious, it becomes a scatterer of pearls.

How long this desire of the imagination? make one breath pearl-scattering in praise of that man whose equal wisdom has not seen even from the beginning.

¹ MS. (A) باری.

² Tamūz. The fourth month of the Jewish year originally sacred to the god Tammūz; see Ezekiel viii. 14 "and behold there sat women weeping for Tammūz," Tammūz was a deity of the Phœnicians called by the Greeks and Romans Adonis. The word signifies "dissolution" or "diffusion" see Gesenius s. v. תָּמֹׂעֵז. See also Albiruni's Chronology, (Sachan) pp. 68-82. Tammūz was coincident with the sun's position in Cancer which is called the horoscope of the world because by its creation the creation of the four elements became complete, and by their becoming complete all growth became complete (Albiruni). Corresponds to our July, the hottest month of the Persian summer.

³ When any one's speech is not considered pleasing the Persians say of him كلامش یخ است. Kalāmash *yakh ast*. His speech is ice.

The King of the throne of "Kun"¹ is Muhammad who pitched the tent of dignity by the side of the door of the Protector (God) from the house of Ummahāni.²

He was a mortal of angelic beauty, a sky with the lowness of earth. Like the sky he was pure in body, like the Angels he was pure in soul.

He was a pearl whose place was in the treasury of God, and he was a moon whose brightness shone forth from the sky of eternity.

He was such a pearl that nothing of more value than his nature was ever produced by the medium of the elements from the sea of heaven.

He was such a moon that in every early morning the face of the star of Yaman became black as coal³ from shame at his cornelian-like lips.

So sweet tongued a prophet that the salvation of his disciples comes by faith in his words,⁴ from the eloquence of his utterances.

So eloquent in pearl-like speech that the beauty of his utterance makes the heart's blood like the hidden wealth of the mine, a royal treasure.

The brightness of the eastern sun is shamed by the beauty of his face, and the stature of the cypress of the garden is bowed before the perfect uprightness of his form.

75.

¹ In the technical language of Sūfi philosophy كن *Kun* is called عالم 'ālam-i-amr the world of the order, or potentiality. فکان *fakān* called عالم خلق 'ālam-i-khalq the world of creation, or the material world.

² Ummahāni, daughter of Abu Tālib, the uncle of Muhammad, and sister 'Ali. The reference is to the nocturnal journey of Muhammad called معراج *mi'rāj* (the ascent) which took place from the house of Ummahāni.

When Muhammad awoke from his Vision in which he seemed to have prayed the temple of Jerusalem, Ummahāni attempted to prevent him from going out of the house and telling the Vision to others, thus exposing himself to mockery from unbelievers See Muir *Life of Muhammad* II 220.

³ MS. (A) (B) میاہ گشتی *چو شبہ میاہ گشتی*. The text as it stands is meaningless.

⁴ MS. (A) بعیده زبانش *بُعْدِيَّة زبانش* which is evidently wrong for two reasons. Firstly, because of the sense of the passage, and secondly, the تجنيس *تجنيس* between بعیده *Bu'ideh* and عقبیله *Qubileh*:

By his accountantship he has adopted the way of absolute monarchy ; and by his eloquence he has opened the door of auspicious government.

The attraction of secret desire, by revelation has drawn him from the expanse of the natural world to the ocean of spiritual existence.

By the good tidings of his friend, his heart became intoxicated with the hope of a meeting. The son of Abū Qahāfah¹ has drunk from the cup of his friendship.

His speeches have founded a fortress² for the decrees of God.³ ‘Umar by his justice became the builder of it, by right government.

One, third in order,⁴ has placed the footstep in this way, whose path to the enjoyment of this world was not obstructed by pride.

His fourth pillar was ‘Alī⁵ who at the time of battle made the face of the sun pale from the glitter of his sword.

Oh, King ! I entreat you by your friends deliver me during the whole of my life⁶ by your aid from the calamity of foolish friends.

He who demanded from me⁷ this Qasīda, may his life like my Qasīda be ornamented with the jewels of meaning —

¹ Abū Bakr, whose original name was Abdul Ka‘bah Ibn Abī Qahāfah. He was the companion of Muḥammad in his flight to Medīna.

² بُرْجٌ. A frontier fortress. The same word is used in more recent times to signify a traveller's rest house or caravansarāi.

³ قضای حق را فضای حق را MS. (B). If we read بُرْجٌ we must translate "for the expanse of the truth he has founded a rampart."

⁴ عثمان، ‘Uṣmān the third Khalifa, who was rich and thus able to enjoy مَنَعَ إِنْ جَاهَنِي the good things of this life.

⁵ ذُلْفَقَارٌ عَلَى إِنْكَهْ شَدَ كَيْدَنَ MS. (A). ‘Alī the fourth Khalif whose sword Zū-l-jīqār. (See note 2 page 74), was brought by Gabriel to Muḥammad from heaven, and by him given to ‘Alī.

⁶ Text همه همروار هانی MS. (A) reads همه عمر وارهانی and MS. (B) نمر وارهانی both of which are wrong. Only the first half of the Qasīda is given in the *Majma‘ul Fusāḥā*.

⁷ Text زَمْنَ إِنْكَهْ MSS. (A) (B) have من نه.

The following Qasida also he wrote, imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing the words "hair" and "ant," in a declaration of the unity of God and in praise of the Prophet, *may the peace of God be upon him*

Although with my tongue, I split hairs at the time of discourse, still in the praise of God, by reason of amazement, I am dumb as the ant. 76

¹ And in the pursuit of the fairy-faced ones with chainlike locks, through desire often have I bound fast, like the ant, my life to my waist with my heart.

And for the sake of the ant-eyed and sugar lipped ones, in my fancy I have boiled the hair of speech a hundred ways by way of trial

That I might have a store like the ant,² in his praise I have cleft the hair into halves, and have not received one jot from any one in recognition

Henceforth, like the ant, I will gird my loins at the door of the Incomparable one, and from the root of each hair,³ with a hundred tongues will I proclaim his gracious aid

How can I open my lips, I that am voiceless as an ant and a fish Nay rather will I make each hair a tongue to scatter pearls.

With this ant like writing and these sugar like words,⁴ by means of poetical arrangement I will split the hair in the declaration of the unity of God the discerner of secrets

That God to whose workmanship each several hair bears witness, and all that exists, ant and fish and snake, wild beasts and birds, men and genii⁵

He who alone is self existent, and is not within the bounds of computation, from whose wisdom⁶ in both worlds nothing is hidden, neither the track of the ant nor the point of the hair

¹ MS (A) وردي

² MS (A) جو موري

³ MS (A) وردن هر مو نت رو بيش

⁴ MS (A) لحظي چون شکرار

⁵ Insert in text after وحش MSS (A) (B)

⁶ MS (A) بيس ار عالمش

If, though as a single hair, His favour is shed upon the egg of an ant, from it there will issue in a single moment a hundred Jamshids, each one like a hundred Jamshids.

If, though as a single hair, he lets fall his wrath upon an elephant, the elephant will experience that which the cub of the raging lion suffers from the ant.¹

The intellect herein cannot understand, even by a hair's breadth, the reason why the offspring of the powerful lion should become the prey of the powerless ant.

In his decree there is not the space of a hair's point open to criticism, even though he should give the kingdom of a Solomon to an ant without recompense.²

By his decree, the shape of the ant and the lion are similar, and by his art the colour of hair and bone are opposites.

By his grace it is that every hair has knowledge of him, and from his equity it comes to pass that there is a ³ guardian over every ant, that ³dust in the palm is endowed with chemical properties, and water in the sea becomes converted into pearl; ⁴ that the ant appears to the eye as a dragon, and a hair of the limbs as a spear.⁵

¹ It is said that the ants attack the newly born lion cub as yet unprotected by hair and kill it. The Arabs call the ant أبو مشغول Father Busy and أم نبودة Mother Turnabout, and have some curious legends about them and regard them with somewhat of superstitious awe. They say that to see in a dream ants entering a house betokens prosperity to its owner, while to see ants crawling on the carpet betokens prolific offspring. The appearance of flying ants in a house where there is a sick person betokens his death, and on no account, they say, should ants be permitted to crawl over any one lying sick (*Haiātu-l-Haiwā*). They say also that the ant has no stomach, and that it lives upon the air it breathes, and that it never sleeps.

² See Qur'ān, xxvii. 15-20.

³ MS. (A) مَدْ

⁴ قَطْرَاتُ نَيْسَانٍ *Qatrāt-i-Naisān*. The drops of rain falling in the month of Naisān are said when received into the shell of the oyster to become converted into pearls (*Ghīyāṣu-l-lughāṭ*). Naisān (*Burhān-i-Qūṭi*) or Nisān was the first month of the Jewish year corresponding to the month of April, see Exodus xii. 2, xiii. 4; Albirūnī, Chronology (Sachau) 62, and seqq.

⁵ MS. (A) صور در چشم از دهها و میوی بر اعضا سنان

Oh Thou by whose power hair and blood and bone take shape,

Oh Thou¹ who art surely for the daily supply of food to bird and ant and snake and fish.

In the body of every ant there is an exact account of thy equity, on the point of each hair there is a boundless praise of thy bounty

The eye of thy mercy provides² sustenance for every ant and locust. The hand of thy favour tints the hair of all both old and young

The pen of thy skill shows³ that of which a manifest sign is shewn on the body of every ant, and appears on the end of every hair.

The mole on the cheek of the brides appear like spots on a mirror

The hair on the face of kings appears like ants upon the Arghawan⁴

By thy order it is that the stomachless ant is hungry in the way.

By this bounty it is that the motionless hair upon the body is satisfied.

¹ MS (A) وَيَ

² MS (A) عَيْنَ فَصْلَتْ بَأْيَ مُرَدْ پایی مرد The reading in the text پایی مرد is preferable

³ MSS (A) (B) صَعْتْ نَهَيَدْ سَلَخْ

⁴ The Arghawan, or (Arabie) Arjanwan is according to the *Makkanu-l-Adiya*, a tree which grows in Persia, bearing a brilliantly red flower of beautiful hue but slight odour, having a sweetish taste. It is used as a dessert by the Persians by whom it is regarded as an exhilarant, and as clearing the voice. Its wood is soft and light [The article from which the above is extracted may be consulted for an account of its properties].

The Burhan⁵ Qat⁶ states that a drink is made from the flowers which relieves the after effects of drinking, and the ashes of the burnt wood are used as a hair dye and hair restorer

Vullers Lexicon Pers. Lat states p 81 Hao arbore designari videtur arbor Judae, i.e. Cercis siliquastrum (Linn), cf J A S 1845, Dec p 457

That the dye obtained from it is of blood colour appears from the lines in the poem (*Mu'allaqah*) by Ibn Kul'aum, where he writes

کان نیا سما و صهم حصبیں نار حوان او طلیبا

As though both our garments and theirs had been dyed or besmeared with Arjunian

¹ He who did not turn away ² his head from your door even by a hairs' breadth, the ant, although tongueless, began to praise him like the lizard.³

When he like the ant became sleepless and fasting in devotion to you then without doubt with the sword of the finger he split the moon into two parts like a hair.⁴

He was a sign like the true dawn, hair-splitting in his speech. His followers were as successful as ants in opposing the scorpions of religion.

The silvery body of the seven heavens, would become (black) like ants, when he cast aside the covering from his dark locks.

¹ The poet passes on from the praise of the Almighty to praise Muhammad.

² MS. (A) سرپنچید The metre shews this reading to be right.

³ This story is related as follows in the *Haiātu-l-Qulāb* ;—

One day the Prophet was sitting alone when an Arab came who had caught a lizard and had it in his sleeve. He asked the people who that was sitting there, they answered God's prophet; he replied, addressing Muhammad, "I swear by Lāt and 'Uzzā that I consider you my greatest enemy and were I not under an oath to my tribe, I would certainly kill you." The prophet said "Accept the true faith." The Arab cast the lizard from his sleeve and said "I will never accept the faith till this lizard does." Then the prophet spoke to the lizard saying, "Oh thou lizard." The lizard answered him in choice Arabic saying "I am thy servant, Oh thou ornament of the Muslims." The prophet asked "Whom dost thou worship?" He replied "That God who is in Heaven and Earth, whose kingdom is in the earth and his wonders in the sea, and his marvels in the deserts. Him I worship who knows what is in the womb, and has established his punishment in the fire." The prophet asked "Who am I?" the lizard replied, "Thou art the prophet of the upholder of the world, and the seal of prophecy. He is rightly guided who believes in thee, and he is lost who denies thee." The Arab said—"I require no more cogent proof than this; when I approached thee, I had no greater enmity to any one than to thyself, but now I hold thee dearer than my life, my father and my mother." (*Haiātu-l-Qulūb* by Aghā Muḥammad Būqīr Majlīsī.)

⁴ شق القمر See Qur'ān, Sūrah 54. "The hour draws nigh, and the moon is split asunder" (Sacred Books of the East Vol. IX). In the حیات القلوب *Haiātu-l-qulūb* a MS. copy of which dated 25th Zūl Hijjah 1087 A. H. (1676 A. D.) is before me. I find the following account of the miracle performed by the prophet Muhammad at Mekka. "The tribe of Qorāish sought as a sign from Muhammad the performance of some miracle; the prophet pointed to the moon and by the power of God Most High it split into two halves. A trustworthy Ḥadīṣ by Ḥazrat Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq has come down to us, relating that fourteen infidels who were desirous of working

For the ants of religion he carried away so much provision
that there remained on the point of each hair an evidence
of that bounty¹ for ever and ever.

Oh thou Creator, I have made every hair a tongue, but yet
like an ant I complain in my heart of my voicelessness
to sing thy praise.

If thou hadst illumined the eye of the ant like the thread
of hair, without the permission² of thy mercy this caravan
would not have passed.

I am like an ant in water; or like a hair in the fire, because
this sugar-scattering mind of mine is not fit for this relation.³

I have the foot of effort in the stirrup of devotion to you
like the ant; as long as one single hair remains of me⁴
I will not desist from this endeavour.

How can my burden be in the least degree lightened apart
from thy consent? How can I gird my loins like the ant
through avarice,⁵ in the service of this one or that?

Although like the ant I have been crushed by the (iron)
hand of desire

Yet I never contemplated the slightest idea of profit or loss
apart from thee.

Since this is from thee I am happy, although my heart is
distraught and pained; my heart is like the eye of the ant
and my⁶ condition is like the hair of the heart-ravishing
one.

If the ant brought the foot of a locust into the presence of
Solomon, Shihāb would have come headlong to thy door
with the feet of his soul about his head as hair.

The ant of thy generous table O Sāliḥ showed him (Shihāb)
that path of rectitude.

¹ MS. (A) نعمت.

² MSS. (A) (B) بی جواز.

³ MSS. (A) (B) داستان.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) مور دارم یک موی من ماند.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) از حرص پیش این و آن.

⁶ MS. (A) و حالم.

O Lord! grant him protection in crossing that hair like
bridge¹ over the fire

On the point of each hair of his you have a hundred favours,
for this reason that the heart of an ant is not vexed by
him by so much as a hair's breadth in the world

Oh Lord!² Keep a watch upon the enemy of the King's domi-
nions, for this is best, that he should be as a hair in the fire
and as an ant in the running water

And he also wrote in praise of Salqān Ruknud Dīn Firoz 80
imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing four things³
as follows —

Every moment this old wolf lion-hearted infant-eating⁴
Does with me that which the elephant and rhinoceros do at
the time of contest

The elephant like sky wears away my body as does the
rhinoceros

The time like a lion takes away my patience like a wolf
I have not the strength of the rhinoceros, and the sky is like
a fierce elephant towards me.

It displays the boldness of a lion like the old wolf of the time.
The elephant did not so treat the rhinoceros, nor did the wolf
so treat the sheep

As the lion-like heaven treated this being who is thin as
hair from oppression

The Lion of the sky has the craft of the wolf and the strength
of the rhinoceros

For this cause he heaps pain continually on my heart like the
load of an elephant

¹ The Sirat or bridge across the fire of Hell. The Sirat or bridge crossing
the infernal fire is described as finer than a hair and sharper than a sword
and is beset with briars and sharp thorns. The righteous will pass over it
with the swiftness of the lightning but the wicked will soon miss their foot-
ing and will fall into hell fire.

See Hughes, *Dict of Islam*, art Sirat. See also Quran I. 5

² MS (A) حسم ملک شاد را بار بگاشش دارد

³ The words کرگ karg rhinoceros, گورگ gurg wolf, شیر shir lion, قیل qil
elephant

⁴ M8 (A) هر دن اس پیر گورگ شیر حوت طغل حوار

A maddened elephant¹ is this wolf-haired rhinoceros.
Even if mankind are like male lions still sooner or later he
effects their ruin.

The sky, the overthrower of the rhinoceros, the conqueror of
the lion, if, in play, like the wolf it brings against the life
of Rustum a strong move like "pilband."²

¹ MS. (A) بیل مستقیم.

² پیلبند A stratagem in the game of chess. See Albirūnī (India) I. 183-184. The فيل or elephant it appears had the same mobility as the queen does in our modern game, that is it commanded both rank and diagonal.

There was one pawn known as the Piyādā-i-Aslī or original pawn, which had certain privileges attached to it. It was permitted once in the course of the game to remove to any square on the board where it might inflict the greatest injury on the adversary, as by attacking two pieces at once—"forking" them as chess players call it: under certain combinations this pawn was utilised to give mate. Thus in Auhadī's Life of Khwāja 'Ali Shāfranjī we find

خواجہ دهقان علی شطرنجی کہ چون رخ بعروصہ وکرت نہادی شاہان سخن را دو اسپ و فیل طرح دادی منصوبہ باز خیال در فیلبند حیرت پیادہ مات افتادی

"When he moved his Rukh in the Board of imagination he gave the odds of two Knights and the Bishop to the kings of rhetoric: the strategist of imagination fell into the pawn's mate from the "Filband" of confusion."

This فیلبند was explained to me by a Muhammadan friend, a chess player, thus: suppose the white king at his own square, and a hostile pawn on his second square guarded by Black Bishop at Q. Kt. 4, the adversary brings his other Bishop to Q. R. 4 (ch) mate, white having other moves, but none which can prevent this final move of the Black Bishop.

The *Bahr-i 'Ajam* gives the following definition of پیلبند.

پیلبند نام یکی از منصوبهای شطرنج- و پیلبند دادن عبارت از مات کردن بکشت پیل *

Pilband is the name of a manœuvre in chess. "To give pilband" means to mate by giving check with the Bishop (Pil):

چودر جنگ پیلان گشائی کمند
دشی شلا قنسوج را پیلبند

When in contest with elephants thou disengagest thy noose. Thou defeat-
est the king of Qanauj with the "pilband" (Nizāmī)..

The wolf of my patience casts off from him the waterproof like a lion, if the elephant of this coerulean castle has made me over to his charge like a rhinoceros.

The lion of the sky, like the elephant in colour, a wolf by a nature, takes and tears to pieces the armour of my patience like the hide of the rhinoceros.¹

Last night when the lion of the sky became elephant coloured in the hide of the rhinoceros, countless Josephs² appeared from the wolves of the heaven.

My life is in the hands of the lion, and under the foot of the rhinoceros of pain, until from the elephant bodied sky the tail of the wolf³ became evident.

The claw of the lion and the horn of the rhinoceros, the tears of the elephant and the hair of the wolf.

Although these four are of use in making the amulet⁴ of heart's attachment.

Of what use are the special properties of the lion and rhinoceros and the wolf and the elephant, when that silvery cheeked one demands from me gold more than the weight of an elephant.

Since I do not possess the ferocity of the rhinoceros, the heart of the lion, and the breath of the wolf, I will go to meet my beloved with an elephant load of sorrow.

Hasan Dehlavi also says.

هیئت کے پبلند عشقست

اُسان کشاد نتوان

Alas! that the "pilband" of thy love cannot easily be overcome.

For an excellent paper on the Persian Game of Chess by Bland, from which some of the above information is extracted, see J. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, pp. 1-70.

¹ This reading is in the text. MSS. (A) (B) have a different reading جوشن صبرم ذچرم گرگ سارم قار قلر.

² i.e., when it became dark countless stars appeared. See Qur'an XII. 1-15.

³ The morning Zodiacial light. A light which appears in the east before the true dawn. It is called also صبح کاذب. Subh-i-Kazib the false dawn; see J. R. A. S., July, 1878; also a name of one of the mansions of the moon called also شولہ Shula, Burhān-i-Qāfi.

⁴ تعریف ta'wīz MS. (A). An amulet made of these four things is said to be efficacious in securing affection. We are reminded of the witches in Macbeth, "Scale of dragon, tooth of wolf," &c.

The reflection of thy elephant coloured¹ sword if it falls upon lion and wolf makes their eyes which are like the jujubes² of Gurgān to become like the pomegranate.

If the breeze of your lion-standard blows³ upon the dust of the world the maddened rhinoceros will seek shelter from the elephant, and the wolf from the sheep.

When thou brandishest⁴ thy elephantine mace, the lion casts away its teeth, the wolf its claws, the rhinoceros its gall bladder, and the snake its head-stone.⁵

Rhinoceros-like in attack, wolf-like in gait, lion-like in bravery, elephant-like in body is thy steed, Oh hero! hundreds of thousands like Rustam are thy slaves.

Oh King! in thy praise I have become more powerful than wolf and rhinoceros, lion and elephant, by the order of the Lord who rules the sky.

¹ MSS (A) (B) بیلکوں.

² جو 'Unnab, Zizyphus jujuba (N O Rhamnaceæ), a tree bearing an oval baccate fruit of a reddish colour called in Hindustani بیرون ber, nearly allied to the Lotus of the Lotophagi, both leaves and fruit were used by the Arabian physicians. According to the *Bahrul Ja'azir* the fruit is useful to purify the blood from evil humours, and is of service in dry coughs and roughness of the chest and lungs, also in pain in the kidneys and bladder. The hips of a mistress are compared to this fruit (*Burhan-i-Qasî*)

³ MS (A) درگواری

⁴ مهار مار The serpent is popularly supposed to carry a stone in its head. The *Makhranu-l-Adwiya* says — *Hajaru l Ha'iyah* (حجر الحیا) called in Persian مهر مار Muhra : Mar is of two kinds one a mineral which is known as مهر مار Mar Muhra, some say that it is found in emerald mines. It has an emerald colour, inclined to black or ashy, shaped like a square signet stone, weight from one to two *mizzqâl*.

The other is an animal product which is found in the hinder part of the head of certain vipers. It is not found in all vipers, in fact it is only rarely found in any of them, when it is taken from the muscles it is soft, but in contact with the air becomes stony hard. In size it is about the size of half a shell, (cowrie) oblong in shape ashy coloured. Certain stones are black and hard, striped with three white stripes, others are white and soft. Some are artificial. In order to distinguish the good and true from the false, place it upon the bite of a snake, it will stick to it if genuine. If milk is poured on it, the milk becomes clotted and changed in appearance, and it is said that when some of them are placed in milk the milk does not become coagulated and when all the poison has been extracted by the stone it falls off, refusing

Thou art elephant-bodied, lion-conquering, thy mace if it so wishes, can place the rhinoceros firmly on the head of the sky like the tail of the wolf.¹

That Wazir who to the punishment of the wolf of the sky has given his heart, like the rhinoceros and the elephant and the lion, instead of being confused,

Without the craft of the wolf, and the power of the rhinoceros, his determination strikes the head of the elephants with the driving hook² and brings sparks to the eyes of the lions.

In thy kingdom, Oh King ! from the strategy of thy caution the lion has laid aside its oppression, the wolf its deceit, and the rhinoceros its disorder through fear of thee,

Oh thou, whose order is like the decree of fate, thou from whose dignity the Emperor like Fate overcomes the rhinoceros, the wolf, the lion and the elephant.

Skin, and horn, and hair, and tear, of wolf, rhinoceros, lion and elephant will be of use in the way of life, and heart, and nature, and speech.

3.

to adhere any longer, and does not coagulate milk. Whilst it is extracting the poison its colour changes, and when it is thrown into milk it returns to its original condition.

Another test is, when you rub it upon black or blue woollen cloth the cloth becomes white, if rubbed very hard for a long time the cloth becomes black and all whiteness disappears.

Another test: When it is placed in a porcelain vessel in lemon juice, it begins to move in a circular fashion. This test is not peculiar to this stone, but most shells and snails too, shew the same phenomenon. (*Makhsanu-l-Adwīya*).

The *Bahrū-l-Jawāhir* says only

جَبْرُ الْحَيَاةِ حَبْرُ الْفَادِزَهُرِ مِنْهُ مَا هُوَ تَقْدِيلٌ أَسْوَدٌ وَ مِنْهُ مَا هُوَ رَمَادٍ
وَ مِنْهُ مَا فِيهِ نَلْذَهُ خَطْوَاتٍ

Hajarū-l-Haiyyah. The stone Pādzahr (*Bezoar stone*,) some kinds are heavy and black, some are ashen-grey, and some have three stripes.

¹ See note 3, page 115.

² کھڑک MS. (A). The hook or goad with which elephants are driven called in Hindi अङ्कुष *Āṅkuṣ*.

For your armour and shoes, when did the wolf natured sky
select tears and skin from the elephant and lion and
rhinoceros?

For that purpose again and again,¹ this bld wolf from the
elephant and lion and the rhinoceros, brings as an offering
its hide and skin and teeth as a present of rare value.

The she-wolf drives away the ht lion² as a good omen,
If in hunting it comes in sight of your rhinoceros conquering
elephant

Elephant-bestower, I desire a desert place in Badaon,
Even though theseo regions are the abodes of the wolf and
rhinoceros and the lion

As long as the lion and the elephant are co partners in awe,
and the wolf and the rhinoceros are alike in waiting³ so
long may your wolf crafty enemy, Oh rhinoceros destroyer
and elephant-like in strength,⁴ be humbled in the dust
• before the lion of your portico

May your enemies bereft of life become like the lions and
elephants and wolves and rhinoceros at the end of the
stony line in the public baths⁵

SULTAN RAZZIYAH BINT SULTAN SHAMSU D DIN

Came to the throne in the year 631 H (1236 A D), and followed
the path of equity and the principles of justice, set in order the
affairs which had remained in confusion, and set before her the pur-
suit of beneficence, (which is as great a fault in women as stinginess
is in men) as the object of her ambition, and made Nizāmu-l-Mulk

¹ MS (A) بونو MS (B) has توتوا

² Text and MS (B) MS (A) has درسکون To sight a jackal when going
to the chase is considered a good omen, a snake or a sheep is considered a
bad omen The she wolf is held to represent craft and cunning while the
lion represents strength The meaning seems to be the triumph of stratagem
over force

³ مگرگ and مگرگ These words are exactly alike in writing

⁴ MSS (A) and (B) پیل ایستاد

⁵ The custom of ornamenting the walls of the public baths with frescoes
of animals and other subjects obtains at the present time in Persia, as it did
in ancient in the public baths of Greece and Rome The walls and ceilings
of the baths at Pompeii are an example of this

Tabarhindah, and on the way the Turk Amirs witnessing her immodest behaviour, rebelled, and seized both Sultan Razziyah and Jamalu d Din Yaqut the Abyssinian, who had risen to be the Chief Amir,¹ and confined them in the fortress of Tabarhindah.²

Seek not fidelity to its promise from the indolent world
 For this old woman is the bride of a thousand lovers
³ There is no sign of faithfulness to promise in the smile of
 the rose
 Lament, Oh heart rest nightingale, for here is cause for com-
 plaint.

SULTAN MUIZZU D DIN BAHRAM SHAH⁴ IBN SHAMSU D DIN

Next succeeded to the throne and came to Delhi. At this time Malik Iktiyaru d Din Altunyah⁵ the ruler of Tabarhindah having espoused the Sultan Razziyah, and having gained over certain of the Amirs and a body of the Jats⁶ and Khukhars and all the land holders brought an army towards Delhi. Sultan Muizzu d Din Bahram Shah, sent the Malik⁷ Balban the younger (who eventually became Sultan Ghayasu d Din) with a vast army to oppose Razziyah, and a battle ensued in which the forces of Razziyah were defeated. She then went to Tabarhindah, and a second time collected her forces and rallied her scattered troops and arrived in the neighbourhood of the village of Katihal⁸ with the intention of conquering Delhi, and again being defeated at the hands of the

¹ Razzaq & Safa calls him Chief Commander of troops. For subsequent events up to death of Razziyah see *Tabaqat-i-Naqri*

² Tabaqat-i-Naqri states that they put Jamalu d Din to death

³ Hafiz Ode beginning سے میں مسٹر قصرِ جل سے

See Diwan Hafis Rosenweig Schurmann I p. 30

⁴ Son of Iyaltimish

⁵ Altun yah was appointed by Razziyah as feudatory of Baran (Bulandshahr) immediately upon her accession he was afterwards made feudatory of Tabarhindah. The account in the text differs slightly from that of the *Tabaqat-i-Naqri* see Raverty 647 note 9

⁶ Elliott I 507 Teiffenthaler II 206

⁷ Malik Badru d Din Sankar Rum had become Amir-i-Uajib on the death of Iktiyaru d Din. He was the patron of Ghayasu d Din Balban for whom he obtained promotion to the dignity of Amir Akbari. The account in the text tallies with that given in the *Tabaqat-i-Albari* but see Raverty 648 n. 2

⁸ Kaithal Skr. Kapistala Lat 29° 48' 7" N Long 76° 26' 26" E 38 miles distant from Karnal and about 100 miles N W of Delhi. See Hunter, Gazetteer 309

Malik Balban the younger, took to flight and both she and Altūniyah fell into the hands of the Kawārs¹ and were put to death by order of Sultān Bahrām Shāh.

This event took place in the year 637 H. (1239 A.D.),² and the duration of the reign of Razziyah was three years six months and six days.

A head which the neck carries loftily
That same head later finds a rope round its neck.

When the sovereign power was firmly established in the hands of Sultān Bahrām Shāh, Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Ītkīn who was formerly Hājib and was married to a sister of the Sultān, and had got all the affairs of the kingdom into his own hands by the assistance of Nizāmu-l-Mulk Muhazzabu-d-Dīn, being accustomed always to keep a large elephant tied up at his door, like a king, was murdered in the year 638 H. together with Muhazzabu-d-Dīn Wazīr, by certain Fidāis,³ by the orders of the Sultān, and in this year the Sultān dealt with a party composed of Amīrs and chief men, and leading nobles, and grandees, and judges who used to hold secret meetings to discuss a change of monarchy and the appointment of a new king. Some of them he put to death, and

¹ The printed text and MS. (A) and MS. (B) all have كواران Kawārān. There is some little uncertainty as to the identity of this tribe. The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says "Sultān Razīyyah with Malik Altūniyah fell captive into the hands of Hindūs" (See Raverty's translation page 648 and note 3.)

It seems probable that the Kawārān here spoken of were a tribe of Jāts otherwise known by the name of Gaṭwārās. They are mentioned by Elliott, as holding villages in Gohana, in Sonipat Bangar and in the Doāb on the opposite side of the Jumna (see Elliott, *Races of the N. W. Provinces of India*, Vol I. page 126).

² 638 A.H. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. There is a confusion here in the dates.

Firishita says that the armies met on the 4th Rabi'ul Awwal 637 A.H., and that Razziyah and Altūniyah were put to death on the 25th of the same month. As Razziyah came to the throne in 634, 637 would seem to be the correct date but see Raverty, p. 648, note 2.

³ فدائی چند is the reading of MS. (A). Firishita says "two Turks in a state of (feigned) intoxication." دو ترک بصورت مسنان Minhāju-s-Sirāj writes, p. 192, Cal. Text دو نفر ترک مسنت را بر سم فدائی از بالای قصر فرو فرستاد. He sent two intoxicated Turks, after the manner of Fidāis, down from the roof of the palace. A Fidāī is one who voluntarily and cheerfully undertakes any enterprise which he knows will cost him his life. (*Burhān-i-Qāti'*) see Raverty *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* p. 651 n. 7.

some, as for example Bidru d-Din Sangai Amīr Ḥajib¹ he sent to Badaon where they died in prison. Among them was Qazī Jalālu-d-Dīn Kashābūl, whom they removed from his military command and appointed Qazī of Bidaon, and Qazī Shamsu d-Dīn the Qazī of Marhīra² they threw under the feet of an elephant in the same way.

And in the year 639 H the troops of the Mughul Changiz Khan came and invested the city of Lahore, and Malik Qaraqash the Governor of Lahore fled one day at midnight and came to Dehlī, where the Sultān pledged the Amīrs anew to fealty, and having summoned a conference sent Nizāmu l-Mulk³ Wazīr, who at heart was not friendly to the Sultan, to oppose the Mughul force in the Panjab. He, with craft and hypocrisy wrote a letter to the Sultān and made many complaints of the Amīrs who were with him, and begged the Sultan to come. The Sultan, however, not thinking it advisable to go in person, wrote a despatch to him in apparent sincerity, saying, "those recalcitrant Amīrs shall meet their punishment in due time, you should treat them with civility⁴ till then." He showed that despatch in original to the Amīrs and brought them over to his side, and the Sultan Mu'izzu d-Dīn Bahram Shah sent Hazrat Sharīfūl Islam Khwaja Khwajagān Qutbū d-Dīn Bahātūr Ushī,⁵ may God sanctify him, to the Amīrs to put

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¹ Who had been appointed Amīr Ḥajib when Ikhtiyaru d-Dīn was murdered.

² The MS (A) reads قاصی شمس الدین قاصی مارھڑہ را تھ پائی فیل which reading I follow Ferishta writes

قاصی شمس الدین و قاصی قصہ مارھڑہ را در پائی فیل اداخت

Tabaqat-i-Nasīrī gives the details of this circumstance and states that it was brought about by the machinations of a Darwesh who was jealous of Qazī Shamsu d-Dīn and had sufficient influence over Bahram Shah to compass his enemy's death.

He calls the town Mīhr (Raverty 657 and note 4), MS (A) has مَرْھَڑہ

³ Tabaqat-i-Nasīrī states that the Sultan nominated Malik Qutbū d-Dīn Husain ibn Ali Ghuri together with the Wazīr the Khwajah Muhammādu d-Dīn for this purpose and that the letter referred to in the text was written by him (See Raverty 657, 658)

⁴ MS (A) تواند که تا ابرمان نا ایشان مدارائی نکنی Carrying into effect the maxim فادوسیان تلطف نا دشمنان عذرا

⁵ See Raverty p 658 note 2 Qutbū d-Dīn Ushī after whom the Qutb minar of Dehlī is called died in 633 H See Raverty 622, note 6

See also page 92, note 2 This was another man Sayyid Qutbū d-Dīn,

matters straight and to quell the disturbance, but without success; the Shaikhū-l-Islām returned and came to Dehlī, and just at this juncture Nizāmu-l-Mulk and the Amīrs also arrived and besieged the Sultān in Dehlī,¹ and taking him captive imprisoned him, and after a few days despatched him to the next world² and set up another king in his place.

The times of old have had this habit
To take from this man and give to that.

The duration of his reign was two years and one month and fifteen days.

SULTĀN ALĀU-D-DĪN MAS'ŪD SHĀH IBN RUKNU-D-DĪN FIROZSHĀH

Having been released from prison by the consent of his uncles Sultān Nāsimu-d-Dīn Mahmūd and Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn, the sons of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, became king at the end of the year already mentioned (639 H.), after that 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban³ (the elder) had occupied the throne for one day and had issued a proclamation. None of the Maliks or Amīrs had been satisfied with this arrangement and reverted to Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and appointed Malik Quṭbu-d-Dīn Ḥasan as Deputy, and Malik Muḥazzabu-d-Dīn Nizāmu-l-Mulk Wazīr of the kingdom, and in the year 640 H. the Amīrs of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd put to death Nizāmu-l-Mulk the Wazīr.

One should not desire brief kingship like that of the rose
For a torrent speedily breaks down a bridge.

The Wazirship was conferred upon Ṣadru-l-Mūlk Najmu-d-Dīn Abū Bakr, and Malik Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban the younger who had at first been called Ulugh Khān and afterwards attained the dignity of Sultān,⁴ became Amīr Hājib and in succession to him the governorship of Nāgor and Sind and Ājmīr was conferred

¹ On Saturday the 19th of Sha'bān 639 H. The siege lasted till the month of Zī Qa'dah (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 659).

² On the 13th of Zī Qa'dah 639 H.

³ Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, see Raverty p. 775 and 660, note 1.

⁴ Malik Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban was dignified with the title of Ulugh Khān and made Deputy of the kingdom and leader of the troops in the year 647 H., but was deprived of his office in 650-51 H. He was Amīr Akhūr till 642 H. when he became Amīr Hājib.

See *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) II. 298.

permanently upon Malik 'Izzu d Din Bilban, the elder, Budaoon was conferred upon Malik Taju d-Din, and in this year 'Izz-ad-Din Tughla Khan who had advanced from Karrah¹ to the neighbourhood of Lakhnauti sent Sharfu l Mulk Ash'ati to the Sultan 'Ala-d-Din with a written despatch, the Sultan then sent a red canopy and a special robe of honour in charge of the Governor of Oudh² for 'Izzu d Din Tughla Khan who was in Lakhnauti and having brought both his uncles aforementioned out of confinement, assigned the district of Qanuj to Malik Jalalu d Din, and Bahraj to Malik Nasru d-Din Mahmud, who acquitted themselves in those districts to his satisfaction. And in the year + 12 H, the Mughul forces³ arrived in the district of Lakhnauti, the assumption is that the Mughuls must have come by way of Tibat and Khitā, and Sultan 'Alau d Din sent Timur Khan Qara Beg⁴ to the assistance of Tughla Khan and the Mughuls were defeated. Hostility arose between Tughla Khan and Malik Qiran,⁵ Tughla Khan came to Delhi, and Lakhnauti remained in the hands of Timur Khan⁶

¹ The printed text has **گرگر**¹ but MS (A) has **گرگر** which is correct. Karrah is on the right bank of the Ganges Lat 25° 31' N Lon. 81° 24' E (see Hunter, *Top Gaz*) Vol VIII Before Akbar's time Karrah was the seat of government

² Qazi Jalalu d Din Kasuni (*Tabaqat-i-Aasiri*)

³ This is an error which has according to Raverty been handed on from author to author. The way the mistake originated is pointed out by him in his note 8 on p 665

The original reading was **کفار حاضر** *Auz r i Jajnagar* which by some strange perversion became **کفار حنکر حاں** *Kufar-Hankar-Han* thence to **کفار چنگر حاں** and so to our author's statement

Jajnag r or Jajpur on the Baitarani river in Orissa capital of the province under the Li n Dynasty the Gajpati or Lords of Elephants (*Im-i-Albari* II 219 n 1) (see *I p Gaz* Vol VII and *Stat Acc of Bengal* XVIII 80-SJ)

The **کفار حاضر** Infidel hordes of Jajnagar were of course Hindus and not Mughuls hence the assumption in the text to account for their presence before Lakhnauti is as unnecessary as it is absurd

⁴ The real name of Timur Khan Qara Beg as he is called in the text, is Malik Qiran l Din Qiran i Timur Khan and he is the Malik Qiran referred to a line or two later. In other words Malik Qiran and Timur Khan are one and the same person. In the text is a misprint for **قیران** MS (1) See also Raverty 66 n 9

In this year the Mughūl army¹ arrived in the vicinity of Uchh and assaulted it, and the Sultān proceeding by forced marches with all possible speed, reached the banks of the river Biāh, and the Mughūls raising the siege of Uchh took to flight; the Sultān on reaching Delhī took to arresting and putting to death to such an extent that the Amīrs and nobles turned against him, and agreed to summon Malik Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn from Bahraij, and upon his arrival at Delhī in the year 644 H., they threw Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Mas‘ūd into prison and he speedily² exchanged that confinement for the prison house of eternity.

This is the way of the changeable world.

In kindness it gives and it robs you in wrath.

9. The duration of his reign was four years and one month.

SULTĀN NĀSIRU-D-DĪN MAHMŪD IBN SHAMSU-D-DĪN IYALTIMISH

Succeeded to the sovereignty in the year 644 H. (1246 A.D.) and the Wazīrship was conferred upon Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban the younger, who was in reality great, and was the slave and son-in-law of the father of Nāṣiru-d-dīn.³

At the time of his accession great largesse was given, and the poets recited many congratulatory odes from some of which the following verses are taken—

¹ 1244 A.D. This was really a Mughūl force, under the command of "the accursed Mungūtah" (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

² On the 23rd of Muḥarram 644 H. (1246 A.D.).

His reign extended to a period of four years, one month and one day (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

³ Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd son of Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish was born at the Qaṣr Bāgh in Delhī in the year 626 H. (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

It will be remembered that he was the second son of Iyaltimish to bear the name of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, which was given him upon the death of his elder brother (see p. 94) in 626 A. H. (see *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Cal. Text p. 201, l. 18.)

He was a man of quiet and retiring disposition and spent most of his leisure in making manuscript copies of the Qur’ān. Thomas (*Pathān Kings*) thinks that this faculty "possibly had its influence on the execution and finish of the legends of his coinage, which display a remarkable advance on the earlier mintage in the fineness of the lines and the improved definition of the Persian characters" (p. 125).

That great Lord who is a Hatim in generosity and a Rustum
in energy.

Nasu i Dunya wa Din Mahmud ibn Iyaltimish

That great world conqueror, the roof of whose palace is the
heaven

In the height of his dignity this lower sphere is his vesture
How can we measure the glory the *Sikka* acquires from his
auspicious titles¹

Or how compute the exultation of the *Khuqabah* at the mention
of his happy name

The records of his equity and his laudable qualities are evident
from the book called *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*² which was composed in his
honour

The Sultan entrusted all the affairs of the kingdom to Ghiasu-
d-Din Balban and in giving him the title of Ulugh Khan said, "I
deliver into thy hands the reins of absolute authority, beware lest
thou commit thyself to any evil action,³ for tomorrow thou wilt be
at a loss in the presence of Almighty God and thou wilt bring
shame upon me and upon thyself" The Sultan himself would
generally retire into his chamber and occupy himself in devotion,
and reading the Qur'an and in repeating the sacred names of God
may He be glorified and exalted, and it is currently reported
that on the occasion of a public audience he used to clothe
himself from head to foot in regal apparel, while in private he used
to wear an old ragged garment, and they also say that he used to
devote his time to the copy of the Qur'aun which he was writing,⁴

¹ His titles as given in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasri* were

As Sulṭanu l-A'īmu l-Mu'azzim Nasiru d Dunya wa d Din, Abu l-Mu-
zaffar-i Maḥmūd Shah ibn i Sultan Iyaltimish Yāmin i Khalifatu llah Naṣir i-
Amiri l Muminiñ

The *Tabaqat-i-Nasri* of Minhaju s Siraj was written in his court and
dedicated to him hence its name

² *Tabaqat-i-Nasri* of Minhaju s Siraj is a general history up to 658 H
composed by Abu Umar Minhaju d Din Usman ibn Siāju d Din al Juzjani
See Elliott II 259 An English translation by Major Raverty has been pub-
lished in the British India Indica by the Asiatic Society of Bengal

³ زهار کاری دد بکنی

⁴ Ibn i Batuta states in his history (French edition, Vol III, p 169).

وكان ملكاً صالحًا ينسخ سعى من الكتاب العروز وبيعها في بقالات شعيرها
وقد وقع في القاصي كمال الدين على مصحف خطوه منقش محفوظ الكتابة

the Khukhars¹ and other contumacious tribes, joined the Sultān and returned to Dehli, and in the year 645 H, having taken Miwat² turned his attention to the country of the Doab, and the same year having sent Ulugh Khan from the confines of Karrah to oppose and overthrow the rebels of that district, arrived at Dehli with great spoil.

And in the year 646 A H, he proceeded against Rantanbhur, and having punished the seditious tribes of those districts he returned, and in the year 647 H, he married the daughter of Ulugh Khan.

Then in the year 648 H, he took an army towards Multan, and after some days Malik Izzu d Dīn Balban-i Buzurg, the Governor of Nagor, withdrew his foot from the circle of allegiance and rebelled,³ but when the Sultan proceeded thither, he begged for pardon and joined the Court.

And in the year 649 H he marched in the direction of Gwalior and Chandēri and Malwa, and Jahir Dev⁴ the Rāj of that

¹ Khukhars, see Tieff I 104 and 105, Le district des salines est habité par les Khocares ce sont ceux qui turent le sel des mines c'est un nation qui a quitté l'idolatrie pour embrasser le mahometisme See also this volume, p 67, n 3

² Text and MS (A) میوات Miwat This place is not mentioned in the *Tabaqat-i Nasirī*, it is mentioned in the *An-nāl Albarī* (I (Jarrett 307) as the place to which Naṣrat Khan fled from Dehli when it was seized by Iqbal Khan, some 150 years later than the events recorded in the text

Tieffenthaler, Vol I, p 211, Mevat est un canton assez étendu borne par les provinces de Dehli et d Adjmere et par les Districts de Djepour et de Dik It extends north and south from Badshapur to Harsana 47 miles and east and west from Dik to Narnol 57 miles' Alwar is about the centre of it now

Tieffenthaler goes on to say 'Cette contrée est habitée par beaucoup de Mahometans qui étaient ci devant gentils Elle appartenait auparavant aux Afghans dans le temps qu'ils régnoient à Dehli La Gouvernement passa ensuite aux Mogols Maintenant le Djat (Jats) s'en est approprié la plus grande partie et une partie est tombée au pouvoir du Rājah de Djepour (Jaipur) qui en a expulsé beaucoup d'habitans mahometans

He speaks of the abundance of Nim (*Melia azadirachta*) and Sissoo (*Dalbergia sissoo*) trees, and praises the cattle and horses of the country

He speaks of Narnol the capital city of the district, as having formerly been populous and flourishing See also Rennell's Memoir (1788) p 75

³ *Tabaqat-i Nasirī* says this occurred in 649 H, which is more probably correct, as it is the account of a cotemporary historian

⁴ This Rāja is called in the *Tabaqat-i Nasirī*, Chahar Ajari, he was independent sovereign of Narwar in A.D. 1246 (644 A H) under the name of Chahar Deva, his coins bearing the inscription चौ चारद रेख. He was a very powerful Rāja (see Thomas 67 et seqq and Raverty 690 note 1)

country with five thousand cavalry and 200,000 infantry came out to meet him and gave battle to the Sultān in great force, but was defeated and the fort of Narwar¹ was taken. And in this year Sher Khān Governor of Multān, and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban who had left Nāgōr with reinforcements for him reduced the fortress of Uchh, and Sher Khān remained in the fortress, while Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban came to pay his respects to the king, and received from him as a *jāegir* the districts of Budāon and was given the title of Kashlū Khān.

And in the year 650 H. (1252 A.D.) he left Dehlī intending to proceed to Lahore, and from there he went to Multān and Uchh, and in this expedition Kashlū Khān accompanied the Sultān as far as the river Biāh.

And in the year 651 H. marching from Dehlī, he detailed forces to act against Tabarhindah and Uchh and Multān of which Sher Khān had lost control, and of which the Sindhīs held possession; and having regained possession of them, handed them over to the charge of Arsalān Khān and returned. And in the year 652 H. having assembled an army on the confines of the country at the foot of the hills² of Bijnor, and having crossed the Ganges by

¹ Narwar.—In the *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, we find the Sarkar of Narwar as having 500 Cavalry, 20,000 Infantry. Narwar itself had a stone fort (see also Raverty 690, note 1).

In the text بُنْوَهُ is a misprint for بُنْوَى MS. (A).

Narwar. Tieff. I. 175 gives a sketch plan of the fortress of Narwar and a long description from which the following note is abridged.

A town of moderate size about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile long and ten in breadth, protected in his time (about 1780 A.D.) with stone walls, but formerly unprotected. Latitude $25^{\circ} 30' N.$ Longitude taken from the Islands of the Blest $93^{\circ} 24'$. (Cf. *Aīn-i-Akbarī* [Jarrett] III. 60.) Houses well and substantially built with flat roofs.

It has four gates, and there was a Christian family of Armenian stock who had built a palace, and a chapel where a Jesuit father said mass. The fortress was built upon a mountain having two peaks or spurs running parallel North and South.

He considers it must have been impregnable in old times before the invention of gunpowder "pour le malheur du genre humain et la ruine des villes."

A good supply of water is furnished by a large tank paved and flanked with stone. He also speaks of a magnetic iron ore from which they procure iron by smelting for export in various forms, and a flint of a whitish colour and marvellous hardness used for flint locks.

² Of Bardār and Bijnor (*Tubaqāt-i-Nūṣirī*). In the text instead of

the "ford of Miāpur¹ and hugging the skirt of the mountain, reached the banks of the river Rahab,² and having taken much booty and made many prisoners, giving themselves up to rapine and making prisoners,³ invaded the country of Kātīhar⁴ going to Bidaon and from thence to Oudh, and hastened to the capital. And after some time news arrived that certain of the Amirs, namely Ulugh Khan⁵ A'zim, and Arsalan Khan and others, in concert with Malik Jalalu d-Din, the brother of the Sultan, had commenced hostilities in the vicinity of Tabarhindah. The Sultan thereupon marched from Dehili, and in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindah and Kuhrīm and Kaithal,⁶ by the intervention of a party of Amirs, the Amirs agreed to peace, and with many protestations and oaths suing for pardon came into submission to the Sultan, and the Sultan conferred upon Malik Jalalu d Din the Governorship of Lahore, and proceeded to the capital. And in the year 653 H the feelings of the Sultan underwent a change with respect to his mother Malikā-i Jahan. He gave Qutlugh Khan, to whom Malikā-i Jahan was married, a *jūlegir* in Oudh,⁷ and a short time after turning against him also⁷ sent him to Bahrij. He took fright at this and came to the hill country of Sir Mur, and Malik 'Izzu d Din Kashlu Khan and certain other Amirs made common cause with him and laid the foundation of revolt, the Sultan

کوہ پارڈ سیور لشکر میسور which is manifestly wrong I read کوہ پارڈ لشکر میسور as in MS (A)

¹ Here again the printed text is hopelessly wrong MS (A) reads as follows —

دار آپ گنگ بگدر میا پور گذشہ which is intelligible and tallies with Tubaqat-i Nasiri. Where the reading حوالا پور in the text comes from, it is hard to say

² MS (A). The text reads تالب آپ راست رسید see Albiruni (India) (Sachau) II 201 also Elliott, I 49 as regards the Rahab

و تاراج و اسرادہ MS (A)

³ The Calcutta text of the Tubaqat-i Nasiri calls this کانہر Kaether Our text has کلیہر Kalīhar, MS (A) has (?) (?) MS 'B' (I) کشمیر Kashmir see Raverty 696 note 4

⁴ See Elliott II p 354

⁵ The printed text gives در او رده It should be در او رده MS (A)

⁷ This should read در اندک مدت نوا نیز تغیر نموده not as in the printed text

accordingly detailed Ulugh Khān Balban with a large army¹ to oppose them, and when the two forces had arrived within a short distance of each other the Shaikhū-l-Islām Saiyyid Qutbu-d-Dīn and Qāzī Shamsu-d-Dīn of Bharāij and another party of men incited Qutlugh Khān to come into Dehlī, and inspired him with a desire to possess that country;² the inhabitants of Dehlī joined in this instigation. Ulugh Khān represented this at the Sultān's court, and the Sultān issued an order for every individual of that party to go separately to his own place, and Qutlugh Khān and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān after this defeat, traversed the distance of a hundred *krohs*³ in two days and came from Sāmāna to Dehlī, but did not find the party which had been the cause of their being summoned. Qutlugh Khān and Kashlū Khān also were separated, and Ulugh Khān following them arrived in the Sultān's presence.⁴ And in the year 655 H. the Sultān issued an order for the expulsion of certain nobles and grandes from the city of Dehlī, and at the end of this year the Mughūls arrived on the boundaries of Uchh and Multān; Kashlū Khān Balban made common cause with them and the Sultān came up in hot haste against them. The Mughūls were not able to stand against him and turned back towards Khurāsān. The Sultān also raised the banner of return towards the capital and having bestowed a robe of honour upon Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn Jānī marched towards Lakhnautī.⁵ And in the year 656 H. (1258 A.D.) ambassadors came to the Sultān from Turkistān, and he sent them back loaded with presents, and in this year Hazrat Makhdūm Ganjshakar,⁶ may God magnify his power and exalt his

¹ This account differs from that given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. (See Raverty p. 703 and seqq.).

² و تطمیع دران ملک کردند MS. (A). The word تطمیع is omitted in Calcutta text.

³ About 180 miles, see *Ain-i-Akbarī* II, p. 414, also Cunn. A. G. I., p. 571.

The ancient *Krosa* of Magadh was about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles, the *kos* of the Gangetic provinces was rather more than $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles. The Akbarī *kos* was rather less than $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles and this is the standard referred to above.

⁴ These Maliks (Qutlugh Khān and 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān) retired towards the Siwālik territory foiled in their object (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

⁵ Compare the account in *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* according to which these events took place in the year 656 H. not in 655 H.

⁶ Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-shakar was the grandson of Farrukh Shāh of Kābul, and son of Kamālu-d-Dīn Suleimān who came from Kābul to

memory,¹ left the lodging house of separation and disappointment for the home of nearness and fulfilment

And in the year 657 H. elephants and great treasure and jewels and cloths without number, arrived from Lekhnauti as presents, and in Rajab of this year Malik 'Izzu d-Din Kashlu Khan Balban earning relief from the turmoil of this transitory world, hastened to the next world, and in this year Ghrousul-'Alam Hazrat Shaikh Bahau d-Din Zakariya² the Multani, may God sanctify him, raised the tent of³ close union with God Almighty, and a celebrated poet wrote this couplet to record the date

By the arrow of the love of God one was wounded (*zakhmi*)
the other perished (*khan*)⁴

Multan in the reign of Shihabu d-Din *Cluri*. He was one of the numerous disciples of Bahau d-Din Zakariya, and died two years later than his master, according to Firishta (see also *Inā-i Akbari* [Jarrett] III p 363)

His tomb is mentioned in the *Inā-i Akbari* (I 323) as being at Ajudhan (Pak Patan or Patan i Panjab)

There is, as will be seen, considerable discrepancy in the dates Badaoni gives 656 H as the date of Faridu d-Din Ganj i shakar's death and 657 H as that of the death of Bahau d-Din Zakariya, while according to Firishta the latter should be 666 H and the former 668 H. The *Inā-i Akbari* gives 668 H as the date of the death of Faridu d-Din Ganj i shakar and 665 H as the date of the death of Bahau d-Din Zakariya.

¹ MS (A) در حرب قدر و اهلی دکرہ

The printed text is wrong here

² Shaikh Bahau d-Din Zakariya was a famous Muhammadan saint of Multan. He was the grandson of Kamalu d-Din 'Ali Shah Qureishi who left Mecca for Khwarazm and thence came to Multan the Qubbatu l-Islam, and resided there, and became acknowledged by the people as their teacher and guide. Shaikh Bahau d-Din was the son of Shaikh Wajihu d-Din by the daughter of Hissam d-Din Tarmadi and was born in the fort of Kot Karor in 587 H. He died at Delhi about the year 666 H; while engaged in devotion in his chamber an angel bearing a sealed missive having appeared to his son Sadru d-Din Arif with a command to give the missive to Bahau d-Din. He did so and retired but returned on hearing voices in the room saying دوست ندومست و میدن "The friend has joined the friend" when he found his father lying dead.

This account is abridged from Firishta. The account of the saint given by Beale differs from this but the source of the information given there is not stated. See also *Inā-i Akbari* (Jarrett) III 362 and note

The tomb of Bahau d-Din Zakariya is in Multan.

³ MS (A) در حرب قدر دو اسکان

⁴ The word رحیی gives the date 657 H the word حرب gives the date 66 H. See page 133 note 1

94. And in the year 658 H. Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Mahmūd, chastised the country of Mīwāt¹ and the rest of that district, and when he was fully established as Malik in the year 664 H. he fell sick and closed his eyes on the world of dreams and fancies, and went to the eternal kingdom.² He left no heir; the duration of his reign was nineteen years, three months and a few days. His tomb is well known in Dehlī, and every year crowds flock to visit it.

Verse.

Come and cast one thoughtful look upon this dust.
For it is the dust of the resting-place of trusted kings.

And of the number of those who sounded the drum of poetry and attained the rank of Maliku-l-Kalām (Lord of Eloquence) during Nāṣiru-d-Dīn's reign, one was Shamsu-d-Dīn Dabīr³ whose manifest excellencies and perfection are beyond description and need no narration and praise, and Mīr Khusrū,⁴ may God sanctify him, who tested the genuineness of his own poems by the touchstone of their acceptability to that other (Shamsu-d-Dīn) used to boast of them, and in the preface to the *Ghurratu-l-Kamāl* and at the end of the *Hasht Bihisht* greatly embellished his words in the mention of the praiseworthy qualities and in spreading

¹ The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* Cal. Text, p. 227 reads :

خان م معظم الخ خان اعظم بر طرف جبال دهلي براي دفع فساد متمردان
میروان ۵۶ دیو از ایشان در هراس باشد نهضت فرمود

Khān-i-Mu'azzam Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam marched towards the hills of Dehlī to quell the insurrection of the robbers of Mīwāt who would be a terror to devils.

For a full account of the province of Mīwāt see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. IX. It includes the British districts of Muttrā and Gurgāon, part of Ulwar and Bhartpur. See also page 129, note 2, of this Volume.

² On the 11th Jamādiu-l-Awwal; as he came to the throne on the 23rd Muḥarram 644 H. his reign was twenty years three months and some days, not as stated in the text. He left no issue, his only son by the daughter of Ulugh Khān having died in infancy.

³ There is no mention of this poet in either the *Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā* or the *Ātashkada*. There are some highly laudatory verses at the end of the *Hasht Bihisht* in praise of one Abū Ḥanifah, possibly referring to Shamsu-d-dīn.

⁴ Amīr Khusrū (who has already been mentioned at page 96, note 2), son of Amīr Maḥmūd Saifu-d-Dīn was born at Patiālā 651 A.H. and died at Dehlī in 725 A.H. (Beale p. 151).

abroad the excellencies of (that friend of his) And Sultān Ghiyasu d Dīn Balbūn having at the end of his reign appointed him Secretary for the counties of Bangala and Kamiud had left him in the service of his elder son Naṣru d Dīn¹ Buglā Khan, and these few couplets are from an ode of his

Oh thou² of whom this work of my heart is unworthy though my ignorance, thou gavest me last night a false promise of entertainment

All night I kept my eyes awake and³ I did not know that that was longing of that kind which you know to be vain
I keep my heart⁴ exercised thinking of thy face, and wondering why thy colour is so ripe and thy forehead like virgin silver

The date assigned for his birth seems unlikely as he would only have been thirteen when Naṣru d Dīn died. The *Majma ul Fūzāt* gives no date for his birth but says his father came to Dehli from Turkistan in the time of Changiz Khan's invasion and obtained great distinction in the court of Sultan Mahmud ibn Tugllaq Shah and was killed in a rebellion of the infidels when his son Amir Khusru was appointed as his successor in his Amirship which he eventually gave up and acquired great skill and distinction as a poet. He died in 720 H and was buried in the tomb of Shaikh Shākarganj (Faridu d Dīn Ganjshakar see note 1, page 133)

He was the author the celebrated *Qirānu s Sa dān* the poem which was written to commemorate the meeting of Sultan Naṣru d Dīn with his son Sultan Kai Qubad on the banks of the Ghagra, and of several other works (see Elliott, III pp 523 and seqq)

¹ MS (A) reads correctly سلطان ناصر الدین Sultan Naṣru d Dīn Buglā Khan second son of Ghiyasu d Dīn Balban. He was placed in charge of Bengal after the revolt and defeat of its governor Tuglālal.

He married a daughter of Sultan Naṣru d Dīn Mahmud Shah by whom he had a son and successor Kai Qubad (See Rāverty *Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī* 716 n.)

In Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Dehli* there is given a copy of an inscription of Naṣru d Dīn Mahmud which was engraved over the doorway of the minaret at Aligarh bearing the date 10th Rajab A H 692 and the author mentions in rather too mild terms the wanton Vandalsim which allowed a record of this kind to be destroyed in 1861

Thomas advances the opinion that the original design for this inscription both in matter and form was the work of Naṣru d Dīn himself, (cf Thomas op cit 129-130)

² MS (A) ای!

³ MS (A) و

⁴ MS (A) کجھ دارم دل

95.

I am overcome with idleness though it urges me on to strenuous endeavour—but there is a loose bond between me and distraction.

Do not make me prepared with (the fire of) thy love¹ since I am thy guest, because it is a great virtue to offer sacrifice of unprepared flesh.

We said "no Muslim will eat raw flesh," but look! thy grief has devoured me raw. Is this your religious devotion.

² You call me "raw," if I cut open my own breast, I will shew you that the heart which thou considerest raw, is ready. So amazed am I at thy beauty and the glory of the king that my imperfect work remains raw from my amazement.

Since the king is a second Khusrū, my work will never remain unfinished, by reason of the kingdom of the second Khusrū.

Conqueror of the world³ and of religion, he in view of whose sovereignty the desire of Emperors for the Kingdom of Suleimān was vain.

The king Maḥmūd Shāh, that Sultān from whose father's glory the cauldron of one single⁴ desire, by reason of his empire, is not left unfilled.

If the Sun of his benevolence shines in the direction of the garden no fruit issues from the branches of the garden unripe.⁵

What resource has the Sky if it does not support the burden of thy dignity—how can you expect a raw baggage animal to bear a heavy load!

Thy enemy deserves this that you should sew him in a raw hide⁶

¹ MS. (A) عشق

² MS. (A) خام میخوانیم ارسینه خود بشگافم
پخته بندایم ان دل که تو میخوانی خام

³ MS. (A) ناصر دنیا. The text has ناخبر which is meaningless and spoils the scansion.

⁴ دیگ یک ارزویش MS. (A).

⁵ ناید از شاخ.

⁶ This was a favourite mode of punishment in olden times: the unfortunate victim was sewn up in a raw hide which as it dried, shrunk and inflicted terrible tortures.

Vide page 12, note 2. Muḥammad Qāsim, (Elliott and Dowson I. 209.)

for on the body of an inexperienced man of what use is it for you to fit **نیزه** hide¹

Thy enemy bathes in blood,² instead of the collar of his garment the prisoner places on his neck every moment a raw hide 96

Every deed of thine is like³ perfected gold, and those who wish thee evil are imperfect in their work from frivolity and the assurance of shame

Thy enemy is that naked demon⁴ who has a skin made of the whole of the Earth, and that too, if you take it off him is a raw hide

If thou dost not spread thy table every day twice before the people, they will perforce eat raw grain, since the hand of despair from lack of bread has no other resource.

If thy enemy becomes ruined⁵ what fear is there? although he advances in a futile attack, like the lion of the flag he is helpless though impotence⁶

Of what avail⁷ is the sorcery of Faroun since the dragon of your standard will swallow the fictitious serpent

Oh **Khusru!** Shamsu d din⁸ is thy secretary, strong and well proved in speech—he is not like the worthless Scribes an inexperienced scribbler

He himself is experienced⁹ and his verse is like purified gold—his words are not like the best sayings of **Khaqani** still in the rough

The sky has prepared a perfect kingdom¹⁰ for thee—Oh Lord

¹ MS (A) **دشانی حام**

² MS (B) agrees with the text MS (A) reads

مَلْحَمْ أَسْبَقْتُونْ حَمِيْرَ رَدْ بِرَادْ

The textual reading is adopted with **رَدْ** in place of **رَدْ**

³ MS (A) **چو**

⁴ MS (A) **کلْ حَمَاب**

⁵ MS (A) **دو باد**

⁶ **معنی دو شوٹ - کشخان**

⁷ MS (A) **چو بارڈ چو (۱)**

⁸ شمس الدین دیدر See page 134 n 3

⁹ MS (A) **هَسْبَ اورَ بَعْدَهُ و**

¹⁰ MS (A) **لَهْرَ نُو مَلْكَ دَارَ** The line as it stands in the text will :

in thy favour grant that his perfect work may never revert to imperfection.

And the King of Kings and of Speech Amir Fakhru-d-Din 'Amid Lūmakī¹ writes in a Qasida of which this is the opening couplet.

When my loved one takes² the lute, and binds the plectrum
on her fingernail

Her nail strikes Nāhid³ with a hundred wounds in the heart
through envy.

Through envy of her harp fever seizes upon Nāhid at that
instant.

Her nail becomes altogether blue from the effect of that
fever.⁴

Consider the henna on her nails to be like blood, which at the
time of the springing of the strings from the harp dry
as a reed, has spurted forth and made the nail moist.

If in play my nail has scratched your lip, do not be vexed⁵ at
that,

Because now and then they dip the nail into sugar by way of
tasting it.

Keep the point of your nail as sharp as a glance my love, for
the harp has no confidence in the fingers save for the sharp-
ness of their nails.

Bring me consolation by the tenderness of thy kindness,⁶
because compared with thy face, the bride of the moon
has brought blood to its nails through envy.

Give me wine red as the blood of a hare at the remembrance

¹ Fakhru-d-Mulk Khwāja 'Amīdu-d-Dīn, commonly known as 'Amīd Dailamī or 'Amīd Lūmakī said to be a native of Sannām and eulogist of Sultan Muḥammad Yāmīn.

² MS. (A) reads زخمه برو تاخن MS. (B) reads پردازد i.e. plays the lute.

³ Nāhid. The planet Venus زهرہ, zuhra whose seat is in the third heaven (*Burhān-i-Qāti'*, called also رقاس فلک *raqqās-i-falak*. (the dancer of the sky). Astrologers say that this planet is of a pearly hue, of beneficent aspect, and with the quality of excessive moistness.

⁴ از تائیران قبض MS. (A). This reading is preferable to that of the text.

⁵ از بن مشکن MS. (A).

⁶ بیاور ده بلطف مهر دله اری MS. (A). MS. (B) is like the text.

of the assembly of the king, for his wrath has forced off the claws from the paws of the male lions.

Shāhanshah Nāṣū i-Dunyā wa-Dīn Maḥmud, by whose equity the partridge with its beak has torn off the claws of the swift-flying¹ hawk

By the fate-like oppression of his enemy he has fallen in danger of ruin,² just as one's nail is in danger in the hands of an unskilled barber³

His head is in danger of severance⁴ by the sword of the daring, like the nail at the time of paring, in accordance with the Hadis⁵

¹ MSS (A) (B) قریز تر

² MS. (A) احمد آید is the better reading as in the text

³ Compare the Arabic proverb. في رأس اليتيم يتعلم الحشام In capite orphani discit fonsor.

There is also a Hindi proverb to the same effect, which runs —
میکھیگا بار کی کئیگا ملاؤ کا

The barber's son will learn and the traveller's head will be cut.

⁴ MSS (A) (B) مرسن بر درود قتلست The reading in the text is a copyist's error

⁵ MSS (A) (B) حامع الاخبار In the تقلیم الاطفار تقلیم (Jāmi' u l-āṭfār) of تقلیم الاطفار يمنع الداء الاعظم ويزيد في الرزق شیخ صدوق we find

"Paring the nails prevents the worst of all diseases (*i.e.*, poverty) and increases the means of subsistence" Also,

من قلم اطفاره وقص شاربه في كل جمعة ثم قال نسم الله وعالي سدة رسول الله اعطي بكل قلامة هنف رقبة من ولد اسماعيل -

'He who pares his nails and trims his beard every Friday saying "In the name of God and in accordance with the ordinance of the prophet of God," every paring shall be counted to him as the manumission of a slave of the sons of Isma'il.'

Special rules are laid down for cutting the nails. They must be cut on Friday, and Muḥammad sa d, He who cuts his nails in alternate order will never be afflicted with blear eyes. It is also said in a Hadis by Ḥamid ibn 'Abdu r-Rahman

من قص اطفاره يوم الجمعة دخل فيه شفاء وخرج منه داء

"He who pares his nails on Friday is filled with health and sickness leaves him" The preferable time for paring the nails is Thursday after the evening prayer. In the case of the right hand one should commence from the little finger, proceeding to the middle finger and thence to the thumb thence to the ring finger and lastly to the forefinger. The order in the left hand is (1) Thumb (2) middle finger (3) little finger (4) forefinger (5) ring finger

From the dread of the falcon of his equity it behoves that they should take to flight¹ when the eagle with lancet-like talons casts his feathers and talons (through fear).

Such a quarry do they see,² that from their absence of claws and their distress, their claw demands as a loan from the small-clawed partridge its claws.

For this reason that in the presence of his power, the sky scratches his head for envy, and each month, because of that power, displays the body of the³ moon in the shape of a nail paring (crescent).

Compared with the perfumed dust raised by his charger the dust-like grains of the musk-bag have become valueless as the dust which is found under every nail.

You would say his arrow is a finger from the hand of victory because it appears as though his nail were like a willow-leaf-bladed soul-destroying spear.

A finger which if he so wills it, like an Indian spear embeds its nail in the mind of iron and the heart of separation.⁴

The sword of his wrath has imprinted such a scar on the cheek of his enemy as remains on the cheek of the mother from the anger⁵ of the infant.

Grudging the life of his evil-disposed enemies, lo! the boars of Fate have sharpened their tusks, and the lions of Destiny their claws.

Power of the world! when the point of thy sword scratches the hearts, it has carried away from the paws of the oppression of the dog-natured sky its claws.⁶

How can thy enemy be at all like thee, how can he approach thy dagger, whereas when he brandishes his dagger it becomes at that moment⁷ like a finger nail.

¹ چو پر ناخن. The text should read thus.

² میان بینند. MSS. (A) (B).

³ MS. (B) writes چون قمر.

⁴ This line should read. نشاند در ضمیر آهن و قلب حجر ناخن. MSS. (A) and (B).

⁵ Text از سوز پسر MSS. (A) and (B) have which must be wrong بود از پنجه جور سپهر سگ.

⁶ The text is wrong, we should read سیر ناخن MSS. (A) and (B).

⁷ The text it appears should read از گاهی MS. (A).

If his pride so misleads him that he finds fault with you, the tip of his finger becomes as dust in his hand and his nail as nothing¹

The edge of thy sword protects the face of the world,² if there had not been the nail as a shield behind the back of the finger tip it had not been well

If the enier of the nail of thy bravery bears a grudge against thee, perchance poor fellow it is because he does not know that the nail is poisonous

I have brought in the word nail (*nākhūn*) as *radif*³ in this 99. poem which is like a charm. Verily it is as useful in magic, as the hair of the head or the tip of the nail⁴

Oh King, do not desert me, so long as the spiteful heaven strikes every moment one nail upon another by way of producing the notes of my fate

Inasmuch as the mention arose of 'Amid, who was controller of all the states of Hindustan, it is essential to reproduce something from poems of his which are rarely met with

Arise 'Amid if thy heart is not cold and dead

Leave thy love poems, and speak the priso of the Lord of the world

Praise the Court of Heaven, for he has raised on high many an azuro dome without the uksome aid of tools,

¹ MS (A) مدر ناخن ،

² MS (A) پیار دوی عالم

³ ردفع Radif The name given to a syllable or word following the rhyme but in no way essential to it. Thus in this poem the word ناخن *nākhūn* is the *radif* the rhyming letter or دفعه *daf'ah* being ج (j). In MS (A) these verses are in the order given here.

⁴ In Persia it is the custom to bury the parings of the nails, and the cuttings of the hair lest some harm should happen to the owner should they fall into the possession of a malicious person with magical power. The butchers also make a hole or a cut in the lala lo bones of sheep for the same reason as they are considered a powerful instrument of magic. In the list of charms given in Gaster's translation of the Sword of Moses we find 69, to send plagues take (pirungs?) from seven men and put them into a new potsherd and go out to the cemetery and there say No 69 and bury it in a place that is not trodden by horses and after yards take the dust from this potsherd and blow it into his face or upon the lintel of his house ' J R A S , Jan 1896 p 185

He has appointed two kings (the Sun and Moon) to travel over this blue dome, and has allotted to them the planets as attendant cavaliers on all sides.

The tiring woman of his skill has displayed a hundred beauteous stars at nightfall from behind the curtain of nine folds.¹

He has ordained for the lady of the world, in Night and Day two able handmaids with the titles of Rūmī and Hindū (i.e., fair and dark).

Without any shop-keeper in the small shop of the sky, he has suspended in one corner a pair of scales with two pans.²

His skill has caused the crimson anemone³ to grow upon the summit of the mountains, his bounty has caused the Sūrī⁷ and Rāhū⁷ to blossom in the garden.

¹ The nine heavens, beginning from the lowest are:—

- 1 فلك القمر Falaku-l-qamar (Moon).
- 2 فلك العطارد Falaku-l-uṭārad (Mercury).
- 3 فلك الزهرة Falaku-z-Zuhra (Venus).
- 4 فلك الشمس Falaku-sh-Shams (Sun).
- 5 فلك المريخ Falaku-l-Mirīkh (Mars).
- 6 فلك المشتري Falaku-l-Mushtarī (Jupiter).
- 7 فلك الزحل Falaku-z-Zuhal (Saturn).
- 8 فلك الثوابت Falaku-s-sawābit (Fixed stars).
- 9 فلك الاطلس Falaku-l-Āṭlas (The plain sky).

N.B.—اطلس Means an unstamped coin)

See the *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt*.

See also Āīn-i-Akbarī III. (Jarrett) 37, note 1.

See also Kashshāf Bib : Ind. Vol. II., p. 1134 and seqq.

² The constellation Libra, called ترازوی جرخ (*tarāzū-i-charkh*) or میزان (*mīzān*). فلك ترازوی جرخ (*tarāzū-i-falak*) or میزان (*mīzān*).

³ سوري "A beautiful red rose of an odoriferous and exhilarating flavour" (sic.) Steingass. In the *Hasht Bihišt* of Amīr Khusrū, we find لب پر از خندہ چون گل سوري . A full smiling lip like the flower of the Sūrī. None of the dictionaries give this word nor can I ascertain what the flower is. شقاچ نعمان *Shaqā'iqu-n Nu'mān* so called because of its redness as being likened to the flashing شقیقۃ of lightning or from النعماں in the sense of "blood" as resembling blood in colour so that it signifies "pieces of blood," (Lane) s. v. شقاچ

شقاچ

At one time with the point of the compasses of his bounty
he has limned the form of the mouth at another with the
pen of his favour he has delineated the two eyebrows

The face of day by his bounty has become a blaze of whiteness 10
The locks of the night by his skill have become a marvel of
blackness

The kings of the earth¹ with submission and humility, in
search of honour have rubbed their faces in the dust of
his threshold

Every month has its moon upon the plain of the sky, at one
time curved like the *chaujan*,² at another round like the ball
So just is he, that at the time of dispensing justice he has
never injured any one even an hair's breadth by oppression
That one who sought his food in the heart's blood of grapes
he made on the morrow black with disgrace like the cheek
of the plum³

The partridge with its (weak) claws could attack a hundred
hawks if so many heads of ants give such power to the
partridge

The morning breeze bestowed out of his all encompassing
bounty upon Chin and Khatā⁴ the perfume of the bag of
the musk deer

Hear from me oh friend, since you have heard the declaration
of unity, a piece of advice to hearing which both your ear
and mine are attentive.

Beware of giving an ear to the sound of the strings of the harp
Beware of turning your attention to the flagon fashioned of
earth (wine flask)

Those who in this way live on good terms with their lovers,
such as you, do not say, Where is one of that company?

سلاطین مجازی ^۱ (Salafin : majazi) So called kings, as opposed to
سلاطین حقیقی ^۲ (Salafin : haqiqi) true kings, i.e., the prophets

چوگان According to the Burhan-i-Qur'a³ this name is given to any stick
with a bent end, especially to the bent stick with which they play the
"duhal" and "naqqura" (kinds of drums). Also applied to a long pole
with a curved end from which is suspended a steel ball as one of the insignia
of royalty. Here it is a "polo stick".

^۴ Wine is forbidden to Muslims by their religion, Cf. Quran, II 216 and
V 92

* لها Kha/a Cathay vid D Herbelot, II, 431 Elathai.

Do you yourself behold every morning, for the dove on the garden bough by its song of Kū Kū¹ bears witness to this beneficent one.

Cast thine eye upon the ground that thou mayest see poured out there many a friend of kind aspect, and many a sweet-natured loved one

Do thou 'Amīl again lay hold of the thread of confession of unity

And hang it upon the rosary of thy prayers as it were pearls. Oh Sovereign Lord! world-possessing Deity who art ever-living

Yet without (the intervention of the vivifying) spirit,² and eloquent without a (material) tongue.

۵. The song of the dove, Where? Where?

رباعي

آن قصر که بر چرخ همی زد پھلو
بودگه او شاهان نہ اندھی رو
دیدیم که بر کنگره اش فاخته
آواز همی داد که کو کو کو کو (Omar Khayyām).

You palace towering to the welkin blue

Where kings did bow them down and homage do

I saw a ring dove on its arches perched

And thus she made complaint Coo. Coo; Coo Coo (Whinfield).

The pious Muhammadans in India say that the ringdove's note is

سبحان تیری قدرت سبحان تیری قدرت Subḥān terī qudrat, Subḥān terī qudrat. Praise be to Thee for thy power.

^{وَ رُوح} *Rūh* is the vital principle the "breath of life" (Gen. ii. 7) as distinguished from the ^{نفس} *nafs* or conscious manifestation of life, or the consciousness itself. Thus we find in the Qur'ān XV. 29.

وَنَفَخْتُ فِيهِ مِنْ رُوحِي wa nafakhtu fīhi min rūhī, "and breathed into it of my spirit;" and again in Qur'ān V. 116.

إِنْ كُنْتَ قَلْتَهُ فَقَدْ عَلِمْتَهُ تَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِي

In kuntu qultulu faqad 'alimtahu ta'lamu mā fī nafsi.

"Had I said so verily thou wouldest have known it, thou knowest what is in my soul"

It is said in a tradition that God created Adam and put into him a ^{نفس} *nafs* and a ^{روح} *rūh*.

It would seem as though the word ^{نفس} *nafs* connotes the same idea as the word *mind*, using this word in the sense of the phenomena produced by

By thy order three daughters have come forth from the soul
Without the pangs of childbirth, and without the intermediary
influence of a husband

Compared with thy ancient order what is Kisrā² and what
is Qaisar

In face of thy decree what is the Khaqan and what is Halaku ?
Without thy command no ant can draw a single breath
of its own will,

Without thy knowledge no sleeper turns from one side to the
other

the action of the روح روح or vital principle upon matter the highest form of matter, with which we are familiar, namely, the nervous structures of the human brain, admits of certain phenomena which in their totality we call mind the existence of a higher form of matter capable of higher manifestation than those which come within our present experience is obviously possible A force apart from matter may, for anything we know, exist in a way that we cannot figure to ourselves for want of some example. Such a force self-existent would be روح روح

¹ These three daughters here referred to are the three divisions of نفس nafs نفس nafs, is by Arabian metaphysicians divided primarily into two divisions (a) العقل nafs l 'aql which is also called العقل العاقل annafsu n nafiyah the reason, mind, or discriminating faculty and (b) الحیات nafs l hayat the breath of life

The first of these is again sub divided into two, that which commands and that which forbids thus they say علان يوازن نفسيه fulanun yuamru nafasati Such an one consults his two minds, i.e., weighs the pros and cons

See Lane article نفس and روح روح, also Ghayasu l lughat, and Kashshaf art نفس

² كسرى The Chosroes Qaisar قيسار Caesar, an Emperor

خان A Turkish word meaning Emperor The name given to the Emperor of China and potentates of Chinese Tartary (See de Courteille Turk Orient Dict حاقدان) Khaqan Originally the title Qaan was given to the supreme sovereign of the Mo'uls, while the subordinate princes of the Chaglatai and other Chingiz lines were styled only Khan

After a time the higher Qaa lost its peculiar distinctive dignity and was used by many besides the sovereign (see Tarikh Rashedi (Elias and Ross), p 30 n 1)

Halaku descendant of Changiz Khan

Although I like a harp am hump backed and head downwards,¹
 Yet in the assembly of thy hope I play the air of Yā Huwa.²
 On that day when out of awe of thee all the assembly of the
 prophets own their allegiance on bended knee,
 Oh Lord do thou of thy clemency bestow upon me, wretched
 man that I am, forgiveness, for I am defiled with disobedience
 and engulfsed in it on all sides.

His also is the following in praise of the prophet *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him* ³

I fashion now a garment of song the embroidery of whose sleeve, flows gracefully from the adornment of the soul
 as the ornament of its divine Creator

102. I choose the path of thy forming by the ornament of straightforward praise,
 Because the two worlds are an indication ⁴ of the embroidery of its sleeve ;
 Rose of the garden of the prophetic office, than whose spikenard ⁵

¹ The word چنگ chang in its original sense means bent or curved, hence it means a hook, and especially the hook called also "gajak" كيچك with which elephants are driven. Another secondary meaning is the bent hand and fingers of man, or the claws of animals and talons of birds. Also the name of a musical instrument (*Burhān-i-Qāfi*). The چنگ was played with a plectrum called زخمہ Zakhma, and from its description as كوز Kūz and سرنگون sarnigūn was like the عود 'ud of the Arabs, and very similar to the mandolin of our times.

² ياهو. Yā huwa. An invocation to the most High—equivalent to "My God and my Lord."

³ These words are not in MS. (A) which has no introduction to the poem. MS. (B) has وله قصيدة في النعوت.

⁴ MS. (A). بجزيره. MS. (A) بجزيره.

⁵ MSS. (A) and (B) كنابس.

⁶ سنبيل Sumbul (*Nardostachys jatamansi* N. O. Valerianaceæ) νάρδος, or spikenard of the ancients, a perfume held in high esteem. (S. John xii. 2).

In the *Bahru-l-Jawāhir* it is stated that there are two kinds of Sumbul—Sumbul-i-Hindī, and Sumbul-i-Rūmī.

It is laxative and a tonic to the brain.....useful in dropsy, in flatulence and as a haemostatic in metrorrhagia.

The perfumed sumbul is the variety called Sumbul-i-Hindī while the Sumbul-i-Rūmī is also called Nardīn.

See also Ibnu-l-Baiṭār (Sontheimer), Vol. II., pp. 58 *et seqq.*

the morning breeze has never borne from Chin to Māchin¹
a rarer odour from the fragrant musk. •

Head of the created beings of the world, by whose glorious advent, the heaven has brought forth a pearl of great price from the shell as an offering.

The heaven has placed its two standards firmly planted in the seventh of its citadels, throughout the length and breadth of the world in the five stated times of prayer.²

His onyx-like³ eye has not cast one glance upon the signet of

¹ Cf. Tieffenthaler III 107 Abul Feda (Reinaud) II II, 122 D'Herbelot Vol. II Art. Khatai. Macelin or Maha Chin see Jin-i Akbar, II 118 and note 2.

"Japhet is credited by Orientals with the paternity of China who received the Celestial empire as his inheritance and begot Machin his first born"

² The phrase توره مدن means literally the six sided oven-shaped (world). The six sides or divisions of the world are—

الإنس، عالم الـ 'ālamu l-ins, the world of mankind

الجَنُونِ عَالَمُ الْجِنِّينَ 'alamu l jinn, the world of the jinn or genii.

عَالَمُ الْمَلَائِكَةِ 'alamu l malashah, the world of angels.

‘الْجَمِيعُ’ عَالَمُ الْحَيَاةِ ‘alamu l-hayāt, the animal world

النباتات عالم 'alamu-n nabat, the vegetable world

عَالَمُ الْمَعَادِنِ 'alamu l ma'adin, the mineral world

The five stated times of prayer are known as—

بیتر 'ashra and fajr طهر 'asra 'aqr maghrib عشاء مغرب عصر zuhr

The two standards *ala* 'alam are the sun and moon, of Qur'an, XXXVI., 38, 39.

⁸ M S (A) reads جَرْعَش His onyx like eyes, &c.

This must be taken to refer to a saying of the prophet Muhammad "The cornelian for me and the onyx for my enemies" According to the *Nahabud dahr* (p 69), he said this "because the onyx causes its wearer to become ill tempered, rash, precipitate, and litigious . There are several varieties of onyx the best is that in which the markings are of equal breadth ...

The whiteness of the onyx increases as the moon waxes, and diminishes as it

The people of Shura (one) where the onyx is found will not approach

The people of China (中国) where the onyx is found, will not approach the mines on account of the unluckiness of the stone, so that only the poorest class will work there

"One property possessed by the onyx is that of curing scald head in children - it also acts as a sialagogue causing them to dribble when it is hung round their necks"

See also Lane Art حزع where it is stated that the wearing of an onyx in a signet induces anxiety, disquietude of mind, grief and terrifying dreams

Solomon¹ because there is the stamp of his seal upon every-
thing from the moon above to the fish below.²

Fate and Destiny are his guardians, Eternity and Hope his
helpers,

Earth³ and the time are his advocates, angels and heaven
pledged to him.

His lip is honey and his cheek a rose, what an advantage to
both worlds,

His gulangabīn⁴ (confection of rose and honey) relieves the
tremor of disobedience,

The mouth of the shell is full of the pearls of his pearl-like
words,

The belt of the horizon is bejewelled with his widespread
faith,

The prosperity of the body of the faithful is in his left hand,
and the good fortune of the face of those who follow the
path of his religion is in his right hand.

The pages of the seven heavens are but an atom of his being,
The two worlds, compared with the stream of his might, are
but a sweat drop from his forehead,

The tongue of a green lizard⁵ is one of the marks of his seal,
The web of the spider was a curtain which concealed his
relation,⁵

¹ Solomon's power lay according to tradition in the signet of his ring, on
which was engraved the "most mighty name."

² See Lane *Arabian Nights* introduction n. 21 and Chap. i. n. 15. This stone
was supposed to shew Solomon every thing he wished to know.

³ See D'Herbelot art. Solimān.

² Called يَهْمُوت Yahmūt upon which the world is said to rest. See page
152, n. 2.

³ MS. (A) زَمَانٌ وَرَقْمَيٌ.

⁴ گلنگبین The properties of the rose are said in the *Bahru-l-Jawāhir* to be
laxative, expectorant, and anaphrodisiac : while honey is said to be a light
dew which falls upon flowers and is collected by bees, it is hot and dry in the
second degree. It relieves dimness of vision and is a stomachic tonic, is a
laxative and expectorant. *Sadidī* further says that honey is beneficial to old
men, but injurious to youths and people of hot temperament, is aphrodisiac
when heated with pulp of roses, and cures the bites of snakes and of dogs.
Neither book mentions its use in the treatment of tremors specifically, but
Sadidis statement that it is good for old men may refer to senile tremors.

⁵ This line should read. سُجَلْش بِهِ رَقْمَيٌ سُو-سَمَارِيٌ بَزْبَانٌ See page 110,

In the moon-decked heaven, one glance of his clost the heart of the moon tho beloved of the sky into two halves as though it were a piece of cloth¹
 Both beasts of prey and birds have girded the loins of faithfulness to him.
 Both young babes and old men have opened their lips in his praise.
 The rose and the thorn of fragrant flowers are the fruits of his love and kindness.
 The (sweet) sugar and the (bitter) colocynth are both reminders of his love and wrath.
 The garden, in submission² to his creative power, like the violet has scratched its cheek (with vexation), Look! there is a blue mark upon its jasmino cheek.
 His body is composed of spirit of divine sanctity, which is the purification of³ the spirit of the human. One cannot reach to his essential constitution, for his composition is of light.

note 3, for the story of the lizard. When Muḥammad was fleeing from Mekka to Medina in company with Abu Bakr as Siddiq, his father-in-law, they came to a cave in the Jabal Siur and took refuge in it from their enemies. In order to conceal their whereabouts a spider was directed to spin its web over the entrance, which led the pursuers, who had followed them thus far, to conclude they had not entered the cave

Hatatu-l Qulub. See also Muir's Life of Mah. II 257 note

Compare the following lines by Ya'qubu-l Manjauqi, quoted by Ibn Khalliqān.

إِنَّهَا الْمُدْعى الْحَسَارِ دُعَى الْكَبِيرَ وَالْجَبَرُوتُ
سَعَ دَادُ لَمْ يَقْدِ لَيْلَةً إِلَارَ وَكَانَ الْحَسَارُ الْعَنْكَبُوتُ

Oh thou who art so vain glorious! leave glory to him who is the lord of might and of power

David's weaving would have been of no service on the night of the cave
 The honour was all given to the spider

See Ibn Khalliqān (de Slane), Vol IV, p 375.

According to another account immediately after Muḥammad and Abu Bakr had entered the cave, an Acacia tree grew up at the entrance and a pair of pigeons had already nested in it, while a spider's web closed what remained of the entrance D. Herbelot II 231 art. (Hegrah)

١ MS (A) چو قراۃ

٢ MSS (A) and (B) چوں از بیمار خلقش

٣ MSS. (A) and (B) کہ صفا درج اسی

When Barāq the lightning-fleet came under his stirrup he leapt towards the highest heavens so that the curved crescent moon was like the hinder part of his saddle.

When his courser trod the face of the plain of the earth he placed his foot in such a way that the heaven became like the earth to him.

One step of his reached to the extremity of the earth from the house of Ummahānī,¹ the second step reached to the Sidra² from the earth like the angels.

The orb of the sun, the untamed steed, was led along in his cavalcade.

The moon having stamped a brand upon its quarter with its horseshoe shaped crescent.

Consider the goodness of his nature in that for our sakes in the next world, he has long pleaded the cause of his followers with a heart full of pity.

Wisdom, by his favour, is drawn out from the well of superstition by the rope of the cord of Chastity³ which was his mighty title

Asad Ullah leaving his lair, with his polished spear has torn out the heart of the envious cur-hearted ones like the tongue of a dog.

A band⁴ like the ants of the ground travelling fast⁵ along a path slender as a hair.

Shining like the lightning from the brilliancy of the torch of his religion.⁶

A band (of men lost) like a hair which has fallen into leaven⁷ by reason of his wrath fell into the fire from the bridge, with their waists bound like the ant in their hostility.

¹ See note 2, page 105. See Qur'ān Sur. XVII.

² A tree in the seventh heaven having its roots in the sixth : " After that I was taken up to Sidratu-l-Muntahā and behold its fruits were like water pots and its leaves like elephants ears " (Mathew) Mishkātu-l-Maṣābiḥ, Vol. II. p. 694.

See also Hughes' Dict. of Islām. . (Sidratu-l-Muntahā).

³ حبل عصمت MS. (A) (B) Qur'ān Sur. III. 98.

⁴ مگھی MS. (A) (B) This alludes to the Muslims.

⁵ پویان MS. (A)

⁶ شمع دینش MS. (A)

⁷ تغیر بخییر MS. (B) These are Kāfirs, infidels.

On the surface of the board of his sincerity who can ruse his head in deceit¹ since not even the heaven survives the throw of his two dice²

Seven pillars are established by his four friends, for the seven heavens which are firmly fastened to the pole.

Of these four stars³ there are two conjunctions both of which are fortunate The Moon and Jupiter⁴ are in conjunction, each one with its own partner

In the two ears of the four elements how happy is my earring From the two earrings⁵ sprang eight Paradises with the two lights which give sight to the eyes

'Amid has devoted his powers in all directions to sing his pruses, if perchance the good and bad of his words may gain some currency

How can I boast of my descent, here, when I from my heart supplicate the intercessor of the day of judgment whose religion God approves

From the embroidery of my eulogy, what legality⁶ is evident, in my magic? It is like wine whose pure brilliancy is enhanced by the crystal cup⁷

From the sugarcandy of his sayings the lips of the parrots

¹ معا MS (A) (B)

² MS (A) (B) كعبتين كعب مهرج Kabatayn The temples of Mokka and Jerusalem

³ The first four Khalifs the "rightly directed" MS (A) reads دو قرآن

⁴ Both the Moon and Jupiter are fortunate See Ibn Khaldun Proleg (De Slane) II 217 and seqq

⁵ دو قرطہ، Hassan and Husain هشت حدت Their eight children دو سور، Ali and Fatima

⁶ See Ibn Khalliqan (Slane) III 344 n (8) Magic was held to be unlawful except the magical effect of eloquence such as in poetry which is called السحر والحال As sahru l halal Hafiz says

معبرست این شعر یا ستر حال

هایف آورد اس سخن یا حریل

Is this poem a miracle or is it lawful magic?

Has a heavenly messenger brought this message or was it Gabriel himself?

See Hughes Dict of Islam article Magic, also Lamb sub voce ستر

⁷ This couplet is omitted in MS (B)

چوئی که صرف صفوں چوپیا لے شد معینش MS (A) reads

are imbued with sugar as though from the tray of eloquence they have eaten the crumbs of his wisdom.

What person am I, what parrot am I, I that sing these verses ?
When I sing his praise it is like the buzzing of a fly. May the breath of the parrots of my soul not fail for a single moment from the singing his praise and proclaiming his triumph.

ANOTHER QASIDA.¹

Oh thou from awe of whose order the heaven is bowed in submission, the proclamation of thy might is this, Thou standest alone thou hast no companion.

Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, thy dominion is the dominion of uprightness.

Thy empire is no changeable empire. Thy rule is not a divided rule.

The rays of the brightness of thy holiness are the portrayers of the sun and moon. The recluse of thy kingdom is in the highest altitude of Simāk reaching even to Samak.²

At one time thou givest to the partridge of the day wings and feathers of fiery hue, at another in the liquid cage of the heavens thou makest the moon-tailed pigeon of the night³ as an angel.⁴

Thou hast broken the cup of the moon at the head and foot of each month.⁵ Thou hast bound thine all-encompassing contemplation around the star Parak.⁶

¹ MS. (A) has the words **أيضاً**. *Aizan lahu* Also by him.

² The fourteenth house of the houses of the Moon. There are two Simāks one As-Simāku-r-Rāmi, the lance-bearing Simāk (Arcturus); and the other As-Simāku-l-A'zal, the unarmed Simāk (Spica Virginis.) Both of these are in the feet of the constellation Leo. The word Simāk is said by the Arab commentator on Ulug Beg to denote great altitude, in derivation from the root Samaka to rise, to be exalted. See Ibn Khalliqān (de Slane) Vol. I. note 11.

Samak, the fish, which is below the Earth bearing on its back a cow which bears the earth on its horn. (*Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt*).

³ مَدْبُور Burhān-i-Qāṭī'. A bird having claws, with a black and white tail from which they make feathers for arrows : Also a pigeon all black with a white tail.

⁴ MS. (A) reads **غَلَكَ** which seems to have no meaning. The text reads **غَلَقَ** with a variant **مَلَكَ** which we find in MS. (B).

⁵ Both in the new moon, and in the last quarter, the moon has a defective form ; crescent or decrescent.

⁶ پرک Parak. The star Canopus. *Burhān-i-Qāṭī'*.

Thy power is the gardener, the four quarters of the earth
are his tilth Thou hast cast around that as the shelter of
an eyelid, the bounty of the seven oceans¹

From the midst of the oven of the east, thy order bringeth
forth the loaf of gold of the west after the silvery loaf²

In the garden full of thy skilled works, the hand of the tiring
woman of the morning breeze rubs on the rouge of adorn-
ment like the beauties³ do over the patches⁴

The rose with the mark of the mole on its cheek displayed
its buds Like the cheek of the beauty the moon displays
its face from the heavens⁵

On the extremity of the plain of spring issuing from the door
of thy creation, the tulip sits with a shield the willow
stands with its crown

The jasmine and the rose proclaim thy skill with lip and
cheek

Thy care preserves the sugar of the confection with salt⁶

Except thy eternal existence how can my caravan arrive at
secondary existence⁷

In the eye of truth there is *Lahl*⁸ (of ornament) in the eye

¹ These are according to the *Bahr i Quṣ*:

بحر جرجن *Bahr i Jurjān* بحر طورق *Bahr i Ṭūrqi*

بحر وس *Bahr i Viṣas* دریای دوم *Darya i Ru*

بحر مغرب *Bahr i Maghrib* دریای چین *Darya i Chīn*

بحر حوارم *Bahr i Khārazm*

² MSS (A) and (B) read حمل *Himāl*

³ MSS (A) and (B) ترک مثال *Turk Matal*

⁴ حمال حمل *Himal Hīmal* A patch for the face (*Bu 13 i Qāfi*)

⁵ I read here وح درک مدة او روی نهاد او فلک This seems the
best reading Both MSS (A) and (B) lend countenance to it The reading
in the text is impossible

⁶ That is to say the sweet lips of his beloved are so piquant that it seems
as though they were tinged with salt Conserve of roses is called پرورش
parvarish

⁷ قدم (qidam) Existence from all eternity For حدوث (hudūt) see note

⁸ page 1

⁹ The *Lahl* was used as a collyrium مدل کشیدن (*Mil Kashidān*)
is to put out the eyes مل مل called also ململ *Milmil* is the bodkin
or style used for applying the *Lahl*

of infidelity and doubt there is the probe (of destruction). Whoever has the inscription on his ring in accordance with thy way¹ verily is saved, but whoever has on his forehead the brand of opposition to thee verily he is lost.

In the glory of thy approbation why should any one take to craft? Why should the saw of Nūh ibn Lamak² cut down every tree?

The parrot of my life at the remembrance of thee has remained safe from the snare of grief,³ just as in the ocean of Jupiter the Fish is safe from the net.⁴

Like an Ethiopian and a Greek, the day has taken away from thy threshold a gold embroidered mantle, the night has despoiled thee of a dress distinguished by a plumed⁵ cap.

One draught of thy kindness is equal to the display of several rows (of cups).

A morsel of thy favour is for the accountants⁶ several laks.

As long as thou drawest him as by the end of the cord, no one turns away his face from the door. It were better that the neck of the heaven should be in the noose of the Milky-way.

Thy wrath drives out the pride of tyrants⁷ from their heads, by means of the point of the sting of a mosquito⁸ not by the advanced guard of an army.

¹ MS. (A) reads دھش but this is an error.

² نوح بن ملک The text and both MSS. read نوح بن لمک. See Genesis v. 28-30. Noah the son of Lamech; also Gen. vi. 14.

³ زد غم MSS. (A) and (B). The text reads wrongly فد غم

⁴ When Jupiter enters the constellation of Pisces he is in the ascendant.

⁵ فلک کلک [MS. (B)] کل کلک [MS. (A)] Text

⁶ کلاہ پوڈار = کنل کلی کلی *kulah-i-pardar*. (*Burhān-i-Qāti‘*).

⁷ اهل جربہ MSS. (A) (B).

⁸ حباب را [MS. (B)] حبابرا [MS. (A)] جبابرة [MS. (B)]

⁹ پشہ MS. (A)

In the *Nāsiķu-t-tawārīkh* of Lisānu-l-Mulk we find the following account of this incident:—

"The cause of the death of Nimrod was this, that after despairing of his ability to burn Abraham, in consequence of his protection by the Almighty, the idea of entering into conflict with the Most High entered his head, and

If the drops of the bounty of thy nearness distil upon the palate of my heart say to the clouds of supplication "Do not rain" and say to the tear of hope "Do not fall"

I am fulfilled with thy bounty like a pearl in the cloudy weather¹

Not like the wine flask which comes forth from the assembly after yielding the benefit of its fulness²

I have attained the dignity of eloquence from thy consent
By thy help it is that this joyful sound³ has been placed in my hand by destiny

How long shall I utter cries of grief round the carpets of Emperors, because at thy door there is a sustenance-gaining world free from vexation⁴

Wine which gives you a headache is better cast on the ground
A carpet if it be of silk⁵ is more fit to be burnt than thorns

he ordered Abraham to be brought before him, then turning towards him he said, Oh Abraham, bid your God to come with his army, and array himself against me in battle so that the one who conquers may have the upper hand. Tomorrow, that is Wednesday, we will arrange the battle field before this city, and test man with man

Then having reviewed his army he came out from the city with a countless array, and drew up in line on the battle field

The prophet Abraham came out alone and unaccompanied, in face of that vast host, and stood there. Suddenly, by the command of the Almighty the face of heaven became darkened by a cloud of mosquitos which are the most contemptible of all creatures and they at once began to sting the army of Nimrud, and put them to flight, and most of those worthless ones died. Nimrud, on seeing this, in fear and shame turned his back upon the whirlpool of death, and fled into his fort. Suddenly a single mosquito entering after him stung his hip, and reached his brain. For forty years the mosquito fed upon his brain, after which Nimrud died in abject misery.

As the mosquito is known to be the intermediary host of certain parasites and may be the means of conveying infective disease, there may be a substratum of truth in this fable.

¹ در عذیبان MS (4) The text reads wrongly عذیبان در

² That is to say my fulness is one which is permanent like that of the pearl which remains hidden in the shell not transitory like that of the wine flask which leads to emptiness

³ حمک *Hamk* literally means the sound of clapping the hands from joy

⁴ MS (5) دی گلک

⁵ By the laws of Islam cloth made entirely of silk is not permissible for use either as clothing at times of prayer or as a prayer carpet. Cloth woven of silk and cotton mixed is permissible and is called *جعفر* *migha*.

Oh Lord, with that rose of benevolence from the exhalations
of whose excellence the olfactory sense of the angels
is refreshed while the musk of Chīn remains dry as a
busk,

Let me refresh the olfactories of my soul every moment,
until I am on the brink of the grave ; that my dust may
be like a rose garden far removed from the pricking of
thistles.

The possession of sincerity, and true equity, the root of
modesty, and the secret¹ of truth, the house of religion
is founded on all of these both by bond and deed.

On the heaven of his prophecy, for the travellers along the
high road of the sacred law, each of these four pillars² is a
sign of the injunction Go on thy way and be pure.³

May every breath of my life be praise and glory, until the
breath of the morning, that each breath may then be a
worthy present for the soul.

Think that the pupils of my two eyes are four in affection,
(i.e., four Khalifs).

Otherwise thou wilt fail to gain Paradise, and art ready for
the door of hell.

What good will apostasy do you when 'Alī is independent
of you ? How can gold shew its perfect purity if the
touchstone does not shew the shine of it ?

What blame is it to the body of the lute if during the tune⁴
either its silken string breaks, or its bridge slips down.

Go, and open the letter of the Prophet in all sincerity, that
it may efface from your mind the suspicion as regards
“Faddak.”⁵

¹ MSS. (A) (B) رَفِيقٌ.

The term رَافِضٌ *rāfiḍi* is applied by Sunnī Muslinis to any of the Shī'ah
sects. See Hughes. *Dict. of Islām*. Art. Rāfiḍi.

² The four khalifs.

³ *Hadīq*. مَذْكُورٌ أَصْحَابِيْ كَلِّ جَمْعٍ بِإِيمَانٍ اهْتَدَيْتُمْ My companions are
like the stars, whichever of them you follow you will be led by it.

⁴ بِنَعْمَةِ دُرٍ MS. (A).

⁵ *Faddak* was an estate near Medina which Muhammed left to his daughter
Fātīma.

After the prophet's death Abū Bakr took it and Fātīma demanded it of

And he who like the ill-omened owl¹ boasts of being a Khārijī²

him, he replied "Thy father said that we who are prophets do not leave hereditary legacies, all that I leave is for Moslems.

لست معاشر الابياء لا يورث ما تركها لها صدقة

The Shi'ahs say that Abu Bakr seized Faddak by force. The poet denies this assertion in the above verse

¹ دُوْم شُوْم The ill omen attending the owl is common to all countries, probably from the habit it has of frequenting ruined buildings. The Arabic proverb indicates the estimation in which the owl was held.

لو كان في اليوم حير ما تركها الصياد

Si in ulula bonum fuissest, tam tenator non reliquisset Freytag Meid. Prov II p 572

The story told by Mas'ūdī about Bahram points in the same direction See Ibn Khaldūn (de Slane) Prolegomenes, I 107

In the *Hawātū l-Hawācan* there is a story told of Al Ma'mūn who in the course of his peregrinations one day saw a young man writing something on the wall with a piece of charcoal. He ordered his servants to see what the man was writing and it was as follows

يا قصر قد حمع فيك الشوم واللؤم متى يعشش في اركانك الدوم
يوم يعشش ديك البوم من فرجي اكون اول من تعيك مرغوم

Oh palace ill luck and curse are assembled in thee,

When will the owl make her nest in thy pillars?

Happy the day when the owl builds her nest in thee!

I shall be the first to announce thy downfall!

He explained this before Al Ma'mūn by saying that he was in great distress and hoped to benefit by the ruin of the palace

² The name Khārijī was given to any one who denied any one of the true Imams (see Cureton's *Shahrastani Milal wa Ashkal*, page 85.)

See the article Khawarij in Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*.

The Khārijī heresy was that any man of no matter what nation or tribe may be appointed Khalifah provided that he was a good man and was elected by the whole body of Moslems.

See for a fuller account of this sect Sale's *Qar'an Preliminary Discourse*, p 123 (Ed of 1857) (*Badger Imams and Seyyids of Oman*, Appendix, pp 374, and seq) (Osborn, *Islam under the Arabs*, p 116). The last mentioned gives a full account of the origin of this heretical sect when 'Ali and Mu'awia met at Siffin from which the following is an extract "The valour of 'Ali was brilliantly seconded by that of his favourite lieutenant Malika b.-Ashtar, the Marshal Ney of the Arabian Army. A tremendous charge by Malik at last forced a wing of the Syrian troops to give ground. Gradually the whole line was forced back, the retreat became a rout."

However at this critical moment Amīn ibn al-'Ās knowing the fanatical character of 'Ali's troops, ordered a number of Syrian soldiers to advance

compared to the confidant of the cave¹ is like the night-flying bat² in comparison with the standard of the day (the Sun). Put aside your desire of rebellion, say not a word save in respect, how can a dog contend with a tawny lion.³

What power have you to decide between the companions of the Prophet, you who from foolishness like a blind man, seek the softness of ermine from the stoat.⁴

It were better that the skirt of the time was freed by skilful management, from the impurity of those abomination-working sects before that this sound reaches their ears
*What brought you into hell?*⁵

Oh Lord! although for a long time my heart has been afflicted by the darlings of Chigil, and held fast by the rosy-cheeks of Yamak⁶

towards their line bearing copies of the Qur'ān fixed to the heads of their lances. "Let the blood of the Faithful cease to flow" they cried "let the Book of God decide between us."

'Alī's soldiers thereupon turned upon him headed by certain men whom Ash-Shahrastānī names, and insisted upon 'Alī recalling Malik Al-Ashtar from fighting against the Moslims "or" said they "we will assuredly deal with you as we dealt with 'Uṣmān" and insisted upon the matter in dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya being settled by arbitration.

1. *Abū Bakr*.—The sole companion of Muḥammad when he fled from Mecca to Medīnah, cf. Qur'ān ix. 40.

إِلَّا تَنْصُرُوهُ فَقَدْ نَصَرَ اللَّهُ أَذْ أَخْرَجَهُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ إِذْ أَنْهَمُوا فِي الْغَارِ

Unless ye help him, and God did help him when these who disbelieved drove him forth the second of two, when they twain were in the cave (of Jabal Saur).

2. شَبْ تُرْك. MSS. (A) and (B) have شَبْ تُرْك which seems to have no meaning.

3 Kizil Arslān is the Turkish for "red lion." He was son of Ildighiz the first of the Atābaks of Āzar baijān whose dynasty commenced in 555 H. and ended in 622 H. Muḥammad the elder son of Ildighiz succeeded his father and was in turn succeeded by Kizil Arslān who was assassinated in 587 H. (D'Herbelot) (Beale).

4. *fanak*. The animal commonly known by the name *dalla*, weasel or stoat.

5 Qur'ān lxxiv. 43. فِي جَنَّاتٍ يَتَسَاءَلُونَ عَنِ الْمُجْرِمِينَ مَا سَلَكَمُ فِي سَقَرَ.

In gardens shall they ask each other about the sinners—what drove you into hell-fire?

6 *Chigil*. The *Burhān-i-Qāti'* says: A city in Turkestān where inhabitants are exceedingly beautiful and are unequalled in archery.

Yet in the beginning of the *nun* and *dul* of my age (51) 109
after the year *لہٰ* and *nun* and *hā* (655 H),¹ thanks
be to God that the bird of my ambition has burst the
bonds of this net and gone free

I have washed my hands of the one, and have freed my foot
from the other, springing out of both snare like the clay
pellets from a pea shooter²

At thy footstool henceforth my constant cry is "I repent,"
my supplication is to thee, my secret thoughts and open
dealings are with thee

Thou shewest me mercy at that time when by the intoxica-
tion of the wineskin of death both my chin and jaws are
cold and shrunken³

When my breath is bound upon the balista of my body like

Yaqut says A city lying beyond the river Shun in Turkestan near
Turrar Thence sprang Abu Muhammad Abilur Rahman ibn Yahim ibn
Lunas Aljizi the Khatib of Samarqand in the days of Qadar Khan he died
in Sha'ban 516 H

Yamak Name of a city and country celebrated for the beauty of its
people *Burha* : *Qais*⁴

Yaqut does not mention this

¹ This above shews that Amid Lumaki was born in the year 601 H. The
mode of reckoning is that always adopted. There does not appear to be any
intended double entendre here, though the word *دعا* which stands for 51
means good guidance, no meaning can be attached to the *دعا* which stands
for 655. See page 99 note 4

² تُفَكْ *tufak* is a long tube for throwing clay balls through by the force
of the breath of ^{لُعْنَى} *lūnā* Steingass Dict

It is also called پُفِک *Pufik*

³ cf English pop gun traced by Skeat (*Etym. Dict.*) to the base *P*, expres-
sive of the act of blowing Skt *bukk*

پُف کردن *pif lan* to blow out—to puff

چراغی را که ایزد نموده

هر انکس پُف کند روش سورو

A lamp which God has lighted

He who attempts to blow it out burns his hand

⁴ و must be added in the text after the word سکوایات MS (4). This
appears to mean that when he is at the point of death he finds mercy. The
intoxication is the unconsciousness resulting from approaching death and
the retraction of the chin and lower jaw in the death struggle is believed to
be the effects of the wineskin

a missile, then the stone of the balista¹ of death strikes my body breaking it as though it were an earthen jar.²
 Grant me a place at the banquet of thy pardoning mercy,
 At that time when the Angel of Death says to me "Take and eat,"³
 Shewing his helplessness Amid thy slave offers these verses in praise of thy excellence to the best of his power.
 Accept these few brief words from this vile cur,⁴
 For this mangy cur is a partner of your journey.
 Thy praise is written on my heart, afterwards comes the praise of the Prophet. May every word besides these be erased from my heart.

AN EULOGISTIC QASIDA.

Oh thou upon whose jasmine-like face are the countless toils of the violet-hued locks.

By whose ruby lips the brilliant pearls are imprisoned.

Thy locks are an armourer who every moment brings forth Fragrant chains to fetter thy lily-like face.

Thy lily face is better confined by the links of thy spikenard-hued locks.

Bid the morning breeze as it breathes not to remove the chains (of thy hair) from thy rosy (cheeks).

Thy mouth is like a delicate bud which bursts into smiles; Loosen the folds of that bud even if with the point of a thorn.

Thy rose-petalled cheeks are adorned by the bonds of thy dark and fragrant locks.

¹ This appears to be the author's meaning. The convulsive breathing is compared to the jerking action of the balista.

² If we read **گزک** for **گزق** the meaning will be "strikes it with the elephant goad." There is some uncertainty about the meaning of the word **گزق**. One meaning is according to the *Burhān-i-Qāti'* "an earthenware vessel which is used for holding dates."

³ **فتک** **گزق** should be the reading. MS. (A) MS. (B) read **فتک** **گزک**.

⁴ **قُتْق** (*qutuq*) is a Turkish word signifying any thing eaten as a relish.

گزک (*gazak*) is the Persian equivalent of **قُتْق**. (*qutuq*).

⁵ This translation is admittedly inelegant, but it is inevitable.

Save on thy rose who has ever seen so becoming a bond?

Perchance thou didst say, thy face is like the rose and tulip to look upon, the fragrant down on thy cheek is like the edging of a bed of tulips.

Thy cheek was not fit for this, why does it bear its chain, like me who bear my chain in the time of the reign of this monarch.

The world conquering king Naṣīr-u-l-Haqq (ally of the truth), he who places upon the hands and feet of meanness a thousand fetters by his generosity.

Wālā Muhammad Balban, who entangles rebels in the time of war, in the noose of his wrath.¹

Oh king of the age, by whose auspicious fortune the treasurer of Fate has undone the fastenings of the shell of the mine of prosperity.

Beneath the saddle of the confession of thy enemy on the day of fighting, each girth of thy saddle becomes sixty-four² thongs to bind him.

He is like the opium, provoking quarrels and suspicion,

If his opium remains enclosed within the poppy head.³

When the aromatic odour of thy good qualities removed the bond from the wrinkled mouth of the musk bag of Tūtār, ambergris gained a fresh odour⁴ from its fragrant breeze, and the rose bud too was loosed from its prison by the newly arrived spring.

¹ These couplets are transposed in MS. (A) as given above.

² شَصْت وْ چار بند I do not understand this, nor can I get any adequate explanation of it.

³ MS. (A) أَفِيونشْ گُرْبَهَا. The Bahru-l-Jauāhir sums up the properties of opium thus قَلِيلَه يَنْفع وَ يَدُوم وَ كَثِيرَه يَقْتَل qaliluhu yañfau wa yañdm wa kāthiruhu yaqtalu.

In small doses it is beneficial acting as a soporific, in large doses it kills.

No mention is made of its quarrel-provoking properties, and from the second-half of the couplet it would seem as though the quarrels are provoked by its cultivation rather than by the drug.

⁴ نَسِيم تَوْسَه MS. (A). The text reads تَوْسَه نَسِيم.

The heaven every moment casts the fetter of intoxication on those who are drunk with the cup of thy favour, by the obstruction of their brain.¹

Thy kingdom is a rivulet flowing from the spring of satisfied desire; safety, enjoyment and pleasure are the banks of this stream.

In such a way open the road of equity for the ends of victory, That by thy justice no fitters may exist in the world save the locks of lovers' hair.

You see one who has assisted injustice in his soul in whose path

Destiny places countless ³ obstacles.

Like Naushirwān when thou knockest at the door of justice, Thou keepest not the chains firmly fastened on bad and good.

In thy reign, it behoves that no one in his lifetime should see any fetter, save on the foot of the cypress and the finger-bearing leaf of the Chinār.³

The knot of the dragon's tail and the dragon's head ⁴ is a fetter on the sky, come and relieve the distressed heaven from its bondage.

That the sun and moon may become relieved of the affliction

¹ Both MSS. (A and B) have هر که افگند. I am not satisfied with this rendering but can suggest no better.

² بیشمار بند. MS. (A) reads صد هزار بند.

³ *Platanus orientalis*. The oriental plane has a broad palmate leaf. It is the Sycamore of the ancients according to Balfour.

⁴ عَذَّقْ مَعْذَقْ met caput et canda (رأس و ذنب) pro quo etiam dicitur عَذَّقْ تَيْن (dual), qui est term, techn: astron: Bl. "Caput et cauda draconis, i. e., nodus ascendens et descendens." Vüller sub voce دَقَّة. The *Istilāhātu-l-Funān*, says that the 'Uqdatu-r-Rā's is also called 'Uqdatu-sh-shimālīya and the 'Uqdatu-z-Zanab is called 'Uqdatu-l-Junūbiya, and the two together are called *Jawazahr* جوازه. These terms are fully explained in the Article الخنزير p. 510, Vol. I. See also Lane s. v. تَيْن where the terms are explained as being the ascending and descending nodes of the planet.

of eclipse¹ in the knot of the dragon's tail,² like me who
am in the bond of distress

Thou hast ordered that the learned should be imprisoned,
Beware that thou layest no bond upon the learned

Woe is me! Honour them rather out of policy, and on the 112.
newly wedded bride of eulogy bind the princely pearl
taken from the casket of my heart.

Has ever any monarch placed a bond on literary men out of
love of empire and usurpation?

I, at all events, am a talking parrot, not a hunting falcon,
the hawk's jesses are not rightly placed on the legs of
parrots

Why do you imprison me, as from my secret heart there is
an evident fastening (of grief) fixed upon the door of my
heart's fortress

Loose my bonds, and by way of conquering the fortress, fix

¹ As regards the word *كسوب* *Kusuf* it is generally held that this word is more specially applicable to an eclipse of the sun while *حسرف* *Husur* is applied to denote an eclipse of the moon. The *Ghiyagu'l Lughat* applies it to either while the *Kashfati Izzilahat*: *Funkun* lays down that *كسوب* *Kusub* should be used to denote a total eclipse, and *حسرف* *Husur* a partial eclipse; moreover indicating only a change of colour, while *حسرف* denotes a total loss of colour. Lane however says they both mean the same, or that "in the common conventional language *الكسوب* *Al-kusub* is the partial loss of the light of the sun and *الحسرف* *Al-husur* is the total loss of the light thereof," and it is said in a tradition

ان الشمس والقمر لا يسعان لموت احد او لحياته

As ك is a much earlier letter than ح it is probable that originally at all events *كسوب* stood for an eclipse either of the sun or moon, the meaning being subsequently modified for convenience

² Compare the Hindu mythological monster Rahu

The name Rahu by which the ascending node is designated is properly mythological and belongs to the monster in the heavens which, by the ancient Hindus, as by more than one other people, was believed to occasion the eclipses of the sun and moon by attempting to devour them. Burgess *Surya Sidalanta*, p 50

Mythologically Rahu is a Daitya who is supposed to seize the sun and moon and swallow them thus obscuring their rays and causing eclipses. Rahu and Ketu are in astronomy the ascending and descending nodes. Rahu is the cause of eclipses and is used to designate the eclipse itself (Dowson *Dict of Hindu Mythology* p 252)

the bond of thy heart upon the mercy of the threshold of the Creator.

My heart was wounded by the tyranny and oppression of the heaven, now the chain wounds my leg as well as my heart. No one has seen half a dāng weight of gold in my possession, And, even if he has, I would not willingly undergo imprisonment for the sake of it.¹

Gold has no value in my sight, how can I pledge it like a usurer so as to get twelve for every ten.

I have eloquence like pure gold, another man has gold itself, Open your hand in bounty to me, and keep him imprisoned. Do not keep me so long in suspense waiting for my release, My imprisonment has turned my blood to water in this weary waiting.

At least kill this hapless innocent with the sword of thy wrath,

But do not imprison me, for imprisonment kills me² with its perpetual agony.

My name has become famous for eloquence from east to west, Is it fitting to put fetters on the feet of such a famous poet? Wisdom said to me long ago by way of advice, Chain thyself at the threshold of the victorious king.

I was indulging in these hopes, when the king himself shewed kindness and imprisoned this miserable one as though he were a murderer.

You may be quite sure that imprisonment is not required in that place in which the seal of the treasury was opened by his generosity.

First thou didst fasten, then thou didst loosen,³ Oh! noble bounty! I carry the fetters from thy door into the presence of the Almighty as a memorial.

It was the sword of royalty [which loosened them] by the

¹ MS. (A)

در بند من نه دیده کسی نیم دانگ زر
ور دید بهران تکنسم اختیار بند

In MS. (B), the first line is like the text, the second like MS. (A).

² MS. (A) می کشیدم

³ MS. (A) باز کشاده

mercy of the Most Bountiful; had that not been so the imprisonment would have utterly ruined me.

Since¹ you 'Amid girt the loins of loyalty in the service of the throne, therefore by his care the days of your imprisonment were brought to a happy termination.

As long as the young and sprightly maidens to the distraction of their lovers, have purposely bound their cheeks with the chain of youthful bloom.

So long may the door of good fortune be closed in every direction to your enemies,

And by the sword may the bars of both fortresses be opened.

QASIDA.

My eye is the boundless ocean, the thought of my heart is a bark,

In sorrow my bark sets forth on the floods as they flow from my eyes.

Night and day I float in the flood of tears, how can my bark 114 live in the midst of the raging billows of blood?

How can I expect to win my desire from the vile world?

How can I launch my bark on the surface of a gutter?

Although my bark in this ocean, now sails on and now lies at rest, sailing with the seven sails,² and resting on the four anchors.³

¹ MS. (A) ۷۰۷

The text as it stands must be translated, If thou hadst girt would have been brought &c

It is evident from this Qasida that 'Amid Lomaki was imprisoned, but I can find no reference to it in the account of him given in the *Majmu'u l-Fuzahâ*.

² The seven sails here appear to mean the seven members of the body, known as the *هفت هافت hast andam* (1) the head, (2) the chest, (3) the back, (5) and (6) the two hands, (7) the feet or (1) the brain, (2) the heart, (3) the liver, (4) the spleen, (5) lungs, (6) gall bladder, (7) stomach.

This name was also given to a vein by section of which it was supposed that blood was withdrawn from the seven members first mentioned.

³ The four anchors are the four "humours," according to the old humoral pathology. *الدم ad dam*. The blood. *البلغم al balgham*. The phlegm. *الصفراء as safra'*. The bile *السوداء as sauda*. The black bile.

The four anchors may however be taken to be the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water.

Of what use to me are those sails and those anchors,
If my bark is suddenly overwhelmed by the billows of
death?

In this age I sought fidelity from the tyrannical,
Who has ever seen a boat on the Jihūn in the mouth of
Mehrgān¹

In front of the claws of this crab² and the revolution of the
nine heavens, loosen³ thy four anchors and then launch
thy bark.

The sea-monster of avarice of my soul turns back, otherwise⁴
one might drag the boat to the shore by some contrivance.
With the exception of the philosophers how can anyone

1. "In former times (says Albirūnī) this day (Mihrajān) used to coincide with the beginning of winter" at which time the Jihūn would be frozen and unfit for navigation owing to the intense cold. Yāqūt states that in the winter the Jihūn freezes so hard that the ice is five spans (about 40 inches) thick, that the people dig wells through the ice with pick-axes to get water, and that caravans and carts cross the ice, which become like a high road covered with dust. This continues two months. Concerning the word Mihrgān, the *Burhān-i-Qāti'* says, "Mihrgān is the seventh month of the Shamsī year, which corresponds with the position of the sun in Libra, which is the beginning of autumn. The feast of Mihrgān is the next greatest feast among the Persians to that of Nauroz, and, like this latter feast, is divided into two, *Mihrgān-i-khaṣṣa* and *Mihrgān-i-āmma*; the feast of Mihrgān lasts for six days beginning from the sixteenth of the month. It is said that God Almighty laid out the world on the 21st and endowed bodies with souls on that day. They say also that Faridūn ascended the throne on that day. The meaning of Mihrgān is the binding of affection (جُبَتْ بِيَوْسَنْ) and it was so called because for the above reasons the people were treated kindly by their rulers on that day."

Others again say that there was a king of the Persians named Mihr who was a great tyrant and was consigned to hell in the middle of this month, so that they called it Mihrgān in the meaning of death of a tyrannical king. (*Burhān-i-Qāti'*).

According to others Mihr is the name of the sun, who is said to have for the first time appeared to the world on this day. This is indicated by the custom of the Kisrās of crowning themselves on this day with a crown on which was worked an image of the sun and of the wheel on which he rotates.—(Albirūnī).

See also Albirūnī (*Chron. of Ancient Nations*), p. 208 and seqq.

2 At the commencement of spring when the Sun enters Cancer; i.e., March 21st.

3 بَكْشَا وَ

4 MSS. (A) and (B) have وَبِدْجَوْ.

guide the ship out of the whirlpool of this world to its final haven of refuge ¹

Do not set thy heart upon the ebony ² like world, because a ship built of ebony is overwhelmed in the sea of this worthless world

Do not seek for safety when loaded with boastfulness
For an overloaded ship is speedily wrecked.

Seek security from sorrow at that time when you have been wise enough to make, as I have, a ship from the planks of the praise of thy lord

The centre of kingship of land and sea Taj al-Haqqa, who 115 made a ship of safety for traversing the ocean (Qulzum) of sorrow.

Sinjar ³ who is like the sky in dignity, in fear of whom sedition navigated its ship in the direction of the crossing of the ocean of Qairawan ⁴

مَوْيِّنُ الْحَلَقَةِ مَوْيِّنُ الْمَدَنِ

² He compares the world to ebony because of its blackness indicating misfortune. Ebony ابْرُوس is said in the *Burhan al-Qāfi* to be a black wood which when placed upon the fire emits a pleasant smell like the *بَوْبَ* (*ud*) or aloes, when rubbed down with water and used as a collyrium it relieves night blindness, given internally it dispels calculus of the bladder."

The *Bahru l-Ja'izahir* says that ebony 'is a black wood which sinks when thrown into water' hence the poet assumes a ship built of ebony would sink

³ Abul Haris Sinjar Ibn Malakshah ibn Alp Arslan was Sultan of Khurasan, Ghazna and Mawarau n Nahr. He was the sixth of the Seljuq Sultans

He was excessively liberal, and was supposed to be wealthier than any of the Persian kings. He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Ghuzz tribe in 548 A. H. (1153 A.D.) but eventually escaped and was at the time of his death in 555 A.H. on the point of recovering his throne. He was born according to Ibn Khalikan in A.H. 479, in the environs of Sinjar whence he received his name. One authority places his death in the year 552. He died at Merv. See Ibn Khalikan (de Slane) I 600

See also D Herbelot art *Sangiar* Vol III, p 202 *et seqq*

⁴ Qairawan Long 10° E Lat 36° N is situated in the North of Africa in the province of Tunis. It is the ancient Cyrene, the modern Kurwan. At the commencement of the Musulman occupation it was the capital of Africa. See Abul Feda (Ronaud) II 1 198. The ocean of Qairawan is the Mediterranean

In Abul Feda (Annals) we find that Qairawan was founded in the year 50 H. (665-666 A.D.) and was completed five years later

Needs must that with those two love fascinated eyes,
The stag should endeavour to protect himself from the snares
of thy locks.

When the story of thy fragrant tresses reached him,
The stag curtailed his narration of the bag of musk.

The stag suffered from the effects of the intoxication of thine
eyes,

And he got rid of his headache by drinking of the cup of the
assembly of the world-subduer.

The auspicious lion, protector of the crown of true religion,
Sinjar,

In whose estimation the fierce lion of the sky is but a stag.

The stag thought right to carry a fragrant ball of camphor
taken from the dust of his threshold, to Khitā as a memorial.

Perhaps it was from the dust of his dignity which became² the
ornament of the sun, that the stag obtained superiority
over the wild beasts by reason of his musk-bag.

Happy art thou star-arrowed one, whom the demon-hearted
fear and shun as³ the stag avoids the lion.

An enemy who falls into thy clutches does not escape;

Who has ever known the stag to escape from the claws of the
lion?

At that time the stag prided himself upon being fleeter than
thy charger, now in sooth the stag is ashamed of his slow-
footedness.

At the time of attack, how can the stag in spite of all his
efforts, reach the dust which is thrown up by thy char-
ger's hoofs?

Think it not strange if from the abundance of his bounty, the
lynx goes slowly on foot, and the stag swiftly like a horse-
man.

'Twixt thine eyelids reigns a Sultān,
Helpless, lo! I bow before him.

This comparison of the mole on a cheek to grains of musk is one of the
commonest similes among Persian poets.

¹ The sun is called كافور و شامام shamāma-i-kāfir.

² بود MS. (A).

³ MS. A. ۹۷.

Comprised with the fragrance of thy goodness how can the stag boast¹ of the dried blood of his navel in Tātār.

By the aid of thy words which are like an antidote, I have no fear, even though the stag shall become like to one that feeds on snakes²

His food is the snake, but afterwards like the elk, besides the antidote, the stag offers in every direction the bag of musk. In the land in which thou art, by reason of thy great justice the lynx sits sorrowful, and the stag stands to comfort him. The day that thou pursuest him he shows only his right shoulder when the stag rushes from the right to the left of thy army.

In reliance upon thee if a stag were to cherish a young lion in its bosom it would be no wonder

What power have two hundred enemies against thy prowess? What does the hunting leopard think of a head of a thousand stags?

Thy enemy will be able to engage in conflict with thee

At that time when the stag's horns are capable of fighting the lion.

¹ MS (A) *sas jū*

² The elk is said to feed on snakes and the water which collects at the corners of the eye (inner canthus) is reputed an antidote for all poisons (*Burlan : Qati*)

The following is abridged from the *Haiatu l Hawan*. 'The stag is fond of snakes which it eats wherever it can find them, commencing from the tail of the snake. Sometimes the stag gets bitten by the snake in which case its tears flow down, and fill two hollows beneath its eyes large enough to contain the finger, here they congeal and become solid like wax. This wax is used as an antidote against the poison of snakes and scorpions and when given by the mouth is useful as a remedy for other poisons. The stag also eats crabs, and hunts for fish by walking along the margin of the lake or river, when the fish come out of curiosity to see it this fact is made use of by fishermen who are wont to dress in the skin of the stag.'

The horns of the stag, which are shed yearly, are of great service to mankind more especially as a remedy for impotence and to facilitate parturition. If a portion is burned and administered mixed with honey it acts as a vermifuge, and when used as a dentifrice removes discoloration of the teeth. Used for fumigation it drives away reptiles and other venomous animals. If a portion is hung round the neck, the wearer will not sleep so long as it remains there. A draught of the stag's blood dissolves stone in the bladder.'

In the meadow of thy favour the stag has never seen his quarters and sides as thin as his legs.

Conqueror of the world, I have bound "The stag"¹ with thirty-three couplets in thy praise by way of experiment as though it were a camel.

It is fitting that the word "musk deer" should be repeated as *radif* a hundred times since thou hast sent me in thy kindness a stag twice.

Formerly the stag thought of nothing but the musk-bag, now he makes the glory of thy praise his constant occupation.

'Amid has opened the musk-bag of wisdom in singing thy praises, like the musk-bag upon which the stag prides itself.²

Always; as long as men search for musk on the surface of the ground, and no musk deer lays aside its power of producing musk,

May the perfection of thy justice reach such a height that the stag may extract musk from the hunting leopard.

Mayest thou roam at large and enjoy thyself in the meadow of fortune, just as the stag roams over the meadows in spring time.

Fasting has made his form which was like the Närwan³ slender as a reed, and has made his face which was red as the Arghawān⁴ pale like the saffron.

¹ The word *ادھو*: *ādhū* stag, occurs in every couplet of this qasīda.

² *مشک* *mishk* is said to be the congealed blood of the navel of the stag of *Khitū*. (*Burhān-i-Qāfi'* and *Makhzanu-l-Adwīya*). The latter work says "It is very difficult to procure genuine musk, it is only brought as a great rarity as a present to kings and great rulers mixed with saffron and a little camphor as a remedy for headache; and is used alone or with other drugs such as the testicles of the beaver (*Castoreum*) as a stimulant snuff in paralysis and other cold diseases of the brain, for which it is also used by inunction. Smelling it removes the evil effects of poisons, especially of *bish* (aconite) and *qurūnu-s-sumbul*. (?) It is also very useful as a collyrium in many diseases of the eye.

It is a cardiac tonic removing palpitation, and faintness, relieves dysentery and globulent distension. A suppository of musk assists parturition."

See also Ibn Baitār (Sontheimer) Vol. II. pp. 513 *et seqq.* for a full account of the statements of various authors regarding musk.

³ *نارون* The Närwan is described in the *Burhān-i-Qāfi'* as a very graceful tree with abundance of leaves; called also *گلنار* *Gulnar*.

⁴ *ارغوان* The Arghawān according to the *Burhān-i-Qāfi'* is a tree with

How can it be saffron for it has not made me smile!
 Fasting has made my cheek yellow like the Zarir³ through weeping, and my tears red as the Arghwan
 How can it be a tulip, for fasting makes his cheek like the Khiri⁴
 How can it be a cypress, when fasting makes it weak and tremulous?⁵

brilliant red flowers, a drink made of which removes the effects of intoxication. The wood is burned and used as a pencil for the eyebrows which it causes to grow and become black Ibn Baṭṭār (Sontheimer) says, (Vol I p 29)

"The tree is very abundant in Isfahan and bears brilliantly red flowers which are edible, having a sweet taste which is communicated to wine. The wood is soft and when burnt yields a black ash which is used as a cosmetic. The decoction of the root bark when drunk is a certain emetic" Sontheimer does not give the botanical name See notes 1 page 109

¹ See p 11, n 2

زیر زری The Burhan-i-Qat⁶ says thus is "a herb with which they dye clothes, it is called also asparag (اسپارگ) According to some however it is the leaf of Zard chota (turmeric) so no other authors say it is a flower It is also the name given to the bile, and also to jaundice (Burhan-i-Qat)

In Vullers we find اسپرگ (Asparag) herba flava tingendo inserviens, alias فریز (Zarir) or ورس (wars)

According to Ibn Baṭṭār (Sontheimer) ورس wars is Memecylon tinctorium—N O Melastomaceæ, regarding which Drury in his *Useful plants of India*, page 291, says "The leaves are used in dyeing affording a delicate yellow lake they are also good for dyeing clothes red by itself it gives an evanescent yellow

³ حیری A flower of which there are many varieties

حیری حطائی Khiri : Khifzī — is dark purple

حفت رنگ Khiri : Mirdint — is violet It is also called میردینی
Haft rang

حیری صحرائی Khiri : Shakra — is red and white, called also حیری حرامی Khiri : Khiraru

گل همیشہ بہار Khiri : Shirazi — is yellow, called also شیرازی Guls hamesha bahar and in Arabic مصیر اسفسir (Burhan-i-Qat)

See also Vullers

According to Ibn Baṭṭār (Sontheimer) this plant is the wall flower *Cheiranthus* thus *Cheiranthus* N O Cruciferæ

⁴ MSS A and B have نوان The text reads نواب which is a better reading

Haply she has hung the amulet on her silvery mouse-like neck, so that wisdom like a fasting cat has been compelled to remain fasting.¹

My tongue has become dry like that of one fasting in advising
her

For thy form is like a fresh blown rose, fasting is the autumn wind (which withers it)

Although thou openest thy lips like a bud which had been
closed by fasting, just as I broke my fast at the table of
the pruse of my Lord,

The ocean of benevolence, champion of the truth, round the
table of whose bounty men and genii broke their fast,

Muhammad whose vanguard is like destiny, the joints of whose
spears broke their fast with the blood of the enemies
(trickling down) from the point

He, whose right hand is like that of Isfandiyār, has also, from
the liberality of his hand, caused the age² to break its fast
on this side of the seven stages

Before the generosity of his heart, the ocean and the mine,
have, in their utter poverty, considered fasting to be their
bounden duty.

Hail O King! in whose just reign the wolf, as though it were a
shepherd has kept its fast to secure the safety of the flock.

Thou art like the two first fingers,⁸ a close companion of the
heavens, just as fasting goes hand in hand with prayer

Thy existence is the twin brother of kingdom, just as fasting
is the twin brother of *Zikat*, *Hajj* and '*Umrah*'⁴

لپ از ناوداده دلاوری تر

ذیاب از علم روز شکر رو تر

A lip more alluring than the seed of the pomegranate.

A tongue far sweeter than the whitest sugar

A favourite simile with Persian poets

¹ These couplets occur in this order in MSS A and B.

* MS (A) reads دھر کشادہ which is the reading adopted here.

وسطی و میانی The forefinger and middle finger which are most commonly used together to oppose the thumb

وَقُولُوا لِلنَّاسِ حُسْنًا وَأَقِيمُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَأَتُوا الزَّكُوَةَ *Zakat or almsgiving is one of the five foundations of practical religion. Quran 11: 77*

"And speak to men kindly and be steadfast in prayer and give alms" The proportion to be given varies with the different kinds of property

The breeze of thy soft qualities like the fragrance of the perfume of the breath of the Master,¹ has carried feelings such as special offering to the garden of Paradise.

Thou hast cast out the eastern of tyranny from the kingdoms under thy sway, insomuch as thou hast relieved weaker countries of taxes, and exonerated the people from feasting.

The spirit of man is often broken by the circumstances of the
heaven; & just as his bodily fast is broken by bread.

In this time no one, from the time of Jacob till now, remembers fasting at the table of such a host as thou art.

At the smell of the table of thy bounty the guest has considered it incumbent upon him, whether in the feast or in the fast, to fast from food of all kinds

The bird of thy arrow has broken its fast, like the gnat of
Nimrud on the brain of thy enemy in the cup of the skull
(the cup of vapours).

For the maintenance of thy kingdom, young and old have fasted, both the old and the new creation.

The revolution of this six-storied world is full of the mention
of thy glory, just as fasting fills the seven members of the
body in this darkness.

Hajj. The Pilgrimage to Mecca which is incumbent upon all Muslims who have the necessary means.

'Urah. The lesser pilgrimage, which may be performed at any time except during the 8th, 9th, and 10th days of Zul Hijjah. See Hughes (*Dict. of Islam*.)

Text. (MSS. A and B read
نیسیم خلق تو چون طبیب مشکبوی خلوف ۱
چون طبیب مشکبوی خلوق.

خُلُفَ *khulaf* is defined as the smell of the breath of one who fasts.

A Hadīq says.

خُلُوف و فم الصائم الطيب عند الله من الطيب

The breath of one fasting is sweeter in the sight of God than sweet smelling savour.

See also Lane, Art. خلف. It became altered (for the worse).

Tho Qūmūs, says

وَخَلَفَ فِمُ الصَّائِمِ خَلْوَةً وَخَلْوَةً تَغْيِيرٍ رَأْيِهِ

² Both MSS. (A) and (B) agree with the text. I take the word اباھات abāḥat to be a plural formed by Bādūnī on the analogy of عِمَّاتِ ummahāt, and to stand for the نَوْعَاتِ الْأَبَارِ عَلَوَّهِ nuh abā-i-‘ulwiyā, the nine heavens.

On this earth, the world's children (have fasted) with such endurance that the spiritual beings will never be able to break the fast.

I stood before thee with my loins girt in honest service, as though fasting, because fasting is not one of my objects, neither openly nor in secret.¹

My manliness actuated by ambition bowed the knee to me² 123. and said,

Imagine that both your pen and your finger tips are fasting. The claims of thy generosity caused me to break my fast³ and consume my time, had it not been for that I would have speedily imposed a fast upon my words.

Had not the praise of thee been the sustenance of my powers of speech how could the point of my tongue have broken its fast by breaking into poetry?

Like the parrot, my first morning food⁴ is the sugar of gratitude to thee, not like the *humā* do I break my fast upon bones.

Who is able to break his fast in this way at the time of bringing in the "radif" better than 'Amid, with the draught of trial.

He has broken his fast with a feather from the wing of the bird of praise, because at this time fasting is the best nest for the bird of praise.

¹ MS. (A) reads زبایزیده و پیدا و نهان روزه MS. (B) reads زبانریده the reading in the text is

زمانه برزی و پیدا و نهان روزه

All of these readings appear to be corrupt and the following reading seems reasonable, and has been adopted in the translation

زمانریده و پیدا و نهان روزه

² The text reads شماربرد but MSS. (A) and (B) read نماز برد مفترض MS. (A)

⁴ "The following is the routine of a fast day. About half an hour after midnight, the gun sounds its warning to faithful men that it is time to prepare for the *Sahūr* (سحور) or morning meal." (Barton's Mecca I. p 110 note) see also Lane's Modern Egyptians for the observances of the month of Ramazān.

Always, as long as fasting brings as its reward from the bounty and mercy of God, a hidden treasure worth a hundred princely treasures,

Mayest thou be famed¹ for generosity and kindness in this world, for fasting points the way to the highest heaven.

ANOTHER QASIDA.

I, who have made my dwelling in a corner like the Simurgh²

I have made my nest beyond the axis of earthly sphere.

Why do I bear the shame of every bird in this ill-omened land?³

I have gone like the 'Anqā⁴ and have made my resting place in the mountains.

¹ MS. (A) reads نشانه فسانه instead of فسانه نشانه as in the Text.

² The bird of the mountain of Alburz which nourished Zāl when he was abandoned there by order of his father Sām, and taught him the language of the country. On restoring Zāl to his father she gave him a feather from her wing and said " Whenever thou art involved in any difficulty or danger put this feather on the fire and I will instantly appear to thee to ensure thy safety.". See *Shāh Nāma* (Atkinson) p. 75 *Shāhnāma*, Turner Macan, Ed. I. pp. 97 et seqq.

³ There is a play on the word بوم here which cannot be preserved.

⁴ Another name for the Simurgh, and a synonym for anything rare and unattainable. (See *Burhān-i-Qāfi* under the name عنقای مغرب)

There is a long account of the 'Anqā in the *Hanjātu-l-Haivān* where it says on the authority of Qazwīnī that the 'Anqā is the largest of all birds which can seize an elephant as easily as a kite snatches up a rat. It once lived among men, but caused them so much annoyance that by the prayers of a holy prophet it was banished to an uninhabited island in mid ocean beyond the Equator, full of enormous animals. When the 'Anqā flies there is a sound like thunder and floods. It lives 2000 years, and pairs at the age of 500. It is said that the claws are made into large drinking cups. A description of the mode of capturing the 'Anqā is also given but is too long to quote.

Among the proverbs of the Arabs one is حلقـت بـه عـنـقـاء مـغـرب which is said of any one of whose reformation there is no hope. " May the Anqā fly away with him. "

الجـهـود وـ الـغـول وـ الـعـنـقـاء تـالـلـه اـشـيـا لـم تـوـجـد وـ لـم تـكـن They also say that the Ghūl, and the Anqā are three names of things unattainable and non-existent.

To dream of the 'Anqā is also said to ensure marrying a beautiful woman, or if already married, to ensure having a brave son.

Until the bird of my ambition swoops down upon the harvest
of the lower world, I have made the harvest field of the
sky full of grain like stars

Why does the moon display the halo harvest when it does
not show a single grain to any one, whereas I with one single
grain of manliness have bound many a sheaf?

By the light of the knowledge of God I have made the
newly wedded virgin bride of reality to shine in the
chamber of wisdom with the brilliance of the day

The course of the heavenly bodies in the columns of the
almanac of the Creation, I have proved one by one by
comparison with the astronomical tables¹ of intellect

In the bridle of four rings, that is the trappings of the four
elements, great is the training which I have given the
unruly steed of my passions

I have made the parrot of my soul, whose cage is the form
of this uncouth body which is like a midden, every moment
to rival the nightingale of the verdant² garden

The parrot has left for the garden the kite of lust which is
following it circling round and round my nature I have
detained within the midden of the body

In many an art for which³ the scientists had no taste

I have made as great progress, hundred fold as they are, as
a man who follows but one art

My intellect has served to light the lamp of the treasure of
science, I have made my skill the oil which supplies the
light to the wick⁴

The jewel of the secret of reality has been acquired in such
a (perfect) way that I have made my mind the stowhouse
of the treasury of secret knowledge

Once by way of vaunting in the rose garden of desire,

¹ The text (and also MS. B) has an absurd reading در دفع the real
reading is در ذبح as is seen in MS. (A)

² مسدر گلشن MS. (A). There is a verbal antithesis between گلشن (gulshan) garden and گلخان (gulkhān) dast kāp in the Persian which I have attempted to imitate by the words garden and midden

³ MS. (A) کرای The text and MS. (B) real

⁴ MS. (A) and (B) both real در معیش The text has در عیش

I displayed the brilliancy of my skill particoloured like the peacock.

The falcon of the Divine indignation smote me with its talons from its hiding-place, so that I took refuge in a corner like the pigeon.

They would have shewn me the way (and have bidden me walk) in this solitary windowless tower

Had not my ambition carried me far beyond the seven windows (of the sky)

A tower, narrow, ay ! at that time even narrower than my heart, (so narrow that) you would say I am a cord and have given myself a place in the eye of a needle.

It is the constellation of the Archer, and I am like the Sun, and have by my cold sighs changed the bright spring of the world into the bitter cold of winter.¹

This was not all ; the good tidings of my bad fortune brought to me the blacksmith, to whom I said—Strike off my head in return for the blood which is upon my head.

The splendour and comfort of the golden-throned sun is my desert,

Whereas I am resting upon a (hard) iron (prison) seat.

The seven-headed dragon (*The Sky*) hides its head (in astonishment) to see that I have brought this two-headed serpent (*night and day*) under my skirt.

They determine for me an imprisonment like that of Bīzhan in the well of tyranny. I have not seen Manīzha² nor have I committed the crime of Bīzhan.

¹ The Sun enters the constellation of Sagittarius in the commencement of the winter.

² The daughter of Afrāsiyāb. When Bīzhan undertook to clear the country of Armān of its plague of wild hogs, after fulfilling his task he was led by the machinations of his companion Girgīn, who was jealous of him, to intrude upon the retirement of Manīzha, the beautiful daughter of Afrāsiyāb, and press his suit, which he did with such success that after some time their amour was discovered and Gersiwāz was sent by Afrāsiyāb to put Bīzhan to death : by the intercession of Pīrān the punishment was averted, but Bīzhan was imprisoned in a deep pit. At first Manīzha was condemned to undergo the same punishment but her doom was changed and she was allowed to dwell near the pit, all the people being forbidden by proclamation to supply her with food. Eventually, by the help of Rūstum, Bīzhan was freed and he and Manīzha went to Irān together. (See Atkinson's *Shāh Nāmah*, pp. 300 and seqq). See also page 116 note 5.

Patience has the strength of Rustum,¹ as one may say,
I have entrusted the strength necessary for my release to the
arm of Rustum-like patience.

All of my companions are free to follow their occupations
while I am fast in prison,

God forbid I should be the only one of all mankind to have 126
committed this fault

The times are out of joint, if not how can the following of
the Ishraqi philosophy² which I followed so excellently
have thrown me into misfortune?

The shaft of the tyrannical heavens passed through and
through from the back, although I had armed my breast
with the cuirass of patience

My body longs for food in the captivity of sorrow, and I have
prepared for its support my blood as its drink, and my heart
as its meat

Once I was like the tulip in complaining, but then afterwards
I made myself like the lily ten-tongued (but silent)³

Like the violet I have let my head fall forward (in sorrow)
from dearth of benefactors, and though like the lily I have
ten tongues I am become dumb in thy praise

I am suffering the punishment of my words, because in my

¹ Rustum extricated Buzhan from the pit by drawing him up with his
kamand or lasso

² اشراقیہ The Illuminati A sect of Philosophers, of whom Plato was
one, who, instead of following the precepts of any revealed law, looked to their
own proper inspiration and mental illumination which they held to be the
result of spiritual meditation. Haji Khalifah, III p. 87, writes as follows
"Philosophia illuminatiois (Hekmat et ishraq) sive Neo Platonica inter veteres
disciplinas philosophicas eun lem locum tenet quem in Theosophia inter doctrinas
Islamiticas simili modo, quo philosophia physica et theologica inter illas disciplinas
locum tenet quem theologia dogmatica scholastica inter has"

In the *شرح مسطوی مل مادی مذکوری* by حافظی we find Philosophers
are of four kinds,—those who arrive at wisdom simply by meditation those
who arrive at it simply by purification of the mind by seclusion and retire-
ment, those who arrive at it by combining these two. These last are called
the Ishraqi sect

See Haji Khalifah علم الحکمة See also de Slane, Proleg Ibn Khal III 167.

³ The MS (A) has حیشتن را دیگر بیان The text follows MS (B)
See note 1 page 101

lying flattery I have made every beggar a king, and have made the (worthless) Lādan¹ into frankincense.

At one time I have proclaimed Suhā² superior in brilliancy to the moon,

At another I have scorned the river as being inferior to the drippings of a sieve.³

I have made friends with Avarice, like 'Amīd from the lust for blood, and for that reason I have made contentment my enemy.

I have subjected my spirit, which is like a high mettled horse, to the burthen of labour, because of the tyranny and meanness of the heavens, see now what a jade he has become.

127. I have made barren my truth-adorning heart and my jewel-producing nature, without the help of Qitrān,⁴ not now only but long ago.

١ لادن *Ladan*. The resinous balsamic juice of *Cistus creticus* and other species; according to the *Burhān-i-Qāfi* it is called also عَذْبَرْ عَسَمَى Honey-ambergris and is used in medicine. It is the juice of a plant growing in sandy soil, of which goats are very fond, and their hair becomes covered with the exudation, the best is collected from their beards; *si femina quædam, cui in utero fœtus mortuus sit, vaginam suam vapore ludani vaporaverit; fœtus ille mortuus illoco excidit*. See also Ibn Baitār (Sontheimer) I. p. 499.

It is the لَدَن of Genesis xxxvii. 25 and xliii. 11, where it is translated in our version *myrrh*. The Greeks called it στακτή. The true *myrrh* (*Ar. مُرْمُر murrun*) is different.

The أَشْهَاب *Ashhab* is the white ambergris which was accounted the best.

2 A small obscure star in the Lesser Bear.

3 MSS. (A) and (B) have فِيض عَزِيزَان but غَرِيزَان is a better reading.

4 Qitrān, the exudation from species of mountain pines, black in colour, used according to the *Burhān-i-Qāfi* (and *Qāmūs*) for inunction of camels affected with mange. It is, according to these, the exudation of the tree called عَرَّار, (*Juniper*) the properties of which are thus enumerated in the *Makhanul-Adīciya*: Deobstruent, diuretic, emmenagogue, relieves cough and chest pains, and pain in the spleen; relieves flatulence, haemorrhoids, flatulent colic or uterine pains. Sitting over a hot infusion of it causes uterine spasm, while a poultice of it is antiflatus. I can find no mention in either of these books of its use as an abortifacient. It is perhaps *Juniperus Sabina* (*Savine*) which is powerfully ecbolic. According to Ibn Baitār (Sonth.) II. p. 94, it is *Pinus cedrus*, but this appears to be incorrect. See also II. p. 189, sv. 'Ar'ar.

The word سَرْوَن is derived in *Burhān-i-Qāfi* from أَسْلَو and وَن i.e., mule-like, because mules have no offspring.

This one poem¹ of mine is worth a whole *Duān* and a hundred caskets of jewels, nay more, every verse of it have I made better than parti-coloured hair¹

Imprisonment has brought me to lamentation, and from the delicacy of my speech you see the joy which I have given in the very midst of my lamentation

Oh Lord, give me my sustenance from the date tree of thy favour, I have made the bñd of my heart to sing the pruses of thy Unity

Present me with the robe of honour of thy protection, for thy court is my original refuge, lo I have fled to my refuge Keep far from the darkness of infidelity,² hypocrisy hated and enmity, that heart which I have embellished with the light of sincerity to Thee

Keep thou the Sun of Divine knowledge shining within my heart, for I have made my heart the mine of the jewels of true belief

SULTAN GHİYASU D DIN BALBAN I KHURD

Who had the title of Ulugh Khān, by the consent of the Maliks and Amirs adored the throne by his accession in the Qasr i Safed

¹ شعر The word *shur* here has its double meaning Sufi in his prosody says, 'A bait (poem) is called *bait* for the reason that *bait* means a house and they comprise the *bait* of poetry (*shur*) with the *bait* of hair (*shir*) and he quotes the verses by Abu l Ala Ma'rra

الحسن بظهوره في المتن ورويحة بنت من الشعر وبيت من الشعر

The brilliancy of beauty is shewn forth in two tents
The tent of poetry (*shar*) and the tent of hair (*shir*)

² شرك Shirk 'Idolatry paganism polytheism' Ascribing plurality to the Deity Associating anything with God

The Wahhabi writers define *Shirk* as of four kinds

شرك العلم	<i>Shirku l ilm</i>	Ascribing knowledge to others than God.
شرك التصرف	<i>Shirku t taṣarruf</i>	Ascribing power to others than God
شرك العبادة	<i>Shirku l 'ibadah</i>	Offering worship to created things
شرك العادة	<i>Shirku l 'adah</i>	The performance of ceremonies which imply reliance on others than God

(the White Palace) in the year 664 H.¹ He was one of the "Forty Slaves" of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn, each one of whom had attained to the dignity of Amīr. Inasmuch as the reins of government had been in his hands even in the days when he was merely Ulugh Khān, the affairs of the State very quickly came into his grasp. He would not allow people of low origin to have the slightest authority. It is said that a man named Fakhr, who had for years served as chief of the Bāzār, had recourse to one of the Sultān's more intimate attendants, and offered a very large sum² on the condition that if the Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban would speak with him once only, he would give him all this money and valuable property.³ When this request was represented to the Sultān he would not entertain it, and said 'to converse with people of low and mean extraction will lower my prestige.' He was altogether opposed to oppression, and, in the early days of his reign, punished certain of his Amīrs on account of some tyranny which they had practised upon their subjects, and having handed over one or two of them⁴ he permitted the complainants to exact retaliation, and after that these Amīrs had paid the blood money, for shame they could never come out of their houses as long as they lived, and at last they left the world.

Verse.

Reputation arises from equity and justice;
Oppression and kingship are as the caudle and the wind.

And all his praiseworthy qualities may be estimated from this, that he used never to omit the ceremony of purification, and on going into an assembly where one was preaching he used to

¹ Of the six years which intervened between the events recorded as having occurred in 658 H. and the accession of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban there is no known historical record. The *Tarīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī* of Zīāu-d-Dīn Barānī only begins from Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban.

² MS. (A) has the word مال between تقبيل and بسيار.

³ MS. (A) reads گرانمند نقد و جنس

⁴ يکدویی را بسته. According to Firishta one of these was Haidār Khān the Amīr of Oudh, who had killed a man in the fury of intoxication. Balban after enquiry had the Amīr publicly flogged, and delivered him to the widow as a slave. He bought his release with a sum of 20,000 silver tankahs but never left his house afterwards and died from shame. (See also Elliott, III. 101.)

display emotion, and weep much, while as regards his treatment of sedition and revolt he used to show himself a merciless repressor.

He laid claim to the glory of an Emperor, because of this
 That he adorned the world with wisdom and equity,
 In days of retirement he would wear a blanket;
 And he strove in prayer and supplication
 His eyes fixed upon the ground, his heart boiling like a
 cauldron;
 A heart eloquent of speech, but a silent tongue;
 Till his heart perceived with the eye of secret knowledge
 All that was visible of these intricate matters

In this same year of his reign Tātār Khān the son of Arsalān Khān sent from Lakhnāt sixty-three elephants as a present; and in this year the Sultān proceeding to Patīali¹ and Kanpūl, built the forts of Patīali, Kanpūl, Bhōjpūr, and certain other forts, and with five thousand cavalry crossed the Ganges on the pretext of making preparation for an expedition to the Jād hills. In two days after leaving Dēhlī he arrived in the midst of the territory of Kāithar² and put to death every male, even those of eight years of age, and bound the women, and inflicted such chastisement that up till the reign of Jalālu-d-Dīn the territory of Bidāon and Amroha remained safe from the ravages of the Kāitharis,³ and he threw open all the roads of Bihār and Jaunpūr, and all the roads of the Eastern part of India which were closed, and made over the territory of Miwāt, which lies in the Doīb, to strong handed governors, with orders to put to death the rebels, which they did, imprisoning some. Then he made an attack in the direction of the country at the foot of the Sintur

¹ MS (A) پتیالی Patīali The printed text has پٹالی Patīli.

Patīali In Ahārī Lāhūr, 22 miles north of Etah, a ruined fort still exists (Hunter Imp. Gaz.)

Kanpūl In Farakhrābad district, celebrated in Mahābhārata—(Imp. Gaz.)

Bhōjpūr The residence of the Ujjainīsh Rajahs, west of Arrah and north of Sisseram, a pargana in the Sičkār Rohtās Bihār

² So also Turīkh : Firoz Shāhī Firishta reads کنڈھوڑ Kāndhār. MS (A) reads کنڈھوڑ Kāntha. The district of Rohilkhand is meant

³ Who Firishta says were notorious robbers and brigands

hills,¹ and built a fort on those boundaries, and having called it Hisār-i-Nau (New Castle) proceeded to the Jūd hills, and brought an army² towards Lāhor, and rebnilt the castle of Lāhor which had been laid waste by the Mughūls in the reign of Sultān Mu'izzud-Dīn Bahrām Shāh. Here he became ill, and the news of his illness³ reached the confines of Lakhnautī, and Tughral, Nāib of Amin Khān, who had been appointed to succeed Sher Khān in that district, laid the foundation of rebellion, and fought with his master Amin Khān and came off victorious, and having imprisoned him gathered round himself the paraphernalia of royalty, and gave himself the title of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, and completely defeated some imperial troops which had been sent to oppose him. Sultān Ghayāṣu-d-Dīn brought up an army against Tughral but he went towards Jājnagar and Tārkila (Nārkila)⁴ and Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Beg Birlās⁵ was ordered to pursue him, the Rāī of Sunārgām named Dhanūj⁶ offering his services to the Sultān engaged to bring Tughral, and Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn proceeding by forced marches found Tughral, who had fled into a jungle,⁷ walking about off his guard, and having put him to death sent his head to the court. The Sultān conferred that kingdom with a canopy and baton of office on his younger son Bughrā Khān, Governor of Sāmāna, who eventually received the

130.

¹ MS. (A) reads كوهایہ سنبوز Kohpaya-i-Sanbūz. This seems to be a copyist's error, but I cannot suggest the true reading. The Kumāon hills must be meant.

² حصار نو نام نہاد MS. (A).

³ Neither Firishta nor Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī mention this.

⁴ MS. (A) reads نارکیلہ در بجرا سر و نشته and

⁵ MS. (A) ملک اختیار الدین تنکروس را Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Tangras. Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī calls him Malik Bārbak Bektars Sultānī. See Elliott, III. 117, note.

⁶ Called Danūj Rāī in Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī. See Elliott, III. 113, note.

"The Jājnagar here mentioned was evidently east of the Brahmaputra and corresponds to Tippera. The Sunārgām, presently mentioned as on the road to Jājnagar, is described by Rennell as being once a large city and now a village on a branch of the Brahmaputra 13 miles S. E. of Dacca."

It is marked in Rennell's Map given in Vol. III. of Tieffenthaler "Sonner-gong." See Map N. 6. See J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 82.

⁷ The printed text and MS. (A) both have دو جنگلی گویندہ می گشت. The above appears to be the meaning.

title of Sultan Nasiru-d-Din, and then left for the capital. Since, after the death of Sher Khan (who was uncle's son to the Sultan) and one of the "Forty Slaves" of Sultan Shamsu-d-Din, and Governor of Lahore and Dihlpur, and had read the Khutbah in Ghazni in the name of Sultan Nasiru-d-Din, the Mughuls during his governorship not daring to invade Hindustan) the road of communication had become opened¹ to the Mughuls, accordingly Sultan Balban, to remedy this, despatched his elder son Sultan Muhammad, who is known as the Khān-i-Shāhī, and Qān-i-Mulk, (having first conferred upon him a canopy and baton of office, and the signs and insignia of royalty, and having made him his heir-apparent, and giving over Sind with its dependencies to his care) with full equipment towards Multān, and the country right up to Tatta and the senevat was in his possession. Amir Khusrū and Amir Sharīf of Delhi remained in his service for five years in Multān, and were enrolled among his intimate companions. On two occasions he sent large sums of gold from Multān to Shiraz and begged that Shaikh Sa'di,² *may God have mercy on him*, would come to live with him. The Shaikh did not come, excusing himself on the score of old age, but commended Mir Khusrū to the care of the Sultan, writing in excessively laudatory terms concerning him, and sent a collection of autograph poems. Sultan Muhammad used to visit Multān every year to see Sultan Balban, and used to return distinguished with robes of honour and all

¹ The Calcutta text exactly reverses the meaning by reading دُر مُكَبِّل
Thus losing all the sense of the passage Cf. MSS (A) (B)

MSS (A) has, correctly, دُر مُكَبِّل

² Shaikh Sharafu-d-Din Mu'izzib ibn 'Abdu'llah as-Sa'di. He was a native of Shiraz where his family for generations had been famed for eminence in learning. He is said to have lived to a great age, accounts differing between 102 and 112 years (Beato says 120). He spent 30 years in acquiring sciences, 30 years in travelling (he made the Hajj fourteen times) and 30 years in quietude. He died in the year 691 H (1291 A.D.). He was the contemporary of many great men, among them Amir Khusrū of Delhi who entertained him. His Kulliyat are of world wide reputation. The *Mujma'u'l Fugha* (I. 274) from which the above is taken does not give the date of Sa'di's birth and gives the date of his death as 701 H which is wrong. According to the account given by Beato Sa'di was born "about the year 671 A.H." The above account would however place his birth in either 689 A.H. or 699 A.H. Of his works the *Gulistan* and *Bistastan* are the best known.

For a full account of Sa'di see the preface to Platt's *Gulistan*. See also *Itashka la*, p. 284

possible rewards and distinctions, and on the last occasion on which they were able to meet, the Sultān instructed him in private with excellent counsels and pleasing discourses, which are mentioned in the books of the Histories of Dehlī, and having granted him permission to depart sent him to Multān; and in the same year *Itimar*¹ the Mughūl with thirty thousand horsemen having crossed the Rāvī by the ford of Lāhor caused great commotion in those districts, and the Governor of Lāhor sent a petition to *Khān-i-Shahid*² telling him of what had occurred. He while in his assembly read 30,000 as 3,000 and, marching with a large force, by rapid and continuous marches arrived at the boundaries of Bāgh-i-Sabz,³ on the banks of the Lāhor river where he engaged the infidels and attained the dignity of martyrdom. This event took place in Zū-Hijjah of the year 683 H,⁴ and Mīr Hasan⁵ of Dehli composed a prose lament, and sent it to Dehli. It is copied here in its very words.

The Lament of Mīr Hasan.

It is an old story that the tyrannous sphere, though it may for a time knit the knot of complaisance, and make a covenant of mutual sincerity, turns from its promise, and that discordant time, although it professes to shew acquiescence, and makes specious promises of fidelity, fails to perform them.

The wanton-eyed heaven, the pupil of whose manliness is sullied by the defect of the mote of meanness, at first, like a drunken man, gives some bounty in a case where there has been no favour received to demand it, but in the end, like the children, takes the

¹ *I'timar*. Both in the printed text and in MS. (A) Ziān-d-Dīn Barnī calls him Samar. Firishta calls him Timūr *Khān*.

² Called *Khān-i-Shahid* or the "Martyr Prince" because he fell in battle opposing "the accursed Samar, the bravest dog of all the dogs of Changīz *Khān*" (Elliott, III. 122.)

³ MS. (A) باغ سریر MS. (B) باغ سبز the text reads باغ سریر Bagh-i-Sarīr with a footnote variant Bagh-i-Sard.

⁴ Ziān-d-Dīn Barnī says 684 H.

⁵ Ziān-d-Dīn Barnī attributes this lament to Amīr *Khusrū*. (Elliott III. 122). Firishta also states that Amīr *Khusrū* escaped when the Prince was killed, and wrote a lament. It seems probable therefore that the lament should be attributed to Mīr *Khusrū*. The *Hasan* which occurs in Text and both MSS. (A)(B) may have had its origin in a copyist's error.

gift back again without any treacherous conduct having been committed. The habits and customs of the oppressive times are cast in the same mould, whether by experience or by hearsay, we see or hear that whomsoever it perceives coming to perfection like the moon, it desires to darken the face of his fulness with the blot of defect, and whomsoever it finds rising like a cloud him it strives to tear to pieces, and to scatter his substance to the extreme boundaries of the horizon. As in this orchard of amazement and garden of regrets, no rose blooms without a thorn so no heart escapes the thorn of sorrow. Alas! for the newly sprung verdure which has become yellow, withered in the bloom of its beauty by the autumn of calamity. Alas! for the many fresh-springing trees which have been laid low in the dust of the ground by the fierce blast of Death.

132.

Consider the winds of Autumn, how chill they are and cold,
The cowardly blows they have dealt alike at the young and old.

One of the examples of this allegory is the death of the late Emperor Qā'ān-i-Mulk Ghāzī,¹ may God make manifest his demonstrations and weigh down the scale with his excellencies, on Friday the last day of the month of Zū-l-Hijjah in the year 683 A.H., when the moon, like kindness in the heart of infidels, could nowhere be seen, the Sun with the company of the army of Islām came forth to smite with the sword, and the great Prince who was the Sun of the heaven of the kingdom, with the light of holy war shining on his noble brow, and the unchangeable determination of "jihād" firmly planted in his illustrious mind, placed his auspicious foot in the stirrup. By night they submitted to his judgment which solved all difficulties, that Itimar with the whole of his army had advanced into the plain at a distance of three *farsangs*. When morning broke, he commenced to march intending to leave that place, and at a distance of one *farsang* coming face to face with those accursed ones,² elected to draw up their forces in a place on the outskirts

¹ Qā'ān-i-Mulk Ghāzī. The eldest son of Ghiyāṣū-d Dīn Balban who was Khān of Multān. See page 187 ante.

² بَلْعَلَهُ مَلَكُ MS. (A)

of Bāgh-i-Sarīr¹ on the banks of the river of Lāhor. Accordingly he very strongly fortified a large village which was close to the river, and made such dispositions that when the infidels came against it, both rivers² should be in the rear of his army, so that neither could any man of his own army turn in flight nor could any injury be inflicted upon his army by that troublesome horde³ and in very truth that choice of position was the acme of caution and the very height of skill in that world-conquering Khān, but since when Fate is adverse the thread of all plans becomes tangled, and the orderly row of enterprises becomes disordered,

He who falls in with evil fortune by the way,
His affairs fall out just as his enemies desire.
His Fortune like a mad man loses the right way,
His senses, like the nightblind, fall into the well.

By chance that day the Moon and the Sun, which may be compared to kings, were suspended in the sign of the Fish,⁴ and Mars, whose blood-red aspect is entirely due to the blood of the princes of the people, had drawn out from the quiver of that sign the arrow of disappointment and the dart of disobedience against that Orion⁵ (white) girdled Khān, who was like Leo coming forth from a watery sign ; the house of fear and calamity and the proofs of sedition and signs of harm thus became evidently

باغ سبز باغ تیز MS. (A) Probably the before mentioned.

² The Rāvī and Satlaj. This battle was fought close to Multān, and is described by Firishta, who states that after having routed the Mughūl army, the Prince and some of his retainers were resting by the bank of the river when they were attacked by one of the Mughūl chiefs who was lying in ambush with 2,000 men, and the Prince was killed with many of his followers ; the army which had taken the alarm returning just in time to see him die.

³ I read مخاذبل شاوش MS. (A).

⁴ MS. (A) reads در نشانه ماهی

جاء القضاء ضاق الگضا Lit. When Fate comes, the plain becomes narrow.

Other proverbs of this kind are the following :—

أذا نزل القضاء بطل المحذر When Fate comes, caution is useless.

أذا نزل القضاء عمي البصر When Fate comes the eye is blind.

⁵ The three stars in Orion's belt. See Lane s. v. الجوزاء.

manifest, while the hint and indication of the proverb " *In face of Fate wide becomes strait*" became written on the consecutive pages (of his history) In short, at midday just as the courier of the heaven reached the country of noon, and the day of that world conquering Emperor was approaching its decline, suddenly a band made its appearance from the direction of those infidels The Khan-i Ghāzi at that same moment mounted his horse and issued an order in obedience to which all the cavalry and the body servants and retinue and retainers, in accordance with the mandate 'Kill the infidels all of them'¹, drew up in a line a hundred times stronger than the rampart of Sikandar² After ordering the right wing and dressing the left wing, he himself of noble qualities, stood in the centre like the moon and the host of the stars, ready for the *jihād*, while the Tatar infidels, *let confusion and dismay come upon them*, crossed the river of Lahor, and confronted the ranks of the Muslims Thereupon these wild loving desert born savages, placing the feathers of the owl³ upon their illomened heads, while the Ghazis of Islam, kings of Turkestan and Khilj and notables of Hindustan, and all the soldiery made the battlefield a place of prayer—as the Holy Apostle, *may the blessings and peace of God be upon him*, declared that the holy war was closely allied to prayer, saying *We return from the lesser holy war to the greater holy war*,⁴ reciting the takbir⁵

¹ See Quran IX 5

قَاتَلُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ حَيْثُ وَجَدُوا هُنَّ مُّؤْمِنُونَ

² The thick wall said to have been built by Alexander the great to restrain the wild natives of Northern Asia commonly known as the wall of Gog and Magog See D Herbelot Vol. I p 640 II p 282 Ibn Khaldoun Proleg I 162

³ The owl called by the Arabs عَرَابُ الْلَّيلِ is a bird of ill omen and is held to be unclean Muslims being forbidden to eat its flesh (Hayatu l Haywanat)

Hence the proverb تُوكَلُ عَلَى الدُّوَمَةِ حَيْرٌ مَا تَرَكَهَا لَصَيَادٌ

Had there been any good in the owl the hunter would not have passed it by See also page 157 note 1 See also J A S B 1877 p 81

⁴ According to Sufi writers there are two *Jihads* *Al Jihadu l Akbar* or the greater warfare which is against one's own lusts and *Al Jihadu l Asghar* or 'the lesser warfare against infidels (See Hughes Dict of Islam art *Jihad*)

⁵ Cry ng *Allahu Akbar* الله اکبر God is Almighty See *Mishkatu l Masrib* X n 1

raised their hands in prayer, and in the first attack they put to the sword a considerable number of able-bodied men of the Mughūl cavalry, and the lances of the Maliks of the Court so wounded the limbs of their enemies that above each of them the blood spurted up like a spear, while sixty selected Turks inter-weaving their arrows like closely-woven cloth, made it appear as though the west (of existence) of the Tātārs was being torn to shreds.¹

In the beginning of the fray the arrow of the king leapt forth
The Tātārs were all laid low.

As often as the great Lord, lion-hearted, wielding the sword,
with a blade as bright as his own faith, sallied forth to
attack from the midst of the ranks.

You would say that the sword was trembling in that battlefield
at the excellencies of the monarch, and becoming in its entirety
a tongue was saying to him, Up and make an end of these accursed ones, and entrust their discomfiture to thy servants, but do thou thyself refrain from personal action, for the sword is double faced, and the scimitar of Fate pitiless in its wounding—no one can tell what may happen to any one of us from the decree of the All powerful. I close my eyes against the fatal eye.²

Go not, that I may bind thy dust upon mine eyes.
Act not, for I greatly fear the evil eye.
The heaven has never seen such a brilliant countenance,
I am as rue upon that fire to guard that eye.³

As long as he strenuously performed the duties of fighting and
135. warfare, each of the weapons as it were entered into colloquy with
him—the spear was saying, Oh King! refrain your hand from me

¹ There is a sequence of plays upon words in the original which cannot possibly be preserved in a translation. قير tir is a kind of cambric or lawn. It also has the usual meaning of "arrow."

² عین الکمال An eye supposed to have the power of killing with one glance. The Arabs says فَعَلَ اللَّهُ عَنِّي عَيْنُ الْكَمَال May God blind the fateful eye to thee.

³ سپند According to *Burhān-i-Qālī*, a seed which is burned to avert the consequences of being "overlooked" by the evil eye. See Vüller's Lexicon.

For an interesting account of charms against the evil eye see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.

this day, for the tongue of my point by reason of constant fighting
and slaying is blunted, and I have no power left of opposing the
enemy with thrusts, I fear lest I should leap up and should commit
some untoward act The arrow too was saying,

Thou, the knot of whose bowstring opens the knot of the
Jauzhar, do not advance to meet this danger! ¹

I myself in rushing forth to destruction cast dust upon my head,
lest the close eyed beauty of the heaven ² who sits on the fifth
roof near the door of the eighth mansion, ³ sitting in ambush, out
of temerity and spite, should discharge against you the shaft of
evil from the bow of fraud and malice, the lasso was saying,
to day the thread of planning should not be let go from the hand
of deliberation, for I am contorted with anxiety at this precipitate
conflict and ill considered battle, wait a while! for Islam and the
Muslims are like the tent ropes connected with the tent of your
favouris Oh God! in dealing with this people, do not so long
delay putting the halter round their necks

I have willingly put my neck in the noose for thy sake
Thou art my lassoer, who takest me with the noose of thy
locks

In short, that mighty king, the defender of the faith, the uprooter
of infidelity, from mid day till eventide attacked that impious
crowd with the whole main body of his army, cheerfully and
willingly, while the shouts of the victors in the fight, and the
clamour of those eager for the fray ⁴ deafened the ears of the world
and of the sky, ⁵ and tongues of fire which leapt from the heads of

¹ MS (A) has مَسْدَاد as has the text MS B مَسْدَاد Neither is intelligible

Possibly we should read مَسْدَاد مَفْسَدَة Jauzhar the head and tail of
Draco see Burhan Q. It also *Ain* : *Akbari* II (J) p 9 also *Kashshaf*, I, 202

² مَنَادٌ تُرَكْ تَنَكْ چشمِ عَلَكْ MS (A)

³ I read تَرَادِر حَادَه هَشَمْ MSS (A) and (B) have تَرَادِر حَادَه هَشَمْ which makes
no sense unless we supply a word such as مَسَدَّدَه for which there is no
sanction The text reads وَلَرْ but it seems to me لَرْ is more likely to be
right It might easily have become لَوْ by copyist's error

⁴ مَعْوَاعِي عَالَدَانْ وَعَا وَعَلَيَّ طَالَانْ عَنْ This is a better read
ing than the text

⁵ MS (A) and (B) read صَمَاحْ سَمَاحْ for سَمَاعْ سَمَاعْ in the text

136.

the flashing spears, and tongues of the swords made not a single mistake in even in a letter in transmitting the message of destruction. In that uproar like the day of resurrection every one thought of this Ayat *A day when a man will flee from his own brother,*¹ the surface of the earth, like the eyes of old men who have lost their sons² was full of blood, and the face of the sky like the head of sons who have killed their fathers, full of dust.

Alas ! my father why dost thou submit to the steel of the fire-like sword

Oh ! dost thou wish to inflict the wound of orphanage on my heart.

In the very midst of this weary conflict, and amid all this pain and anguish, suddenly an arrow shot by Fate struck the wing of that falcon of the field of foray, and the bird of his life took its flight from the cage of the body of that noble one to the gardens of the Compassionate and meadows of Rizwān³

Verily we are God's and verily to Him do we return.⁴

At that same moment the backbone of the religion of Muhammad, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, broke like the heart of sorrowful orphans, and the rampart of the religion of Muhammad fell in like the grave of poor people of low origin, and the assistance which the arm of the king alone could give slipped from our grasp, and the confidence which the army of the Muslims had possessed⁵ was lost. Exactly at the time of sunset,

¹ Qur'ān Sur : lxxx. 34.

² MS. (A) بصر بیاد داده پسر بیاد داده. The text has بصر which is bald and destroys all the antithetical force of the sentence.

In MS. (B) the word پسر is omitted.

³ MS. (A) گلشن حنان و روضه رضوان Rizwān, the name of the door-keeper of the garden of Paradise. The word means "Pardon" "forgiveness."

⁴ The formula of resignation to the Divine will uttered by pious Muslims in all times of adversity, more especially bereavement or in presence of death. In the Qur'ān II. 150, 151 we read, "We will try you with something of fear, and hunger and loss of wealth and souls and fruit; but give good tidings to the patient who when there falls on them a calamity say, 'Verily we are God's and verily, to Him do we return' these, on them are blessings from their Lord and mercy, and they it is who are guided." (Palmer).

⁵ بیضه اسلام see Lane, Ar. Dict. بیضه اسلام. The place which comprises El-Islām (meaning the Muslims) like as the egg comprises the young bird, or the congregation or collective body of the Muslims.

the sun of the life of that king whose sun was setting sank into the west of extinction, and the heaven, after the habit of mourners, dyed its raiment blue, while falling tears began to course down both its cheeks. Saturn, by way of fulfilling the requirements of fidelity and the demands of mourning, turned its robe to black and bewailed the people of Hindustan because of his death. Jupiter, in pity for that dust besoiled body and blood-stained mantle sent his garments and cast his turban in the dust.

And Mars, may the hand of his power be tightly closed as the eye of the beauties, and the face of his sustenance be dark as the locks of Ethiopians, sore wounded by compassion for that calamity, with a rankling thorn¹ which brought forth his heart's blood, was trembling like the Fish² before the Sun, and like the Ram³ in the hands of the slaughterer, while the Sun, for shame that it had not striven to avert this calamity and prevent this disaster, came not forth, but sank below the earth, and Venus when she saw what violence the heavenly bodies were undergoing at the hands of Time, played her tambour more vehemently,⁴ changed the tune of the drum, and commenced music in a fresh measure, and because of the death of that slave cherishing king, others in place of uttering musical strains began to weep, and Mercury⁵ who in forago and conquests in accord with the scribe, used to write many records of victory, in that tyranny⁶ was blackening his face with the contents of his inkhorn, and was clothing himself in a garment of paper made of the sheets of his own records, while the new moon in the shape of a crescent on the horizon, with bowed stature, in that day of judgment which had visited the earth, was striking its head on the wall and performing all the customary mourning duties.

137.

خار عقرب *Xhar-i-Aqrah* The thorn of Scorpio Mars is called حار عقرب

حوت *Hat* The sign Pisces

حمل *Hamal* The sign Aries.

* **راد في الطبلور** on the analogy of برباد في حذفه said of a liar

The *tambur* is a kind of mandolin with chords of brass wire played with a plectrum. The word was originally دب برق from its being likened to the tail of a lamb (Lane).

* Mercury is called **دبیر فلك** *Dabir-i-Falak* The scribe of the sky -

* **نظالم** *tarallum* MS (A) MS (B) The textual reading نظم must be wrong

Thou placest thy cheek in the dust, alas, I wish not this
for thee

Moon of my days, I do not wish thee to pass beneath the
Earth.

If thou goest out to the chase (*i.e.* diest) thy dust is my life :
My life ! is the solitude of thy dust pleasing to thee ? I do
not wish it for thee.

May God, be *He exalted and blessed*, raise the purified and
sanctified soul of that warrior prince to lofty heights and high
dignities, and give him, from time to time, cups full of the brilliancy
of his beauty and glory, and make all the kindness, and
clemency, and affection, and care which he evinced towards this
broken down worthless one, a means of increasing the dignity and
wiping out the faults of that prince. Amen, Oh Lord of the worlds !

And Mir Khusrū¹ also on that day fell a prisoner into the
hands of Lahorī, a servant of the Mughūl, and had to carry a
nosebag and horsecloth upon his head. He recounts this circum-
stance in these words—

I who never even placed a rose upon my head,
He placed a load on my head and said "It is a rose."²

And he composed in poetry and sent to Dehli two elegies written
in *tarkīb-band*³ which are found in the anthology known as

میر خسرو For an account of Mīr Khusrū see index reference.

The poet, relates some of his experiences as a captive—"At the time
that this learner of evil, the author, was a captive in the hands of the
Mughūls—may such days never return!—travelling in a sandy desert, where
the heat made my head boil like a cauldron, I and the man who was with
me on horseback arrived thirsty at a stream by the roadside. Although
the naphtha of my life was heated I would not inflame it with oil by
drinking a draught of water. Both my guard and his horse drank their
fill and expired immediately." Elliott, III, Appendix, p. 545.

² جل means both *horsecloth* and also *rose*. There is a difference in the readings MS. (A) reads, تو براء بوسونهاد و گفتا جل MS. (B) is like the text.

³ ترکیب بند. In this class of composition a certain number of verses
having the same metre and rhyme are followed by a couplet in the same
metre but having a different rhyme—then the original rhyme is reverted to
for a certain number of verses, and is again followed by a fresh couplet
having the same metre, but a rhyme differing from both the original rhyme
and that of the first interpolated couplet—and so on. In *Tarjī'band* as

Guriatu l Kanal¹ For a space of a month more or less folk used to sing those *tarlib bands* and used to chant them as threnodies over their dead from house to house

The following is one of them —

Is this the Resurrection day or is it a calamity from heaven 138
which has come to light?

Is this a disaster or has the day of Judgment appeared upon the earth?

That breach which has appeared this year in Hindustan has given entrance to the flood of sedition below the foundation of the world

The assembly of his friends has been scattered like the petals of the rose before the wind

Autumn the leaf scatterer has one would say appeared in the gudien,²

Every eyelash in the absence of friends, has become a spear point to the eye and each point of the spear has brought blood spouting forth to a spear's length

The heart writhes in agony since Time has broken the thread of companionship

When the string is broken the pearls are scattered far and wide

Such a flood of tears has been shed by the people on all sides that five fresh rivers have appeared around Multan³

I wished to bring my heart's fire upon the tongue in the form of words

When lo! a hundred tongues of fire appeared within my mouth

It has been stated elsewhere the plan is similar to the above but the interpolated couplet is always the same. This interpolation occurs not more than seven times both in *Tarkib band* and in *Tarjib band*

1 *Gharrat il lamal* The longest of the four *Diwans* of Amir Khusru. It contains poems written from the 34th to the 42nd year of his life for an account of this and the other *Diwans* see Elliott III Appendix See also II j Khalaf IV 311

² MS (A) reads گلستان for بوسان

³ MS (A) agrees with the text MS (B) has a worthless reading

شیخ دیگر اندرونیان آمد پدیده

I dug deep in my breast, empty of all desire, and tears burst forth from both my eyes; when the earth is hollowed out then springs of water make their appearance.

Weeping has taken the bloom off my cheek, and disgraced me, because by reason of it, the skin has left my cheek and the bones have come in sight.

The planets are all conjoined in my eyes¹ perchance it portends a storm, since in a watery constellation a conjunction of planets is seen.

I only wish for that same collection (of friends) and how can this be!

It is essentially impossible--how can this *Banātu-n-Na'sh* become the Pleiades² (How can mourning become joy).

With what omen³ did the king lead his army from Multān and draw the infidel-slaying sword in order to slay the infidels.

¹ The text has در حشم we should read در حشم as in MS. (A).

The astrologers state that when a conjunction of all the planets shall take place in one of the watery constellations (Scorpio, Pisces, Aquarius) a deluge like that which destroyed the world in the time of Noah will occur again.

² This couplet differing as it does in rhyme, but being in the same metre is characteristic of ترکیب بند *tarkib band*, see p. 196, note 3.

بنات النعش *Banātu-n-na'sh*, this name "The daughters of the bier" is given by the Arabs to the constellation *Ursa Major*. See Lane, s. v. نعش -

The origin of the name "The daughters of the bier" is said by Sedillot in his Notes to the *Prolégomènes des Tables Astronomiques d'Olong Beg*, to be that "the Arab Christians called the "Chariot" or the four stars composing the body of the Great Bear نعش لعازر *Feretrum Lazarī*, and the three stars (the handle of the plough) of the tail *Maria, Martha ac ancilla*." The Persians have a superstition that if two people are together and one of them points out this constellation to the other, one of the two will die within the year.

The allusion to the Pleiades is explained by the following verses of *Ibn-al-Amid* (see de Slane, *Ibn Khall.*: III. 263).

"I have seized on one of the opportunities which life offers to form with my companions a part of the band of the Pleiades, and, if you do not aid us to maintain our rank in that choir by sending us some wine, we shall be sad like the daughters of the hearse."

The Pleiades is considered a fortunate asterism (cf.) Job xxxviii. 13, "The sweet influences of Pleiades."

³ MSS. (A) and (B) read طالع تاجه.

When they brought him tidings of the enemy, with that strength which he possessed, ruthlessly he displayed his wrath and unfurled his standards.

That army which was then present sought for no second army,

For this reason that Rustum must not be indebted to an armed host.¹

One assault took him from Multān to Lāhor, saying
In my reign can any one rebel against me?

Am I not such a lion, that my sword which is like fire and water

Has by its slaying turned every year of theirs to dust and ashes?

Such torrents of blood often have I set flowing over the earth,

That the vulture flies² over the surface of blood like a duck over the water.

In this year to such an extent do I stain the earth with their blood,

That the evening twilight reddens with the reflection of the earth

He was bent upon this enterprise and did not know that the Destiny of heaven had drawn the line of fate across the writing of the page of intention

His eyes were smitten by the stars; if I have the power I must heat a needle, and like a shooting star thrust it into the eye of the seven planets.

The first day of the month became Muharram³ for him, 140.
not for him only but for all people.

¹ These verses are transposed in the text. MS. (A) and MS. (B) give this order.

² MSS. (A) and (B) read پر کشیدہ برس خون.

³ MS. (A) reads شد محرم غرہ.

The Martyr Prince was killed on the last day of Zūl Hijjah the morrow of which was the sacred month of Muharram.

The 'Āshūrā (the tenth) is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muharram. We read in the *Mīqāt* (VII.) Ibn Abbās said "I did not see his highness intend the fast of any day which he considered more noble than the 'Āshūrā and the fast of Ramaḍān" Again "the fast of

Since at the end of Zūl H̄ijjah he drove his dagger into
the neck of his enemies.

That the day of ‘Āshūra might arrive he entered the ranks
of holy war like Ḫusain ; the dust of his steed served as
collyrium for the eye of the brilliant moon.

What an hour was that when the infidel reached the van of
the army !

One upon another his squadrons passed over the river and
came upon them unawares.¹

Thou didst see the king's steed,² casting the cloud of dust
to the sky.

The wind-footed courier charging the infidels worthless
as dust.

He raised a turmoil among the stars by the shouts of
his army.

He produced an earthquake in the world by the rushing
of his cavalry,

From the roll of the drums, the neighing of the horses, and
the shouts of their riders, he caused a quaking of the
plain and desert and mountain.

His horses were reeking (with sweat), with shoes as hot as
fire, so that the hoofs of each fiery-shod steed struck
sparks.³

What awe was there ! at one time drawing up for battle,
What terror was there ! at another time raising the battle
cries.⁴

From the flash of the sword in his hand he scattered heat
and oppressiveness around him.

141. the day ‘Āshūra I am hopeful will cover the faults of the coming year.”
(Matthews, Vol. I. p. 402).

“ It is the only day of Muḥarram observed by the Sunnī Muslims, being
the day on which, it is said, God created Adam and Eve, heaven and hell, the
tablet of decree, the pen, life and death.” (Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*).

جوق جوق آب را بگذشت و ناله در رسیده آن چه ساعت

¹ MS. (A) reads instead of جنگ خنگ.

² MS. (A) (B.) read نعلی آتشین هر.

³ MS. (A) کارزار آراستن بود گاهی هیبت آن چه داشت وان دارانگیختن.

⁴ MS. (B) reads the same as (A) repeating هیبت in the second line.

While the very thought of his spear pricked the heart like
so many thorns.

The brave-hearted were attacking, bent on consuming their
enemies,

The faint-hearted were plotting intent upon flight.

[Whiles, the king the cherisher of brave men, in that
field of battle,

Was doing deeds of bravery and urging on the warriors].¹

Striking manfully blow after blow upon the ribs of the
unmanly cowards,

And sending forth flames of fire from his well tempered
sword.

Raising aloft like Jāmshid the standard, to restrain the
demons,

Urging on his steed, like the sun, to capture kingdoms.

Bringing the sky into supplication from that affliction.

Making the sun perform the *Tayammum*² with that dust.

[At that time when there was a distinction between brave
and coward,

Many a one there was whose lips were dry and his cheeks
pale].³

¹ These lines are omitted in the text but are in both MSS.

گل شاه مرد پرور اندران میدان کار

کار مردان کرد و مردان کار انگیختن

² تیم. *tayammum*. This word signifies "Intention" and is restricted to the *Wuḍū* or ablutional ceremony performed with sand instead of water, which is permissible under certain circumstances, as for instance when water cannot be procured without incurring undue risk or labour. Qur'ān V 9. "If ye cannot find water then take fine surface sand and wipe your faces, and your hands therewith." This like so many of Muhammad's injunctions was excellent as a sanitary measure.

³ The text and MS. (B) are both wrong here, repeating the preceding band as though this poem were a *tarjīband*. The following is the correct reading as given in MS (A)

اندران وقت که فرق از مرد تا نام مرد بود

ای بسائی را که لبها خشک و روها زرد بود)

Consequently in the translation I have omitted the incorrectly repeated lines, and have given these in their place.

The day was cast into darkness when they hurled¹ one upon the other,

The sun became pale when dagger was interwoven with dagger.

The day was nearing its decline, seeing that the swords² were weaving a sky of rust over the sun of the army.

The rows of swords in both ranks resembled (the teeth of) a comb,

The combatants are entangled one with the other like hair with hair.³

142. The Earth looked like a sheet of water when cuirass was knit with cuirass, the plain resembled a rose garden when shield was woven with shield.

The heaven flies away as though flying from an arrow,

The arrows flying above their heads are thick as the feathers of a wing.

When half the force of the infidels had their heads swept off by the sword

Those infidel heads⁴ which were matted together like the locks of black hair.

Ruby-red drops of blood sprang like tears⁵ from the sword So that the gold-woven standards were besprinkled with the jewels.

Each single head was cleft in twain when the swords blows met.

¹ MS. (B) reads تافتند which is the best reading.

² This is the reading of MS. (A) ك از جنگار تیغ MS. (B) follows the text but with no intelligible meaning. The reading of MS. (A) is not quite satisfactory and it seems possible that we should read از جنگار تیغ i.e. The warriors' swords.

³ MS. (A) has the following:—

شای را مانند آن مفهای تیغ از هردو سو

MS. (B) has شانه را مانند while the text has this as an alternative reading for شانه را ژانست.

MS. (B) is the reading adopted for this line, reading however بافتند (text) and MS. (A) for تافتند MS. (B) in the second line.

⁴ MS. (A) هرس.

⁵ Insert از before تیغ MS. (A).

The cloven heads became as one again when head was thrust against head.

The slain were lying on all sides of that verdant plain¹
Like the figures which they weave on the green brocade.

Long had they been striving even from morning till evening, face to face, and hair to hair, and hand to hand.²

The king³ wished to spread the carpet of victory but to what avail

Since the heavens had woven that carpet in another pattern.

* [His auspicious sword did not cease from contest for one moment.

From the declining day till night in that day of declining fortune].

Oh Lord ! was that blood which flowed over the face of the plain^{143.}

Or was it a river urging its waves toward the lips of the thirsty.

Just as water drops to the earth when you sift it⁵ in a sieve

So the blood dript from the limbs of the weary warriors.

The mortally wounded lay in the death-agony writhing on the ground, while from his throat blood burst in billows, spouting in the air.

The arrows drove the bodies over the sea of blood like boats,

Plying their oars madly and urging their course onwards.⁶

¹ MS. (A) reads کشتنگان افتاده در اطراف آن میخراي سبز which is the reading adopted.

² MS. (A) reads رو بروی و مو بموی و بسو بسو بر یافتند
MS. (B) reads رو برو و مو بمو و سو بسو بر یافتند

³ MS. (B) reads incorrectly خواست شد

⁴ The text and MS. (B) are again wrong here giving in this place the couplet beginning اندران میدان, see page 196 note 3, instead of the lines which should follow

یک زمان شمشیر اقبالش نیاسود از قتال
از زوال روز تا شب اندران روز زوال

⁵ MS. (A) بینزی

⁶ These lines follow here in MS. (A) in the text they are five couplets later.

The river bore those (the infidel enemies) to hell and the stream bore these (the Muslims) to Paradise, although the blood of infidel and Muslim was flowing side by side. The chargers were plunging and the heads of the riders falling.

The feet of the horses spurring and the heads of the riders bowling along.

Every spurt of blood which spurted from the body struck by an arrow.

Leapt without restraint like a man who leaps to avoid an arrow.¹

The arrow of every man who from stoutness of heart had an arm nerved for the fight, fitted accurately to the bow flew straight to the heart of the enemy's army.

And he who from faint-heartedness has lost command of his arms and legs, was running now to the water and now to the plain.

The king, the commander of the army, was urging on the charger of his fortune, and it galloped with him in drawing up his line, and planning the scheme of action.

The heavens turned Victory backwards seizing it by the hair,

Although Victory was speeding towards us having left the accursed (infidels).

² [The infidels were expecting the coming of night, to take to flight,

Suddenly the scale of the balance turned against us].

What a night was that! when the sun had fallen from the sky!

And demons were hurling fire upon the earth, and the stars had fallen.

When nothing of day remained for that sun of fortune.³

¹ These lines follow here in MS. (A) which reads چون کسی بکر تیر نجھد.

² Here again the text and MS. (B) are wrong. Here should follow as in MS. (A).

کافر اندر انتظار شب که تا پیروں شود
نامگہان میزان مارا پلے دگر گون شود

³ These are omitted in MS. (B.). MS. (A.) reads آفتاب بخت را

³ and the following are transposed in the text.

Some little daylight remained when the sun (of royalty) fell.

Although Husain of the famous Kerbelā¹ was in straits for want of water.

He was the Muhammad whose end came upon him in the water.²

The heart of mankind became (full of holes like) a fishing net because, from the craft of the demon the royal signet which was on the hand of Solomon fell into the water.³

The infidels were wallowing in blood as the donkey wallows in the gutter, the believers lay in the mud like jewels in the mire.

One army was passing through the water of the flood of disaster,

The other parched with thirst had fallen in with a mirage.

Each one of them was put down on the tablet of the earth for this reason that their affairs had fallen into the account of the day of reckoning.

¹ A city in 'Irāq 50 miles south west of Bagdad and six miles west of the Euphrates. Husain was slain there A.H. 61 in conflict with Yezid ibn Mu'āwia on the 10th of Muharram; the name of the place where Husain was cut off from the Euphrates was called Kerbelā. See Hughes Dict. of Islam art. Husain.

² MS. (A) reads كَمْ دَرَكَنْشَ بَدَ أَفْتَادَهْ بُودَ but the text is the correct reading.

It refers to the circumstances already related under which the Khān-i-Shahid, the Martyr prince met his death. Firishta relates that having defeated the enemy the "generals of Hindustān discarded all caution and pursued the fugitives while the Muhammad, the Martyr Khān, who had not performed the mid-day prayer, went hastily with 500 of his army to the margin of a large tank which then was near, alighted and engaged in prayer when his party were suddenly attacked by one of the Mughil Generals with 2,000 men who were in ambush" (*Tārikh-i-Firishta*, I. 143. *Bombay Edition*.) The Prince after a gallant fight was killed by an arrow and most of his men, killed. It was here Amir Khusrū was taken prisoner but escaped.

³ The following is greatly abridged from the *Qissatu-l-Anbiyā*.

Solomon's famous signet ring in which lay the secret of all his power was stolen from him by the jinn *Ajjarjī* who while Solomon was bathing, personated him and demanded the ring from his wife (*Yamīnah*) to whom he had entrusted it. Obtaining it from her he sat on the throne and ruled the kingdom, Solomon having been cast out as an imposter. Solomon entered the service of some fishermen who used to give him two fish daily as, his

The skull caps which were lying in the fresh crimson blood looked like cocoanuts engraved and ornamented with vermillion.¹

145. The wounds of the heart were weeping tears of blood in bidding farewell to the soul, and the bodies were lying desolate owing to separation from life.

Alas! many were the living who were lying among the dead overcome with terror, their bodies blood-stained and their eyes sunk in (feigned) sleep.

Look at the deeds of this crafty old wolf (the sky) for lions were as though bound in chains and elephants in fetters at the hands of (infidel) dogs.

[This was not a battle, I verily saw that that was the day of resurrection. If these are the tokens of the resurrection, then I have seen it].²

Look at the revolution of the heaven, for it brought about such a change, that it made the centre of Islâm to go round and round (in perplexity) like the compasses.³

wages, one of which he ate but sold the other to feed the poor. In the meantime Âşaf recognized that it was not Solomon who was ruling, and brought 40 holy men (زâlim) before the throne each bearing an open copy of the Taurât (Book of the Law) which they read aloud; Aştarjî the demon was not able to bear this, rushed up to the roof of the palace, cast the ring into the water and fled. Solomon happened to be fishing that day but being tired fell asleep on the bank of the river, a large snake came out of the water and taking the green bough of a tree in its mouth was fanning Solomon as he slept, when the fisherman's daughter passed by; she ran off to her father and begged him to marry her to Solomon. Eventually this was settled (though Solomon protested his inability to provide a dowry) and Solomon married the girl. The fish which had swallowed the ring fell into their net on the following day and was given to Solomon with two other fish, Solomon took them and sold two of them and gave the other to the fisherman's daughter to fry. She struck a knife into it and the ring fell out, the whole house becoming illuminated, she screamed and fainted, Solomon seized the ring and put it on, thus recovering his lost kingdom.

¹ MS. (A) reads کشکان را سر کشیای سو. The text and MS. (B) read which seems preferable.

² The text and MS. (B) are again wrong: the proper lines here are نی فزع بود آن قیامت را معتبر دیده ام

گو قیامت را نشان اینست پس من دیده ام

³ MS. (A) reads (variant adopted) آسمان بن دایرات MS. (B) is the same as the text except that it reads پوکار in both lines.

Has one ever seen an atom carry off the water of the sun's
spring?

Has one ever seen a stone, which has rivalled the princely
pearl?

When the king entered the cave of the protection of God,
that man is a dog who did not wake the sleepers of the
cave¹ with his lamentations.

That he entered the secret cave (of death) when fleeing
from his enemies, is no disgrace.

The elect of God (Muhammad) fled towards the cave to
avoid the attack of his enemies.²

And if a spark reached him from the arrow of his enemies
this too is right³ for the wrath of Nimrod at last com-
mitted Abraham to the fire.⁴

146. And if he went to the holy place (Paradise) do not be vexed
and count it as a shame to him⁵ for 'Igā through the
spite of the Nazarenes devoted his life on the cross.

And if the (infidel) dogs were crafty as foxes to him, say
this, that it is of a piece with the dog like behaviour
which was shewn to ('Ali) the Haidār-i-Karrār (lion of
repeated attacks).⁶

And if the demons caused him to drown, then say this that
it is like when a demon drowned Rustum in the ocean.⁷

Every year he used to devote his life and energy to fighting
the Mughūls,

At last he yielded up his precious life in this endeavour.

¹ Qur'ān, Sūratu-l-Kahf, XVIII. The seven sleepers of Ephesus. MS. (A)
reads میست آن آدمی گونه. MS. (B) which the text follows reads شکست ;
and the text reads. گونه for گونه.

² MSS. (A) and (B) read از رزم خصمان.

³ The text and MS. (B) are hopelessly wrong here : the correct reading
MS. (A) is از تیر خصمان هم رواست.

⁴ Qur'ān, xxi. 52-60.

Said they Burn him and help your gods if ye are going to do so
We said Oh fire ! be thou cool and a safety for Abraham.

⁵ MSS. (A) and (B) read از ننگ شان دل بد مکن. The reading in
the text تگنا is inadmissible.

⁶ Abdur Rahman ibn Muljim slew 'Ali with a sword while engaged in
prayer on the 19th Ramaḍān 35 A.H. in the Mosque of Kūfa.

⁷ See Shāh Nāma (Turner Macan), Vol. II, p. 748. l. 8.

This is one of the tricks of fate which at one time sheds blood and at another gives life;¹ we are powerless, it is useless to strive against the all-powerful tyrant (fate).
The mighty lion when stung by the ant roars aloud in agony.

The infuriated elephant when pricked by a thorn shrieks from pain.

[It was on Friday, the last day of Zūl Hijjah that this battle took place

At the end of eighty-three and the beginning of eighty-four].²

The sun and moon wept over the face of that one of auspicious features,

Day and night wept over the youth of that short-lived one..

Like his orders, tears from the eyes, flowed from east to west

Behold the obedience of the servants³ who wept without any master.

In his reign birds and fishes were so happy

That the fishes wept in the water and the birds in the air.

The heavens with its thousand eyes wept over the people of the earth like vernal showers upon the grass.⁴

The dew which falls every morning from heaven and waters the earth, consider that as the tears of the stars who are weeping in the highest heavens.

The people of Multān, men and women, weeping and tearing their hair, in every street, face to face and everywhere.

No one could sleep at night for the noise of the wailing, and the beating of the drums, for in every house the mourners were weeping bitterly.

¹ MS. (A) وَجَانَ دَهْدَهْ

² MS. (A) has the following lines in place of those in the text

جمعه بود و سلیمان ذی اکتوبر که رفت آن کارزار

آخر هشتم—اد و سه آغاز هشتم—اد و چهار

1st Muharram (684 A.H.)

³ MS. (A) بندۂ فرمائ بن

⁴ This couplet is omitted from MS. (B).

They were preparing to perform the *wazū* in the water of
their eyes,

Hoping for pardon for that they wept at the time of prayer.
Their tongues were blistered like the feet of prisoners,
So sorely did they weep for the captives of calamity.

Their eyes poured forth blood upon the earth like the
throat of the slain,

So bitterly did each one weep for his own dead¹

And if by chance a captive returned from that bond of
calamity,

Every one seeing his face wept honest tears of sorrow

[So great was the weeping that the waves of the tears
were greater than those of the Jihun.

This was my own condition, the state of the others how can
I describe²?]

Shall I wring my hands, or shall I with my own teeth
make my arm livid,

Or shall I wear clothes of a darker blue than this blue 148
heaven³

Every man of reputation, tattoos his arm with the needle,
But when I make my arm blue with my teeth, the name of
the king leaps forth on my arm

Alas⁴! that he by the tyranny of the blue sky, is sleeping
beneath the earth, while⁵ because of his sleeping there
the whole horizon has become blue (dark)

There was both the blackness of the Hindu and the white-
ness of the Turk, whereas now both Turk and Hindu are
wearing blue (as mourning)

⁶ [It was as though the people were tearing the heavens
and dividing them among themselves,

¹ This is the order of the couplets in MS (A)

² MS (A) گوره چددان شد که موح دندگ او حیچون گدشت
حال من این بود حال دنگران تا چوں گدشت

³ Blue was the customary mourning colour in Persia

⁴ MS (A) روز

⁶ This couplet is not in the text nor in MS (B) MS (A) reads

آسمان را گربا بدربه و قسمت کرد خلق

سکه اطراف رمده از حاده شد هرسو گدود

To such an extent was the earth in all directions blue with mourning garments.]

Now it has become customary to wear blue—so that henceforth it behoves the weavers of white cloth to dye their thread blue in the shuttle.¹

In every street² of Cairo a river blue like the Nile was flowing; to such an extent were blue garments being washed in tears on all sides.

The dyers of blue cloth were as happy as if there was a bridal in their houses, because so many brides had their garments dyed blue in mourning for their husbands.³

The lovely ones who were smiting their foreheads and shedding tears of blood had their cheeks below their eyes red (with blood) while above their eye-brows it was blue.

The beauties have no need of blue (patches) and redness (rouge) after this,

For the cheeks are torn till they are red (with blood) and the face is smitten till it is blue (with bruises).

In such quantities do they tear their hair from their delicate brows, one and all

That the root of every hair becomes blue from such rough treatment.

[How long shall I tear out the hair of my head in this lamentation and mourning!

Nay I will pluck this body of mine like a hair from the head of my life].⁴

Alas! that my heart has suddenly turned to blood on account of (the loss of) my friends.

The order of the following couplets differs from that of the text as will be seen.

¹ MS. (A) reads باری کو ما for پا کو ما the latter is the correct reading.

² MS. (A) بھر کوئی.

³ MS. (A) پیرو ٹنہای عروسان

⁴ MS. A. موي سو تا چند از اين غم زار و گويان بير گننم Not in the text.

اين تن چون موي باري از سو جان بو گننم

Alas! for that assembly who were a constant fresh joy to their friends

The eyes became flooded with water and blood on account of their friends, so long as I saw my friends in the midst of blood and water

Such priceless blood of my friends has the earth swallowed
That it is my right to demand from the Earth the blood money for my friends

If it were possible for those who sleep in the dust to arise,
I would devote the remainder of my life to secure the existence of my friends

It were a pity that the eye should have its pupil always with it, and yet that its friends should be out of sight¹

How can one bear to look at others instead of one's friends,
My friends are gone² How can I embrace a stranger!
How can I clothe any other person in the mantle of any friends!

I will place their dust in my eyes (as a collyrium) How can it be right that the dust of my friends feet should be so little valued³

In desire for my friends, even though they sever my head (from my body),

Still the desire for my friends will never be severed from my head

Oh my King⁴ whenever thou biddest me I will tear my garment of life to the very edge in mourning for my friends

My life has been torn to shreds in a hundred places through 150 grief, how can it be right that I should tear a shred into shreds for the sake of my friends⁴

My friends have gone of whom are you talking,

Once for all bring your speech to an ending and breathe a prayer for my friends

¹ MS مود مان در چشم و بار از چشم دور (A)

² MS (A) The order in the text differs

در هوای دوستانم گر سرم بیرون کنند (A)

⁴ I follow the text here MS (A) reads

پاره پاره کردن اکدوون از هوای دوستان

[Always remember the departed, especially at the time of prayer,

Because nothing shows you the way to mercy save the guidance of prayer].¹

O Lord may the illumination of the sun of mercy light upon their souls.²

May their souls shine like the sun from the bounty of thy light.

In the day of battle the Great Khān was their leader,
May the same Khān be also their leader to the Garden of Paradise.

If an angel flies thither in desire for him it becomes a fly,³
May the wings of the peacock of Paradise drive away the flies from them.

The bounty of mercy is the water of life in the gloom of the grave,⁴

Oh Lord, in the darkness of the tomb may they have the water of life.

[When the faces become black from the sun of resurrection
May the wings of the angels cast protecting shade over their heads].⁵

When they give⁶ into their hands the record of their deeds taken from the book of punishment,

May the record bear as its heading the words "A book for the right hand."⁷

These lines are not in the text nor in MS. (B).

یاد می کن خفتگان را خامه در حال دعا
کت برحمت راه نماید مگر دال دعا

دعا *Dāl-i-du'ā* *Dāl* signifies the letter with which the word *du'ā* begins, while *Dāl* also means "that which shews the way."

یارب از^۲ MS. (A).

در هوایش گر ملک پرورد گردد مگس^۳ MS. (A).

در ظلمات گور^۴ MS. (A).

هند^۵ This couplet is omitted from the text.

چون زخور شید قیامت رویها گردد سیاه
بر سر از پر ملائک سایه گردان باد شان

بر کف دهنده^۶ (B) MSS. (A)

See Qur'an lxxxiv. 7, 8, 9 "and as for him who is given his book in his

May the drops of blood which were shed from their throats
 Become the most costly rubies of their crown of pardon
 For the thirsty ones¹ whose souls departed for lack of
 water,

May the cloud of mercy rain continuously upon their heads
 For the captives² who were long subjected to hardships,
 Oh Lord¹ may the hope of speedy release make their way
 light for them

May the affliction which they suffered in imprisonment, be
 to those who have escaped from prison (by death) the
 cause of their eternal salvation,

And those who have survived and have returned from
 that calamity,

May they experience the mercy of the Author of good,³ and
 may the favour of the Sultān be theirs

Since Muhammad has departed may the event be happy for
 the king May his son Kaiqubād be most fortunate and
 his son Kaikhusrū be blessed

And the opening [of another threnody]⁴ is as follows

My heart sit silent in sorrow for no trace of joy remains,
 Grief, do thou take away the world, for no joy is left
 therein

In the following ode too he refers to the same disastrous
 occurrence

Behold this calamity⁵ which has be fallen this year on the
 frontier of Multan,
 The right wing of the believers has been defeated⁶ by the
 infidel ranks

right hand he shall be reckoned with by an easy reckoning; and he shall go
 back to his family joyfully

¹ MS تشنگان را که همچنانی شان ندی ای گشت (A) I follow the text here

² This is the reading of the text MS (A) reads تشنگان MS (B) reads

³ Vullers دردان

⁴ These words are not in either MS

⁵ MS (A) reads ملین مل میر امسال This is the preferable reading

⁶ MS (A) شکست.

How can I explain that day of resurrection, from the agony of which the Angel of Death would have craved respite.

How can I describe the way in which the Ghāzīs, attacked the front of the Khaibaris, like the Lion of repeated attacks.

But what help has anyone against the decree of fate which was ordained by and issued from the Almighty.

What was the condition of the battle field ? it was one load of dead bodies,

So much blood was spilled and the load was lying upon it.¹

The blood of martyrs, poured out like a libation, was mingled with the earth,

The necks of prisoners bound together with ropes in rows, like rose chains,

The heads strangled in the tight noose of the saddle-cords,²

The necks caught in the toils of the head-ropes.

Although my head escaped that game of strangulation, Still my neck did not escape that noose of torture.

I was taken captive, and for fear lest they should shed my blood

My blood dried up, not a single drop remained in my weak and emaciated body.

I was poured out like water running without beginning and without end, and like bubbles thousands of blisters appeared on my feet from much travelling.

The skin was separated from my feet by the blisters, Like to the seams of a slipper burst open.

My heart, because of affliction, was as hard as the hilt of a sword

¹ MS. (A) reads زمین رزم که شد یار کشته بود همه

MS. (B) زمین رزم که شد باز گشت بود همه

زمین رزم چه شد بار کشته بود همه.

The real reading seems to be زمین رزم چه شد بار کشته بود همه. دوال پایی ².

From weakness my body was become wood like the handle
of a club.¹

Not a breath remained in my wind pipe by reason of thirst,
My belly was like a drum from the duration of my hunger²
My body was stripped naked like a tree in autumn,
And like a rose torn into a thousand shreds by the thorns
For sorrow the pupil of my eyes poured forth drops
Like the (scattered pearls) of a necklace broken from the
neck of a bride

A Qurūn³ driving me on in front followed along the way 153
seated on a horse, like a leopard on a hill range
Festor ab isto ore teterimus axillæ odori similis,
Cipilli oris ejus pubi similes usque ad mentum delapsi⁴
If I lagged behind a step or two through fatiguo
He would draw at one time his falchion⁵ at another his
javelin⁶

I kept heaving deep sighs and saying to myself
Alas! I shall never be able to escape from this calamity!
A thousand thanks to God Almighty who liberated me
With my heart free from arrow wounds and my body
unhurt by the sword

When he desired to make my body a brick for the grave,
Water and clay built up for me anew my palace of years
But what good to me was my escape from that rope
If snapped like the bond between the Muhājir and Ansār⁷

چقمار¹ *Chuqmar* Pavet de Courteille in his Turki dictionary gives this word as جوقمار *Cluqmar*, with the meanings ;*assue gourdin*

¹ These lines are as follows in MS (A)

دھی سادھ نام روون تشدہ

دھی شدھ شکم میں رہا دن ناہار

² I cannot find this word, possibly it is connected with the Turki قوجی *q rehi* an armed soldier

³ See Elliot and Dowson, III 528

⁴ طغنا *tughana* there is a Turki word طوغان *t ghāt* which means a falcon and another توغانک *tughanak* o œau semblable à l'épervier (P de C) Hence the above translation by the word *falchion*

⁵ تکمار *takhmar* a dart having no point (Richardson)

⁶ The *Ansār* or helpers of the prophet¹ were those tribes of El Medinah

All those lives were poured out in the dust like roses
 By the fierce blast of misfortune, this is Autumn not Spring.
 The world full of roses and the assembly emptied of those
 who can smell their perfume,
 How should not my heart turn to blood like the rose bud
 at this treatment!¹

Not one of my friends of last year remains to me this year,
 It is evident that "this year" also will become "last year."
 Do thou also like me, oh cloud of the newly born spring
 Now wash thy hands of water, and rain teardrops of blood.
 Give me a cup, that from the depths of my regret
 I may empty it of wine, and fill it with bitter tears.
 Now that the date is 684 (H.)

To me in my three and thirtieth year comes the good
 tidings of the thirty-fourth.

Not thirty-four because if my years should be thirty
 thousand, when one comes to the account of Annihilation
 neither thirty counts for aught nor a thousand.

I am not a poet, even though I were a magician, still then
 I shall become dust.

I am not a Khusrū, even were I a Kaikhusrū, still at that
 time my kingdom would be but the grave.

And in the preface to the *Ghurratu-l-Kamāl* he writes some epitomised poems relating to this circumstance; the gist of the matter is that they brought Tughrul to nothing, and the prince who used to pray with lamentation and tears at the footstool of the best of all helpers saying *Make me of thy mercy* a victorious Emperor rose to such power in the districts of Lakhnauti and Chatar La'l that his head which touched the stars, reached to the starless expanse of the highest heaven, and

who, while in other respects rivals, united so far as to espouse the cause of Muhammad.

The *Muhājirīn* were the refugees from Mecca, and to avoid jealousy and strife between them and the *Anṣār*, each of the *Anṣār* was made to swear an oath of brotherhood with one of the *Muhājirīn*. This bond was however broken shortly after the battle of Bedr. See Muir's Life of Mahomed, Vol. III. p. 26, also Palmer's translation of the Qur'ān, p. xxxiv. and Hughes Dict. of Islām s. v. *Ansār*.

¹ These lines follow here in MS. (A).

Malik Shamsu d Dīn Dabū, and Qāzī Aṣū desired to retain me by seizing my garments,¹ but the separation from my friends seized me by the collar. I was obliged like Joseph to leave that prison pit and turn my steps to² the metropolis, and under the shadow of the standard of the Shadow of God I remained in the city. In those very same months, the Khan-i-Buzurg Qaan Makh arrived from the conquest of Damieh,³ and a rumour came to us that my words had reached him,⁴ so that he made enquiries regarding the ripe fruit of my words, unripe fruit as it really was I laid it before him, and it was honoured with acceptance in his private hall of audience, and I was distinguished by a robe of honour and rewards, and I girded my loins in his service and wore the cap of companionship, and I gave for five years more to the Panjab and Multān water from the sea of my comfortable circumstances, till suddenly, by the potent order of the wise ruler, the star of my glory came into opposition with the inauspicious Mars,⁵ the time of its decline had arrived when the unlucky cavalcade of those born under the influence of Mars came in sight, and at evening time, the bright sun⁶ sank by the revolution of the heaven, a world of brave men struck by arrows had fallen, and the plain of the earth was full of broken cups, and Death itself was saying at that time "Where shall I place my cup and where shall I take my pitcher?" The sky fed upon dust and the sun swallowed a bowl of blood.

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How can we describe that day of resurrection
When even the Angel of Death sought protection from
the fray.

In that forge of calamity the rope of the infidels seized me also by the throat, but inasmuch as God Most High had lengthened the

¹ دلما میازم داعس گنری نکندہ MSS (A) and (B)

² مصروفجایع See Muqaddasi DeGoeje's Glossary, p. 207

³ MS (A) دهرا

⁴ داورسند MS (A)

⁵ صریح نحس Mars and Saturn are considered stars of ill omen, and are called in Arabic نحس nāhs. The two misfortunes' (See Ibn Khaldun Proleg ii 218)

⁶ MS (A) reads اولان مشرق MS (B) اولان مشرق So also footnote variant to the text The former is the reading adopted

rope of my life, I obtained release, and by the high road I made for the abode of favours, and attained to the sight of the dome of Islām¹ and at the feet of my mother became (as it were) an inhabitant of Paradise, while as for herself, as soon as her eyes fell upon me the fountain of her milk flowed from tenderness towards me.

Paradise always lies beneath the feet of a mother,
See two streams of milk flow therefrom, the sign of
Paradise.²

And I spent some time pleasantly and quietly in seeing my beloved mother and other dear ones in the fort of Mūminpur, otherwise called Patiālī³ on the banks of the river Ganges."

In short, when the news of this heart-rending disaster reached the ears of the Sultān, having observed the duties of mourning for some days, a great affliction fell upon him, so much so that he could never again gird his loins, but he used to occupy himself in all matters, and sent a despatch addressed to Bughrā Khān who had acquired the title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Din,⁴ to Lakhnautī saying. Since so great a calamity has fallen upon your brother I desire that you should take his place as you are well able to do, that in looking in your face I may be able to forget the numerous

وَأَنْ شَاهِرَةٌ بَلْ رَا لِزَمْ
واز شاهزاده بدار الا زدم
واز شاهزاده بدار الا زدم
The word شاهزاده here is clearly wrong. MS. (A) reads دار الا زدم and this is the variant I adopt although the phrase دار الا house of benefits is not a very usual one. Still, I have thought it better to take this as the true reading than to suggest other hypothetical readings.

² This refers to the two springs of Paradise mentioned in the Qur'ān, iv.

(Sūratu-r-Rahmān). وَمِنْ دُوِّنِهِمَا جَنَّاتٍ فِيهِمَا عَيْنَانِ نَصَّا خَتَانِ

And besides these are gardens twain In each two gushing springs. The proverb runs بھشت در پای مادران See Roebuck O. P. 484.

³ Patiālī "Ancient town in Aliganj tahsil Etah District, N.-W. Provinces situated on the old high bank of the Ganges 22 mile north-east of Etah town." Imp. Gaz. xi. 90. Tieffenthaler I. 198, places it at a distance of about 75 miles from Dihlī and about 20 from Furruckābād.

⁴ See page 186.

sorrows which I suffer on his account. Nāsiru-d-Din who¹ had acquired permanent and independent control over that district (of Lakhnauti) put off for some time coming to Dihli, and even after coming to Dihli at the earnest solicitation of his father was not able to remain there, "the elephant bethought him of Hindustān"² so that forgetting the demands of filial, paternal, and brotherly affection he became so restless from staying in that place that one day without his father's permission³ together with certain of his kinsfolk he went forth on pretence of hunting, and marching by rapid stages reached Lakhnauti and busied himself with his own affairs.

VERSE.

Why should I not betake myself to my own country ?

Why should I not be the dust of the sole of the foot of my friend ?

I cannot endure the sorrow of exile and absence from home,
I will go to my own country, and be my own monarch.

Accordingly Sultān Balban, who was very depressed and dejected at this occurrence, so that day by day his weakness gathered strength, as he lay on his bed of sickness, being moreover past eighty years of age, conferred upon the eldest son of the Martyred Khān who was called KaiKhusrū, the title of Khusrū Khān, and gave the affairs of Empire into his hands. Multān too was entrusted to him, and he made him the heir-apparent, and made a will to the effect that Kaiqbād the son of Bughrā Khān should be sent to his father in Lakhnauti. After he had relieved his mind of anxiety as to the succession of KaiKhusrū, and the other testamentary dispositions of the government having occupied him three days, he removed the baggage of existence from this world to

¹ MSS (A) and (B) ناصر الدین را کے۔ The text and both MSS. call him Naṣiru d-Dīn.

² His thoughts turned homewards. Another proverb of this kind is دوق چمن ز خاطر بندل نمیرود، *zauq-e-chaman* z *Māfir-i-bulbul namīrauad*, i.e., the desire of the garden never leaves the heart of the nightingale.

³ بِرَحْصَتْ پَدَرٌ. MSS (A) and (B) The reading in the text *پَدَرٌ* is at variance both with the sense, and also with the statement of other historians. Burnī says "He wanted to go to Lakhnauti so he found a pretext for doing so and set off thither without leave from his father (E. D III 124).

57. the next. This event took place in the year 686 H.¹ He had reigned twenty-two years and some months.

Oh my heart ! the world is no place of permanence and stay,
Keep thy hand from the world—for it has no stability.

SULTĀN Mu'IZZU-D-DĪN KAIQUBĀD BIN SULTĀN NĀSHIRU-D-DĪN BIN
SULTĀN GHİYĀŞU-D-DĪN BALBAN.

- In the sixteenth year of his age, in succession to his grandfather, by the intervention of Malik Kachhan, who was called Itimar, and other Amīrs who were disaffected to the Martyred Khān, succeeded to the throne of Empire.² Then having bestowed Multān upon Khusrū Khān with his family and dependents, they sent him off there under some pretext and exiled his adherents, and when the Empire became established he appointed all the officers of the state to their old posts in the kingdom, and Malik Nizāmu-d-Dīn³ was appointed Dādbeg⁴ and they gave Khwāja Khaṣīru-d-Dīn the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, and Malik Shāhik Amīr Hājib that of Wazīr Khān, and Malik Qiyāmu-l-Mulk obtained the post of Wakildar: and after six months he left Dihlī and founded the palace of Kilūghāṛī, which is now a ruin, near the ford of Khwāja Khīzr on the banks of the river Jumna; there he held public audiences, and by craft getting hold of the Mughals who had newly become Moslems, put the majority of them to death, and banished a certain number of them. The chief author and cause of this action was Malik Nizāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqa the Wazīr (this Nizāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqa is the same in whose honour Muhammad 'Aufī composed the books *Jāmi'u-l-Hikāyat* and

58. 1 1287 A.D.

2 Zīāu-d-Dīn Barnī, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* gives a slightly different account of the means by which Kaiqubād attained the succession. He states that shortly before his death Balban summoned to his presence Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihlī, Khwāja Husain Başrī the Wazīr and some others and charged them to set Kaikhusrū son of the Martyr prince upon the throne. After his death, however, the Kotwāl and his people who for some private reason (از جهانی ک اک بکشاف احوال عزیات دارد) had been unfriendly to the Martyr prince, were apprehensive of danger if Kaikhusrū succeeded, so they sent him to Multān and placed the son of Bughrā Khān, Kaiqubād on the throne with the title of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn (Elliott III. 124).

¹ Nephew of Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihlī.

² Chief Justice.

Tazkiratu *sh Shu'ara*), and to Malik Chhaju (who eventually became grantee of Karra¹ and Manikpur, and whom Mir Khusrū eulogises in the Qirdnū's *Sādām* in these words,²

Khan of Karra Chhaju, conqueror of countries
Who hast encircled thy feet with anklets³ formed from the
hips of Khans)

was given Sāmanz, his daughter was united in marriage to Sultān Mu'izzu d Dīn Kaiqubād. At the end of the month of Zul Hijjah in the abovementioned year, news arrived that the Tatar infidels whose leader was Itimar had attacked Lahore and the frontier of Multan. The Sultan appointed Suluk Barbak with thirty thousand cavalry and giving him the title of Khan-i-Jahan despatched him to oppose them. He pursued the Tatars as far as the foot of the Jut hills, and put the greater number of them to the sword, or made them prisoners, and having repulsed them he came to the Court.

Inasmuch as Sultān Kaiqubād, during the lifetime of Sultan Balban, had not attained the desires of his heart, and learned instructors had been placed in charge of him, at this time when he attained to the Empire finding himself completely unfettered he occupied himself with the full fruition of lustful delights, while the majority of the people took advantage of the luxuriosness of his reign to spend their days in wantonness and license. The ministrants of debauchery, jesters, singers and jugglers were admitted to close intimacy in his Court, in marked contrast to his grandfather's reign, and learning, and piety, and integrity were nothing valued, and Malik Nizamu d Dīn 'Alaqa seeing that the

¹ Not كورا as in the text, but كررا MSS (A) and (B) also Barri. See note 3. Malik Chhaju was brother & son to Balban.

² MSS (A) and (B) مکر رکھی سعیف کریں See Ilahi Khalifa IV 510 9390 f 2 Quānū's *Sādām*

³ In the original there is a play on the word كررا Karra which cannot be reproduced in English. The lines are as follows MSS (A) & (B),

حاب کررا جھوئی کشورکشای کریں حابان کررا سندی پیاں

See Āīn : Akbari II 167 note 2 where Karra is said (as by Ibn Batutah) to have been the place of meeting of Mu'izzu d Dīn and Nasru d Dīn. See also Kar & Imp Gaz of Ind Vol VIII but Karra is on the Ganges and lies far away from the line Lakhnauti—Delhi but so also does the river Saty

Sultān was immersed in luxury and enjoyment, and utterly careless of his kingdom's affairs, stretched forth the hand of oppression and went to unwarranted lengths. The vain desire of sovereignty came into his heart, so that he set about devising the downfall of the family of Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn. In the first instance having instigated Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn to murder Kai Khusrū the son of Sultān Muhammad the Martyr, he summoned him from Multān, and in the town of Rohtak raised him to the dignity of martyrdom and sent him to join his father.

59. In the same way he accused Khwāja-i-Jahān of an imaginary crime and had him publicly paraded on an ass through the city, he also imprisoned the Amīr and Maliks of the house of Balban who were related to the Mughals who had recently become Muslims, and deported them to distant fortresses, and destroyed the glory of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn.

Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, when the tidings of his son's ruinous condition reached him in Lakhnautī, wrote a letter full of hints couched in the language of enigma and innuendo to Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn warning him of the sinister intentions of Nizāmu-l-Mulk. Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn out of the hot-headedness of youth, did not act on his father's advice, and after much correspondence it was decided that Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn should leave Lakhnautī, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn should start from Dihlī and that they should visit each other in Oudh.

From what Mīr Khusrū may the mercy of God be upon him, says in the *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*,¹ and also from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*² we learn that Bughrā Khān, on his accession to the throne of Bengāla with the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, was coming with a large gathering to attack Dihlī, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn also having collected his forces from the neighbouring districts advanced against him in the direction of Oudh; and since the river Sarū³ lay between them the son alighted on this side and the father on

Qirānu-s-Sa'dain. The conjunction of the two auspicious planets. Jupiter and Venus, see II. K. 9399, also E. and D. III. 524.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, the author of this work is Yāhyā bin Aḥmad bin 'Abdullah Sirhindī. (Elliott. IV. 6).

² The principal streams (of Oudh) are the Sarū (Sarjū) the Ghaghār (Gogra) the Sai, and the Godī (Gumtī). In the first mentioned divers aquatic animals and forms of strange appearance shew themselves. (*Ain-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. 171).

the other side and neither was able to cross the river. The Amirs and Maliks of Ghiyasud Din's party, intervened with advice to come to peaceful terms and Sultan Nasirud Din with a party of special retainers crossed the river as it had been agreed that the son should sit upon the throne and the father, standing below the throne, should pay the customary dues of reverence and respect to him. Sultan Muizzud Din from excess of desire forgot that compact, and on the instant his eyes fell upon the splendid presence of his father he came down from his throne and running barefooted, was about to fall at his feet. The father however would not permit this, whereupon each embraced the other and for a long time they wept bitterly, and in spite of all the father's attempts to take his stand at the foot of the throne, the son forcibly took him by the hand, and led him to the throne and seated him upon it. Then he also took his seat and after a long time the Sultan Nasirud Din returned to his own camp and sent as presents to his son a large number of famous elephants and very many extremely valuable presents and curiosities and priceless treasures from the country of Lakhnauti. The son also sent to his father an equal number of Persian horses, and other kinds of valuable articles and cloth goods and rare and unique presents such that the accountant of imagination is unable to estimate their number and value, and all sorts of delight and pleasure burst upon the Amirs of Ghiyasud Din and Nasirud Din and Muizzud Din, and upon high and low of the armies, and the Maliks of both parties exchanged visits. Mir Khusru relates in detail this meeting¹ in the *Qiranu's Sa'dain*, and in another place he writes in a *qasida*

Hail! to the happy kingdom when two kings are as one
 Hail! to the happy era when two brothers are as one

Ain-i Akbari II 305 gives an account of the meeting of father and son For the river Sarju see Tieff I 250 259 260 291 also plate XIX facing page 292 in which the confluence of the Sarju and Ghagra is shown as it was in 1768

The *Qiranu's Sa'dain* fixes the meeting between father and son as having taken place at Ajudl ya on the banks of the Ghagra

¹ Ibn Battuta gives a somewhat more fanciful description of this meeting of Nasirud Din and Muizzud Din. Paris Edn 1855 Vol III p 177, see also Elliott III p 596

Behold ! the son is a monarch, the father a Sultān,
 Behold the glorious kingdom now that two kings are as one.
 'Tis for the sake of kingship and world enslaving power,
 That for the world, two world-protecting kings become
 as one.

One is the Nāṣir of the age, the king Maḥmūd Sultān,
 Whose edict in the four parts of the world is still as one.
 The other is Mu'izzu-d-Dīn the world's king Kaiqubād,
 In whose grasp Irān and Turān are welded into one.

And this is his also—

161. Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dunyā wad Dīn Kaiqubād Shāh
 Hast thou ever seen one who is the light of the eyes of four
 kings

On the last day¹ when Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn came to bid farewell in the presence of Malik Nizāmu-l-Mulk and Qiwāmu-l-Mulk, who were both of them counsellors and closely bound up with the Government, he gave Mu'izzu-d-Dīn many good pieces of useful advice on all subjects, with exhortation, and examples and instances, and first of all warned him against excess in wine and venery, then spoke of his carelessness with regard to state matters, and rebuked him severely for killing his brother Kai Khusrū and the other noted Amirs and Maliks of the adherents of Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn; then he exhorted him to be continually given to prayer and to perform the fast of Ramazān, and to keep all the principal tenets of the Musulmān religion, and taught him certain fixed rules and essential regulations of sovereignty. At the time of taking his departure he whispered in a low tone telling him to get rid of Nizāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa as soon as possible, "for" said he "if he gets a chance at you it is small chance you will get" this much he said, and they bid one another farewell with great emotion, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn for a few days remembered his father's injunctions, and gave up his vicious pleasures, but when he had travelled a few stages the merry courtesans and all kinds of enticing musicians and enchanting jugglers, subverters of piety, skilled and clever, crowded round him on all sides, and enticed his feet from the firm path of fortitude and self-

¹ MS. (A) در روز آخرین د.

restraint, by all sorts of gallantries and coquettices, and sense-ravishing gestures and allurements

The bitter parting advice of his father did not find place in
his heart

For this reason that his heart was inclined to sweets of
pleasure

And the elephant saw Hindustan¹ in its dreams and he
broke through his forced repentance, which was as filmy as the web
of a spider, at the first provocation, and used to say, " Which
advice? ² and what counsel?

I will not give up the delights of to day for tomorrow
Let tomorrow bring what it may, say to it " Bring it "

In opposition to this view is the following,

It befits not a king to be drunken with wine
Nor become entangled in lust and desire,
The king should be always the guardian of his people,
It is a sin that a guardian should be drunken
When the shepherd becomes full of new wine
The flock sleeps in the belly of the wolf

Heavy cups of wine used he to drink from the hands of the
light-loving cup bearers, and used to snatch a portion from his
short ephemeral existence, and in this state malicious time used
to foretell this calamity,³

Oh thou whose reign is the reign of faithless friends
From thy love springs hate, from thy honour disgrace,
Thou art as full of turmoil, but as empty, as the drum
Lasting for one night like the candle, and for one day like
the rose

In this licentious mode of life he made his way to Dihli where
he arrived in the year 689 H (1290 A D) There certain of his
notable Amirs became suspicious of his intentions, and withdrew

¹ See note 2 page 210

² The text has میکار کے misprint for میکار کے

³ The text reads اسیں ملک but MS (A) reads preferably ملک

to the skirts of the mountains. Sher Khān¹ who was one of their number repented and returned, and was thrown into a prison which he only left to go to the prison house of the grave, the others were punished. They bestowed upon Firoz Khān ibn Yaghraph the Khiljī, who eventually obtained the title of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn, the title of Shāyista Khān,² and entrusted the district of Baran³ to his control; accordingly he formed a plot by which he got Malik Ḥimār Kachhan, who had treacherously attempted to slay him, into his power, and took vengeance on him for the deed which he had failed to accomplish. Then was seen the truth of the proverb “He who digged a pit for his brother is fallen into it himself.”

Thou hast digged a pit in the way⁴ that thou mayest overthrow others.

Dost thou not fear lest one day thou should’st find thyself in the midst of it?

This was the plan which Sultān Mu’izzu-d-Dīn carried into effect. He was very anxious to act upon the advice of his father and remove Nizāmu-l-Mulk ‘Alāqa, so he in the first instance appointed him to Multān, but Nizāmu-l-Mulk saw through this device, and kept making excuses for delaying his departure, whereupon certain of the king’s retainers at a hint from him, poisoned Nizāmu-l-Mulk’s cup, and despatched him to the land of non-existence. It so happened that this occurrence became a cause of injury to the State. At this same time the Sultān was attacked by paralysis⁵ from his excesses in wine and venery, in addition to which other deadly ills and chronic diseases obtained the mastery over his body, and his constitution not being able to stand against them, his powers succumbed. The greater number of the Amirs and Maliks who were well disposed to him raised his son

¹ MS. (A) reads ارسو خان Arsar Khān.

² MS. (A) شایستی خان.

³ MS. (A) اقطاع بون.

⁴ MS. (A) توچاہی کندہ در دل.

⁵ لقوہ. *Laqwa* Facial paralysis. The disease is thus described in the *Bahrul-jawāhir* “a disease in which one half of the face is drawn to one side so that the breath and the spittle come from one side, the lips cannot be properly approximated and one of the eyes cannot be closed.”

Khān was ; they then ordered ¹ a man whose father had been put to death by Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn to go to the palace of Kilūgharī, which he did, and finding the Sultān at his last gasp, he kicked him several times on the head, and then threw him into the river Jumna, and the Empire passed from the dynasty of Ghor, and kingship from the family of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn. This occurrence took place in the middle ² of the month of Muḥarram in the year 689 H. (1209 A.D.).³ The duration of the sovereignty of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn was three years and some months.

165.

This is the changeableness of the ancient heaven,
At one time it is like a bow at another like an arrow ;
At one time it feeds you with kindness at another poisons
you with enmity,
This is an example of the custom of the revolving heaven.

We learn from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*⁴ that Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, after the capture of the Shāhzāda, was seized while sitting in durbar during that revolt of the populace, and was bound, and died in captivity of hunger and thirst : in the course of his sufferings he wrote this quatrain,

The horse of my excellence has been left far behind on the plain.
The hand of my generosity has fallen between the hammer and the anvil.
My eye which used to see the gold of the mine and the invisible jewel
To-day alas ! is blinded for lack of bread.

And when the tumult between Itimar Surkha and the people of Dihli subsided, and Shāyista Khān had gained his heart's desire and seated the prince upon the throne, and had set the affairs of the kingdom going again, on the second day after this, Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn bade farewell to this transitory ⁵ unstable

¹ MS. (A) فرمودند.

² MS. (A) در اواست.

³ Firishta says 687 H. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* says 19th Muḥarram 689 H.

⁴ The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* gives the date of the death of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn as the 19th Muḥarram A. H. 689.

⁵ MS. (A) omits فانی.

The duration of the kingdom of Shamsu-d-Din Kāi Kāūs was three months and a few days.¹

The wine of the sky is not unmixed with the brine of sorrow,

The world's one employment is jugglery—naught else.

SULTĀN JALĀLU-D-DĪN IBN YAGHRASH KHILJĪ

Whose name was Malik Firoz and his title Shāyista Khān, came to the throne in the year 689 H. as has already been said, with the consent and assistance of Malik Chhajū Kishlī Khān; and inasmuch he had previously been regent and governor of the kingdom² the affairs (of state) all devolved upon him.

It must not be forgotten that although Shihābu-d-Din Hakīm Kirmānī Jaunpūrī,³ the author of the history called *Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhī*, deduces the pedigree of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn and Sultān Mahmūd Mālwī from the stock of Qālij Khān, son-in-law of Changīz Khān, there is a long story connected with this. This at least is clear that this ancestry has no real authority, any one of sound judgment will be able to detect the falsity of his claim to this descent; and as a matter of fact there is no connection whatever between Qālij and Khalj, in spite of the fact that Qālij has too rough a sound for the Turki tongue, and if it had any equivalent (of sufficient softness) it would be Qalj⁴ with the meaning

1 Neither Barnī nor Firishta reckon Kaikāūs (or Kaiumours) as having had an independent reign, and inasmuch as he was only an infant of some three years of age, it seems more rational to allude to him merely as the puppet that he really was. The only object in raising him to the throne was an attempt to save the kingdom from passing into the hands of the Khiljis. Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, who had been appointed Vizir when Nizāmu-l-Mulk had been poisoned, was ready to seize upon the throne. The fief of Barāñ had been conferred upon him with the title of Shāyista Khān, subsequently he was made 'Ariz-i-Mamālik. The plots he contrived to get rid of Kaiqubād have been detailed above.

2 MS. (A) omits the word (ملکی).

3 See the *Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhī*.

4 The editor of the text states in a footnote that this is a mere verbal quibble of no importance, because قلچ qalj and قالچ qālij are the same, the alif in قالچ being in place of the fathah which follows the ق in قلچ in accordance with the customary mode of writing Turki, further he states that among modern Persians خ is frequently used for ق.

of a sword and in some histories it is said that Khâlîj is the name of one of the sons of Yâsig, (Japhet) the son of Nûh (Noah) on whom be peace and that the Khâlijis descend from him God knows the truth of this. To make a long story short, Sultân Jalâlu-d-Din divided the greater portion of the valuable appointments between his sons and brothers, and bestowed the following titles—upon his eldest son the title of Khân Khânân, upon his second son that of Arkali Khân, and on his youngest son that of Qadr Khân, while he gave to his uncle Malik Huseain the title of Tâju-l-Mulk. In this same way he bestowed various titles upon others, and allotted them estates, and having built a new town, and a new garden on the banks of the Jumna opposite to the Ma'izzî palace he called it a citadel, "The Rocky Citadel"; when it was completed it was called "Shahr-i-nan" (New-town)¹ and in Shâ'hân, of the second year after his accession, Malik Chhajû Kîshî Khân went to Karra, and became openly rebellious. The Amirs of the party of Ghîyâşu-d-Din who held estates in that district joined with him, came to Budûon and crossed the Ganges by the ford of Bijlâna with the intention of attacking Dihli, waiting for the arrival of Malik Chhajû who was to come by way of Karra,² (and)³ Sultân Jalâlu-d-Din left Khân Khânân in Dihli and marched against them. Dividing his forces into two army corps he himself went by way of Kol, and reached Budûon,⁴ sending Arkali Khân towards Amroha to oppose Malik Chhajû. Arkali Khân fought the enemy valiantly in many engagements during several days on the banks of the Rahab. In the meantime the people of Bairâm Dev the Raja of Kola, which was also called Koela, gave information to Malik Chhajû that Sultân Jalâlu-d-Din was in pursuit of him, and having frightened him exceedingly, urged him to take to flight. He was in such dread of the Sultân, that he did not know his head from his heels, and in the dead of night he made his escape, but eventually fell into the hands of the Kuwârs.⁵ Arkali Khân crossed the Rahab,⁶ despatched Bairâm

¹ MS. (A) موسوم گردیده شهر نو.

² MS. (A) reads راہ کوئہ دریا. The reading in the text is adopted.

³ MS. (A) inserts و here.

⁴ MS. (A) reads دلہ کول و بدان و سیدد جل. The text is preferable.

⁵ The text gives an alternative reading ذورانیان.

⁶ MS. (A) عبور گردیده.

Dev to hell, and pursued Malik Chhajū, and took him prisoner together with some of the other Amirs of the Ghiyasi faction. Then he went in the direction of Bahātī and Kavām Kūr, which is the same as Shamsabād,¹ and when they took Malik Chhajū and the other captive Ballānī Amirs in fetters and chains² into the presence of the Sultān, he called to mind their old ties of relationship, and loosed them from their bonds, sent them to the baths, clothed them in rich garments of honour, and made them partake of his own table, sending Malik Chhajū with the greatest marks of respect to Multān.

169. Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn who was the brother's son and son-in-law of the Sultān,³ and had been appointed to the district of Karra, and Ilmās Beg, the brother of 'Alāu-d-Dīn who subsequently became Ulugh Khān⁴ was appointed to the post of Akhor Beg. In the meanwhile, the summons which is distasteful to all reached Khān-i-Khānān. The Sultān was greatly distressed at his loss. Mīr Khusrū wrote the following dirge in memory of him :—

What day is this that I see not the sun shining,
If night has come why do I not see the brilliant moon.
Since two days my sun has remained behind the clouds,
So that in my eyes I see nothing but clouds and rain.
In Hindustān an evident danger has appeared,
On every face I see thousands of wrinkles but I do not see
the Khāqān.⁵
The stone of the royal signet is hidden as a stone in the
mine.
My heart has turned to blood like the ruby for that I see
him not.

¹ MS. (A) omits بادشاد.

² MS. (A) بند و غل.

³ MS. (A) has ملک علی الدین را which is a mistake: and omits the و after the word امام inserting it after the word بو.

⁴ MS. (A) which reads کو بعد از آن الخان گشت.

⁵ There are plays on the words طاخ meaning a fault, and the kingdom of Khātān or Cathay, and چین meaning a wrinkle and the kingdom of Chin or China. The title خاقان Khāqān is the title of the Emperors of Cathay. For the meaning of Khāqān, see *Tārikh-i-Rashidī*, (Ross and Elias), page 30, note 1.

Lo there is the King, seated on his throne, with his counsellors
 standing round him on all sides,
 All are there, but still I do not see Khān-i-Khānān
 When I saw fortune blinded, I asked him, Dost thou wish
 for sight?
 He replied, What could I do with sight, since I cannot see
 Mahmud Sultan!

And in the year following, Arkali Khān came from Multān to Dihli, and the Sultan leaving him in Dihli proceeded to Mandawar, and after his arrival at that stage, having received with anxiety tidings of the revolt of certain of the Ghuyūqī Amirs, he made over the district of Budāon to Malik Magħlaṭi,¹ sent him off at once and appointed Malik Mubārak to Tiberhiudah, then after reducing the fortress of Mandawar proceeded by an uninterrupted series of marches to Dihli, and in those days a certain Saiyyid ascetic and recluse, holding close communion with God,² relying upon Him, bountiful,³ adorned with so many excellencies and perfections, Sidi Maulā⁴ by name first came from 'Ajam (Persia) to Ajudhan in the service of the pillar of the Saints the master Shaikh Farid, Ganj-i-Shakkar, *may God sanctify his resting place*, and sought permission to proceed to the eastern parts of Hindustan. They said to him "Beware of crowds of men, and abstain from intercourse with kings" When he reached Dihli, Khan-i-Khānān, the eldest son of the Sultan, displayed the greatest desire to become his disciple.⁵ In the same way the greater number of the deposed Maliks and Amirs of the Balban party⁶ used daily both morning and evening to sit at the table of that darvesh, who would not accept anything from any one. People used to credit him with alchemistic powers, and used to come in such crowds that a thousand *mans* of fine flour and five hundred *mans* of freshly skinned meat, and three hundred *mans* of sugar used to be the daily

¹ MS (A) ملک معلطی

² MS (A) صاحب تقریب

³ MS (A) نادلی

⁴ See Beale's Dictionary, page 240

⁵ MS (A) ارادہ اعتماد

⁶ MS (A) omits &⁵

expenditure of the Shaikh which he expended in alms ; the aforesaid Sidi although he engaged always in vigils¹ and the prayers of the five stated times, was, however, never present at the public prayer on Friday², nor was he bound by the conditions of public³ worship in accordance with established custom, and Qāzī Jalālu-d-Dīn Kōshkāni (and)⁴ Qāzī Urdū and men of note, and trusted chiefs, and all both great and small, used continually to worship at his monastery.

When this news reached the Sultān, the story goes that one night he went in disguise to his monastery, and saw for himself that he expended even more than was reported. Accordingly the next day he held a grand durbār and ordered Sidi Maulā with the Qūzī and the other Amirs who were his disciples, to be brought before him with ignominious treatment of all kinds, bound in fetters and chains. He enquired into the state of the case, and asked each one whether the Sidi laid claim to kingly power. The aforesaid Sidi denied it, and fortified his denial with an oath, but to no purpose. At that time Qāzī Jalālu-d-Dīn lay under the Sultān's displeasure, he also denied the allegation. The Sultān deposed him, and nominated him as Qāzī of Budāon. In order to verify the claims to Saiyyidship, and to test the miraculous powers of the Sidi, he had a huge fire like that prepared by Nimrūd (for Abraham) lighted, and wished to have Sidi Maulā thrown into that temple of fire. The Ulama of the time, in consideration of the irreligious nature of that order, issued a mandamus which they communicated to the Sultān saying, "The essential nature of fire is to consume things, and no one can issue forth from it in safety unhurt." The Sultān accordingly desisted and gave up that ordeal, but he punished the larger number of those Maliks in that same assembly, and some he expatriated ; and inasmuch as the answers of Sidi Maulā⁴ were all in accordance with reason, and no fault could be found with him either on the score of religious law or logic, the Sultān was reduced to extremity, and suddenly turning to Abū Bakr Tūsī Ḥaidarī who was the chief of the sect of Qalandars, and utterly unscrupulous, he

¹ MS. (A) مَنِيَّ.

² MS. (A) adds نَعْلَمَ.

³ MS. (A) omits و.

⁴ MS. (A) omits the words وَكُلُّهُ.

said "Why do not you dervishes avenge me of this tyrant," there upon a Qalandar leapt up from their midst, and struck the unfortunate Sidi several blows with a razor and wounded him, then they shaved off the holy man's whiskers¹ with a knife even to the chin, and stabbed him in the side² with sackmakers' needle and then, by command of Arkali Khān, the second son of the Sultān, an elephant driver drove a rogue elephant over the head of the poor oppressed Sidi, and martyred him with countless tortures *may God be gracious to him.* They say that this same Sidi, for a whole month before this occurrence used to sing these verses at all times, smiling the while he sang:

In the kitchen of love, they slay naught but the good :
 The weak natured, and evil disposed they kill not.
 If thou art a sincere lover, flee not from slaughter,
 He whom they slay not is no better than a corpse.

And just at this time, on the very day of his murder, a whirlwind black with dust arose, and the world was darkened; there was a scarcity of rain in that year, and such a famine occurred that the Hindūs, from excess of hunger and want, went in bands and joining their hands threw themselves into the river Jumna and became the portion of the alligator of extinction. Many Muslims also, burning in the flames of hunger, were drowned in the ocean of non-existence, while the rest of the world took these signs and events as proofs of the verity of Sidi and evidence of his sincerity. Although no inferences can be drawn from facts of this kind, since they may finally prove to be on coincidences, still I myself have seen with my own eyes examples of such incidents, as shall be related in their proper places if God so will it.

God has never cursed any nation
 Until the heart of a holy man has been grieved.

The remainder of the accused, at the intercession of Arkali Khān, were delivered from the danger which threatened the lives, and from the punishment intended by the Sultān; and this same year the Sultān for the second time marched again

۱ مبارک محسن۔ MS. (A).

۲ او برباری۔ MS. (A).

Rantabhor, and destroyed the country round it, and overthrew the idols and idol-temples, but returned without attempting to reduce the fort. Arkali Khān went to Multān without his permission, at which the Sultān was very vexed.

In the year 691 H. the Mughuls under Chingiz Khān came up against Hindustān with a very large army, and fought a very severe battle with the Sultān's victorious forces in the neighbourhood of Sanām. When the Mughuls became aware of the size of the army of Hindustān they began to make overtures for peace. The Sultān thereupon summoned their leader, who was very closely related to Halākū Khān, and also his son, who called the Sultān his father. They accordingly had an interview and exchanged gifts and presents and each returned to his own country : and Alghū¹ the grandson of Chiugiz Khān, embraced Islām, and several thousand Mughuls besides followed his example and having learnt to repeat the sacred and blessed formula, elected to remain in the service of the Sultān. Alghū was selected for the honour of becoming son-in-law to the Sultān. The Mughuls took up their abode in Ghiyāspūr in which is now the sacred tomb of the Prince of Holy men Nīzāmu'l Auliya² may God sanctify his resting place. It is commonly known as Mughulpūr and those Mughuls were called the "new Muslims."

At the close of this same year the Sultān having gone up against the fort of Mandāwar ravaged and pillaged the country round it and then returned. 'Alāu-d-Din the Governor of Karra, obtained permission in that year to proceed to Bhilsa³ and attacked that country⁴ and brought much booty thence to present to the Sultān, and the idol which was the object of worship of the Hindūs, he caused to be cast down in front of the gate of Badāon to be trampled upon by the people.⁵ These services of 'Alāu-d-Din being highly approved,⁶ the jāgīr of Oudh also was added to his other estates ; and since 'Alāu-d-Din was very angry and incensed

¹ See *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* (Elias and Ross) p. 34.

² Nīzāmu-d-Dīn Auliya. See Beale O. B. D., p. 211, also Āīn-i-Akbārī (J) III, 365.

³ MS. (A) reads بھیسا Bhilsa. The text has بھیسا which is meaningless.

⁴ MS. (A) لایات را آن.

⁵ MS. (A) omits معبود after خلق for خلق for خلق.

⁶ MS. (A) افتاده for افتاده.

against the Sultān's consort, who was his mother-in-law, and against the daughter of the Sultān, because she always made a practice of speaking ill of him to her father, he was anxious, on any pretext whatever, to leave the Sultān's dominions and go to a distance, and find some place of refuge for himself; accordingly he provided himself with new servants, and making all preparations as to personal clothing and furniture, he asked the Sultān¹ to bestow upon him the district of Chanderī, and leaving Dihli came to Karra, and from thero under the pretence of attacking Chanderī, he went by way of Illichpūr, and made for the frontiers of the country of Deogir; leaving Malik 'Alāu-l-Mulk who was one of his friends, as his deputy in Karra, and having instructed him to temporise with the Sultān, went off somewhere unknown to anyone, and when no news could be obtained of Malik 'Alāu-d-Din's whereabouts for a considerable time, the Sultān was exceedingly sorry.² Suddenly news arrived that 'Alāu-d-Din having gone up against the rebel Deo Gir, had conquered the whole of his country as far as the confines of the country of the Deccan, and had taken as spoil much treasure, and elephants and property, several thousands of horses, together with valuables; silk and cloth goods, and jewels, beyond the limits of computation, and that he was making for Karra. This was a source of great gratification to the Sultān, but the wise men of those times knew very well, both from analogy and inference, that 'Alāu-d-Din³ had gone to that country without permission from the Sultān, and had suffered much annoyance at the hands of Malika-i-Jahān who was the consort of the Sultān, and also from his own wife, and had accordingly faced the world, always nursing in his breast sinister intentions. Now⁴ that he was in a position perfectly to put his rebellious ideas into execution, and had not the access to the Court, it was strange that the Sultān seemed to suffer no apprehension as regarded him; but no one dared represent these views to the Sultān, who was wholly and entirely ignorant of the annoyance which 'Alāu-d-Din had suffered at the hands of the Queen-mother and his own wife, and if by chance they ventured

¹ از جانب سلطان.

² دلگرانی تمام داشت.

³ MS. (A) omits ۸۵.

⁴ MS. (A) omits و.

to speak¹ of the possibility of the revolt and treachery of 'Alāu-d-Dīn, the Sultān attributed it to jealousy, and would never allow the idea of his contumacy or rebellion to enter his head.

In short, at the time when the Sultān was in the neighbourhood of Gwālīār he summoned a council of his Amīrs to deliberate about 'Alāu-d-Dīn and said.² "What in your opinion is 'Alāu-d-Dīn's object in coming hither with so great display and circumstance, what will he do and what ought I to do? shall I go to meet him by way of Chanderī or shall I remain where I am, or again shall I return to Dihlī?" Malik Aḥmad Chap who was a Vazir of sound judgment and ripe experience and loyal to the backbone, did all he could to warn the Sultān by adducing logical arguments and quoting precedents, reminding him of the revolt of Malik Chhajū and the mutiny of the inhabitants of Kāṛṛā, events which were of recent occurrence, as testifying to the probabilities of the present position, and urged him to go out to meet 'Alāu-d-Dīn on the way by which he would arrive, and to put an end to his ostentatious display and pompous arrogance, to seize his elephants and property, and all the things which were likely to be of use; but the Sultān would not listen to his advice, and launching forth into extravagant eulogy of 'Alāu-d-Dīn declared that his mind was perfectly at ease on his account in every possible way, "for is he not" (said he) "my protégé³ and foster child, he can never harbour any evil designs against me." Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn, and the other Amīrs also went with oily speeches to the Sultān, and brought forward all sorts of absurd arguments simply to suit the humour of the Sultān, and adducing weak examples induced him to return to Dihlī; Malik Aḥmad Chap rose up in wrath from that assembly, and spoke as follows: "If Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn with all this⁴ pomp and royal display has arrived at Kāṛṛā and crossing the river Sarū makes for Lakhnautī, I do not know what can be done by any one to oppose him," and lamenting exceedingly the condition of the Sultān he repeated the following lines—

¹ MS. (A) سخن از.

² MS. (A) کنگاش طلبید و گفت که.

³ MS. (A) پروردہ بو اور دہ.

⁴ MS. (A) با این همه اسباب.

A foeman, though small one should never despise,
For a mountain is made up of stones of small size

The Sultan then came from Gwîhat to Dihli, and 'Alau d Din having reached Kârâ¹ wrote despatches full of craft and cunning to the Court, and worked upon the avice of the Sultan by presents of elephants and endless wealth, and begged for a kindly worded letter summoning him to the Court, while all the time he was engaged in preparations to start for Lakhnauti and having sent his brother² Zafar Khân to Ondhi ordered him to hold in readiness all the boats on the river Saru. The simple minded Sultan Jalalu-d Din wrote a command with his own hand in accordance with 'Alau d Din's request and sent it³ by the hand of two confidential and trusted body servants, one of whom was named Imâdu l Mulk and the other⁴ Ziau d Din. These men when they arrived soon perceived by his manner and bearing⁵ that the face of affairs was altered⁶ and 'Alau d Din having prepared the dish for the Sultan, and having arranged for its service at a given signal, handed over⁷ those two messengers to sentries who were charged to keep them so closely guarded that not even a bird should be able to flap its wings near them, then he wrote a letter to Ilmas Beg his brother, who was also a son in law of the Sultân,⁸ and sent it to Dihli couched in these words "Inasmuch as in the course of this expedition, I have committed many unwarranted acts, in that without taking the orders of the Sultan I proceeded to Deoguri, for this reason certain persons have aroused fear in my heart and anxiety—but seeing that I am the loyal servant and son of the Sultan, if he will march lightly equipped and by rapid marches come and lay hands upon me, and carry me off I have nothing to urge against

مکترا رسیده ۱

² MS (A) حوره درادر حوره طفر حاب the word حوره in the text is omitted here

³ MS (A) فرسناد

⁴ MS (A) دیگری

⁵ MS (A) طرح وضع او

⁶ MS (A) ورق دیگر گون شده literally ' that the leaves had changed colour '

⁷ MS (A) سپردہ

⁸ MS (A) اوهم داعاد سلطان دود

imprisonment, and if, as they have said the current rumours are true, and the Sultān's mind is in reality turned against me, I must perforce lay violent hands upon myself and efface myself from the world." When Ilmās Beg laid that¹ letter before the Sultān, he on the instant sent² Ilmās Beg to reassure 'Alāu-d-Dīn and gave him a promise that he himself would follow. Ilmās Beg embarked in a boat, and going like the wind over the surface of the water,³ on the seventh day joined Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and urged him to proceed to Lakhnautī,⁴ but certain of the wise and far-seeing companions of 'Alāu-d-Dīn said, "What need have we to go to Lakhnautī when the Sultān by reason of his excessive greed for the wealth of Deogir, and the elephants and horses of that country will come here lightly equipped⁵ in the very height of the rainy season.⁶ At that time we will take any steps that may be necessary,⁷ and whatever has to be done to meet the emergency, we have it all stored up and we will put an end to him on the spot."⁸ Since the cup of the life of Sultān Jalālū-d-Dīn was full⁹ and his heart was brim full of lust and greed for that fancied and ill-omened treasure,¹⁰ and Fate too had rendered him deaf and blind, not one of these evil designs was perceived by him :

Verse.

When Fate lets fall from the sky a feather,
All the wise men became¹¹ blind and deaf.

177.

Casting the advice of his well-wishers behind him,¹² he embarked on a boat with certain of his trusted followers and a thousand

1 MS. (A) را نامه کن.

2 MS. (A) و وعده کرده فرمود.

3 MS. (A) شد روانه اب بروی.

4 MS. (A) نمود تحریص بلکه نتوی قرنی اورا بر رفتن.

5 MS. (A) ایکسال.

6 MS. (A) بیشکان کال پیشہ or word Turkī "saison des pluies" (Pavet de Courteilles.)

7 MS. (A) باید اندیشیم که هر اندیشش.

8 MS. (A) همانجا می and omits.

9 MS. (A) و پرسیده.

10 MS. (A) شوم شوم مو ممال.

11 MS. (A) کشتنند.

12 Lit. striking their words on the dorsum of his foot.

towards, borrowing his speed from the wind and his haste from the stream, and set out for Kappa : he sent Malik Ahmad Chap the Vazir with an armed force and a body of retainers by land,¹ Malik Ahmad Chap was rending his garments but all to no purpose.

Verse.

If the listener will not turn his ear to counsel,
He will reap retribution from the high heaven.

The Sultān, whose life's boat had been wrecked by a contrary wind, and had been cast on the shore of destruction, arrived at Kappa on the 17th of the blessed month of Ramazān : and 'Alāu-d-Dīn, who had kept his forces in readiness, had crossed the river Ganges between Kappa and Manikpur and had pitched his camp : then he sent Ilmūs Beg to the Sultān, sending by him some valuable jewels, with strict orders to use all the means he could devise and all the craft he could command to separate the Sultān from his army and bring him to 'Alāu-d-Dīn. His confederate therefore went and presented himself before the Sultān, and with great craftiness and deceit, and with obsequious humility represented that² if he had not come 'Alāu-d-Dīn would have been utterly scared and would have escaped, "and to such an extent" said he, "have the evil speakers studded his ears³ with reports of the unkind and ill-disposed utterances of the Sultān, and filled his mind with fear, that even now fear and suspicion is by no means entirely removed from his mind.⁴ There is still a probability of that of which I spoke before, unless the Sultān should shew him some favour and kindness, and should re-assure him, and going alone, without any retinue, should take him by the hand and lead him here."

The Sultān taking his blood-thirsty words for the truth, ordered the cavalry escort which accompanied him to remain halted where they were, and he himself, together with a small body of retainers armed and ready for battle, proceeded a short distance forward, going forth to meet Death, while the arch-

¹ MS. (A) ساخت (وَان).

² MS. (A) اور.

³ MS. (A) omits و.

⁴ MS. (A) ا&.

⁵ MS. (A) omits و.

178. traitor Ilmās Beg further represented ¹ saying "my brother is in great fear and awe of the Sultān ² and is quaking from head to foot; and when he sees even this small body of men, he will be all the more alarmed, and will despair of the Sultān's clemency." ³ Accordingly the Sultān ordered this body of retainers to lay aside their arms which they did: those who were closely attached to the Sultān were greatly agitated at this foolish decision, but the Sultān would not be dissuaded by their objections. When they arrived near the bank of the river, the army of 'Alāu-d-Dīn was plainly visible drawn up in close order fully armed and equipped, and evidently expecting an engagement. Malik Khurram ⁴ the Vakildar said to Ilmās Beg "We left our army behind that we ~~were~~ instigation, and we laid down our arms, what is this wishes to review ~~were~~ ready for action?" He replied "my brother wishes to make a proper ~~way~~, and following his usual course, he to future advantage," the Sultān ⁵ before the Sultān, with an eye "When fate comes the plain ~~beet~~, accordance with the saying moment even did not discover the deceit of narrow" ⁶ up to that own free will walked deliberately into the jaws of enemy, but of his

and is quite occupied in that service¹ and he has been preparing food for breaking your fast, and to do honour to the arrival of his guest, and is now awaiting the honoured coming of the Sultan, so that he may be distinguished among his peers by the honour derived from the royal visit." The Sultan all this time was occupied in reading the sacred volume, they reached the river's bank by the time of afternoon prayer and he took his seat in the place they had made ready for him to sit in, and 'Alā'ud-Din having got every thing ready² came with a great gathering to pay his respects to the Sultan and fell at his feet.³ The Sultan smiling, with affection and kindness and love smote him a gentle blow on the cheek, and addressing him with great show of fondness and clemency and warm-heartedness, began to give him words of counsel, and was talking to him affectionately and loyally, reassuring him in every possible way, and seizing the hand of Malik 'Alā'ud-Din was drawing him near. At this moment when the Sultan laid hold of his beard, and, kissing him, was showing him marks of his special favour, and⁴ had given his hand into his, 'Alā'ud-Din seizing the Sultan's hand firmly, writhed it, and gave a signal to a party of men who were confederate and had sworn together to murder the Sultan. Then Mahmūd Sālim who was one of the scum of Samāna, aimed a blow with his sword at the Sultan and wounded him; on receiving that wound the Sultan made for the boat crying out as he ran: "Thou wretch 'Alā'ud-Din, what is this thou hast done!" At this juncture one Ikhṭiyār d-Din who had been a particular protégé of the Sultan ran behind him and inflicted a second wound which killed him, he then cut off his head and brought it to 'Alā'ud-Din.⁵ By 'Alā'ud-Din's orders, the head of the unfortunate oppressed and martyred monarch was placed upon a spear and carried round Kaffa and Mamikpur from thence they took it to Oudh, and the baly servants of the Sultan who were in the boat were all put to death, some of them threw themselves into the river, and were drowned in the ocean of destruction. Malik Fakhru'd-Din Kuchi fell into their hands alive and was murdered. Malik Ahmad Chap having made prisoners of the Sultan's army brought it to

¹ MS (A) مُشَهِّدٌ مُشَهِّدٌ عَلَى.

² MS (A) مَعْدَدٌ.

³ MS (A) سَجَدٌ.

⁴ MS (A) omits *g*.

⁵ MS (A) ad *la g*

Dihli and¹ pending the arrival of Arkali Khān from Multān (he was the worthy son of the Sultān and fitted to succeed him in the kingdom) as a temporary measure, with the co-operation of Malika-i-Jahān, seated Qadr Khān the youngest son of the Sultān, upon the throne of Dihli, with the title of Raknu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm. The Amīrs and Maliks of Jalālu-d-Dīn's party came one and all to swear allegiance to him at his accession. He retained the name of King for one month. Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn lost no time,² but on the very day of the assassination of the Sultān, made open display of the insignia and emblems of royalty, and raising the imperial canopy over his own head³ was addressed as Sultān and⁴ in the middle of the rainy season marching uninterrupted he made straight for the metropolis of Dihli, and showering dīmārs and dirhems like rain over the heads of the populace, and pelting the people in the streets great and small with golden missiles from balistae and slings,⁵ came to his own garden on the banks of the Jumna and alighted there. Day by day the Amīrs of the Jalāli faction joined themselves to him and swore allegiance to him, and by the hope of the red gold, all regret for Jalālu-d-Dīn was completely effaced from their black hearts.

Liberality is the alchemy⁶ of the copper of faults;
Liberality is the remedy for all pain.

It is said that by the day when Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn reached Badāon sixty thousand sowārs had joined his standard, Malik Raknu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm seeing that he had not the power to resist him went to Multān to Arkali Khān, with certain chosen Amīrs who remained faithful after the massacre (of Jalālu-d-Dīn), and the whole of the kingdom fell under the dominion of 'Alāu-d-Dīn.

¹ MS. (A) inserts و.

² MS. (A) reads فرست نداده هم در روز.

³ MS. (A) برسر خود گرفته.

⁴ MS. (A) inserts و.

⁵ MS. (A) reads در عراوا و منجنيق.

⁶ هر مس که بکیمیا رسید زر گردید. *Kīmīyā*. Cf. Roebuck. *Proverbs*, 398.

All copper which is affected by Kīmīyā becomes gold.

"The science (of Alchemy) has for its object the substance by which gold and silver is perfected by artificial means."

See Proleg : Ibn Khaldūn. (de Slane) III. 207. See also Skeat, s. v.

The kingdom is God's and greatness is His The massacre of Sultan Jalalu d Din took place in the seventeenth of the month of Ramazan in the year 691 H (A D 1294) and the duration of his reign was seven years and some months.

Verses

Hast thou seen the acts of the tyrant heaven and its star,
Mention it not, what is the heaven, its revolution, or its
arched vault?

How is it that the revolving heaven has cast the sun of the
kingdom headlong into the dust,
Dust be on the head of his sun of glory.

Sultān Jalālu d Dīn had a taste for poetry, and Amir Khusrū after the death of Mu'izzu d Dīn Kaiqubad, came into the service of the Sultan Jalālu d Dīn, and was honoured by being selected as an intimate companion, and was made Qur'an keeper to the Sultan, he was presented every year with the robes of honour which were reserved for the Amirs of the Sultānl and were tokens of special distinction and peculiar trust

In this same category were Amir Hasan and Muid Jajarmi and Amir Arslan Katibi and Sa'd i Mantiqi and Baqi i Khatib and Qazi Mughis of Hānsi, who is one of the most learned men of the time of Jalalu d Din and wrote a *Ghazal* in nineteen metres² of which this is the opening —

Two pearly ears, a stately form, two lovely cheeks, with
fresh youth bright,
Thy glory is the fairy's pride, a fairy thou, at glory's
height

And the rest of the learned men used to keep the Sultan's assembly embellished and adorned with the jewels of poems and delicate points of learning and philosophy, and the following few verses are the offspring of the Sultan's genius —

¹ MS (A) *امراي هايلاني*

عرل دو رده سري It would appear from the statement that this *ghazal* or ode was made up of nineteen lines each of which was in a different metre. The first of the above lines is either *Mutaq rib* or *Ramal*. It is called *Z bahraen* (of two metres) in prosody. The second line is in *Ramal*.

2. I do not wish those flowing locks of thine to be entangled
 I do not wish that rosy cheek of thine (with shame) to burn.
 I wish that thou one night unclothed may'st come to my
 embrace
 Yes, loud I cry with all my might, I would not have it
 hidden.

And at the time when he was besieging Gwāliār he built a pavilion and a lofty dome¹ and wrote this quatrain as an inscription for that building :—

Quatrain.

I whose foot spurns the head of heaven,
 How can a heap of stone and earth augment my dignity ?
 This broken stone I have thus arranged in order that
 Some broken heart may haply take comfort from it.

And Sa'd Mantqī and the other poets he ordered to point out to him the defects and beauties of this composition. They all praised it exceedingly and said ! It has no fault, but he replied : You are afraid of hurting my feelings, I will point out its defect² in this *quatrain* :

It may be some chance traveller may pass by this spot
 Whose tattered garment is the satin mantle of the starless
 sky;³
 Perchance from the felicity of his auspicious footsteps
 One atom may fall to my lot : this will suffice me.

SULTĀN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN KHILJĪ.

On the twenty-ninth⁴ of Zūl Hijjah in the year six hundred and ninety-five (695 H.) (A.D. 1295) raised the banner of the Sultanate

¹ MS. (A) بنا کرد و.

² MS. (A) omits عیب.

³ مطلس چرخ اطلس. The highest of all the heavens so called (اطلس) because it has no stars. The literal meaning of اطلس is "worn out," "effaced." Thus رجل اطلس التوب means a man whose garments are worn out. It also by a secondary (post classical) meaning is used in the sense of "Satin."⁵ Hence there is a double play on the word اطلس here, in its opposite senses.

⁴ MS. (A) reads دویست و نهم while our text has ڈریست و دوم.

of Dihli, with the consent of his brother Ilnās Beg, to whom he gave the title of Ulugh Khān¹ and to Sinjar, his wife's brother, who was the *Mir-i-Majlis* he gave the title of Alp Khān, while to Malik Nuṣrat Jalisari he gave that of Nuṣrat Khān, and to Malik Badru-d-Din that of Zafar Khān,² and alighted at the plain of Siri, where he pitched his camp, and giving public audience delighted the hearts of the Amīrs and all classes of his subjects by his boundless munificence, then he had the *Khuṭbah* and the *Sikka* promulgated in his own name and conferred³ appointments and titles upon the Amīrs, and distributing *jāgirs* gave his mind first of all to his principal object which was to overthrow the two sons of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn who were in Multān.⁴

Verse.

As long as the head of the heir to the throne is on his shoulders,
Disorder is the mantle of the body of the state.

In the Muḥarram 696 A. H. (he sent) Ulugh Khān and Alp Khān against Arkali Khān and Sultān Ruknu-d-Dīn;⁵ both these

¹ Mīr Khusrū in the *Tūrīkh-i-'Alāī*, states that 'Alāu-d-Dīn left Kegra Manikpur on the 19th of Rabi'nl Akhir 695 H. and after taking great booty from Rām Deo, Rāl of Deogir, returned to Kegra on the 28th Rajab. His accession to the throne took place on the 16th Ramāqān 695 H., and he arrived at Dihli on the 22nd of Zilhijjah of the same year.

The text has possibly been corrected to agree with this author's date. Barnī does not give the day of the month: nor does Firishta. The latter tells us that on the death of Jalālu-d-Dīn, Malik-i-Jahān of her own accord set Qadr Khān the youngest son of Jalālu-d-Dīn on the throne, with the title of Ruknu-d-Dīn Ibrahim, and finding he was too young, sent to Multān to summon the second son Arkali Khān, who refused to come hearing of 'Alāu-d-Dīn's success with the army.

² MS. (A); the text reads بیگ خان.

³ Barnī says that the title of Zafar Khān was conferred on Malik Hizabru-d-Dīn, (Elliott III. 157).

⁴ The text omits سردار before دیلم supplied from MS. (A).

⁵ It appears both from Barnī and Firishta that the youngest son of the late Sultān was in Dihli and that Arkali Khān was in Multān. See note 4, last page, and Elliott III. 159.

⁶ Although the author has given no account of Qadr Khān's coronation he here gives him the title by which he was raised to the throne.

brothers were besieged¹ in the fortress of Multān. The inhabitants of the city and the Kotwāl asked for quarter, and made overtures for peace, and the two princes, by the intervention of Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn Quraishī may God sanctify his resting place,² came forth and had an interview with Ulugh Khān,³ who treated them with the utmost respect, sending a despatch announcing his victory to Dihlī; and taking the family and tribe of Jalālu-d-Dīn he set out for Dihlī. When they came near Bohar⁴ a place in the vicinity of Hānsī, Nuṣrat Khān arrived with an order, in obedience to which they put out the eyes of both the sons⁵ of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn, of Alghū Khān the Mughul son-in-law to the Sultān, and of Malik Ahmād Chap,⁶ and handed over the Sultān's sons⁷ to the Kotwāl of Hānsī and martyred them together with two sons of Arkalī Khān.⁸ They kept the Sultān's wives and the rest of his children imprisoned in Dihlī, sending Ahmād Chap and Alghū the Mughul to the fortress of Gwāliār, and putting out the eyes of some others also, scattered them in all directions and punished them with tortures, and very many of the old families they utterly destroyed and the hidden meaning of Sidi Maula⁹ soon

¹ I read here مُحَصَّر though there is a question if we should not read مُتَحَصَّن. The text reads مُحَصَّم which is manifestly wrong: MS. (A) reads مُتَحَصَّر which is perhaps meant for مُتَحَصَّن MS. (B) which is of very little value as before pointed out reads مُحَصَّم.

² Barnī states that the sons of the Sultān sent Shaikhul-Islām, Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn to sue for safety from Ulugh Khān and received his assurances, (Elliott III. 161), MS. (A) omits العزیز. This Ruknu-d-Dīn was the son of Shaikh Sadru-d-Dīn 'Ārif and grandson of Shaikh Bahā'u-d-Dīn Zakariyā (See Āin-i-Akbāri, Jarrett III. 365).

Firishta gives a full biography of Ruknu-d-Dīn, his father and grandfather q. v.

³ MS. (A) بَا اِلْخَان مَلَاقَات نَوْدَة

⁴ MS. (A) بوهار.

⁵ MS. (A) هُردو پسرو.

⁶ Nāib Amīr-i-Hājīb (Barnī. Elliott III. 162). MS. (A) omits ب.

⁷ MS. (A) omits سلطان.

⁸ Barnī merely states that the princes were imprisoned, and that all the sons of Arkalī Khān were slain.

⁹ MS. (A) omits مَرْحُوم.

became evident, and (vengeance for) his blood did not long sleep¹
In a short time² it became the cause of the shedding of the
blood of Sultan Jalaludin and his family, and of so many
thousands of others among the people who had been murdered

The wealth of Qurun which still sinks down to the bottom
of the earth,

You may have read, that it was a source of envy to the
poor³

And in the year⁴ 697 A H (1297 A.D.), Nasrat Khan having
been appointed to the office of Vazir, used strenuous efforts to
recover the money which Sultan 'Alādīn had lavished in
the commencement of his reign in order to gain over the affec-
tions of the people, and demanding the repayment of very large
sums deposited them in the treasury, and having summoned from
Kāfir 'Alāu'l Mulk the uncle of Zainudin Barni, the author of the *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī* (whom Sultan 'Alāu'l Dīn had re-
moved from the kotwalship of Dihli and had sent as governor to
Kāfir, appointing Nasrat Khan to the office of Kotwāl) he
conferred upon him his old rank Alp Khān being appointed
to Multān And in the year 698 A H (1298 A.D.) one Salī⁵ a
Mughul commander, crossing the Indus came towards Hindustān,
and Ulugh Khan and Tughlaq Khan the governor of Depalpūr
(who is *Ghāzi'l Mulk*), were appointed to put down that rising,
and offered strong opposition to them⁶ on the confines of Jārin
Manjhur⁷ The Mughul army was defeated, some of them were
killed and others taken prisoners, and the army of Sultan 'Alāu'l
Dīn returned victorious with many spoils A second time

¹ MS (A) دم بسپدہ

² MS (A) مدت

³ See Qur'an XXVIII 76

⁴ Omit سال MS (A)

⁵ The text reads چنڈی Clātālī MS (A) reads صلادی Sallālī so also
Barni (Ellott III 165) and Ibrāhīm Akbarī (Jarrett) III 317.

Firishta calls him Chāldālī

⁶ MS (A) نا اشان

⁷ Both Barni and Firishta say Sīwistān

185. Qutluq Khwāja, the son of Duā,¹ came from Māwarā-n-nahr with a countless host to attempt the conquest of Hindustān, and penetrated² as far as Dihli, inflicting no injury on the districts through which he passed. In Dihli itself grain became very dear, and the citizens were in great straits,³ and Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn placing Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān in command of the forces, sent them with a countless host to oppose the Mughul army, and a severe battle was fought on the frontiers of Gili.⁴ Zafar Khān was killed, and the Sultān had gained what he wanted in this.⁵ Qutluq Khwāja after his defeat made his way to Khurāsān where he died.

A third time Targhī Mughul who was one of the *margans*,⁶ that is to say accurate archers of that country, accompanied by 100,000 infantry and 20,000 valiant and renowned cavalry, seized the fort of the hills, and gaining possession of that country, penetrated as far as the township of Baran, where Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Amīr Dād the Governor was entrenched; Malik Tughlaq Ghāzi-i-Mulk was sent from the metropolis to put down that disturbance.⁷ Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn sallying from the fortress of Baran,⁸ joined with Malik Tughlaq, and they jointly made a night attack upon the Mughuls.⁹ The Mughul forces being routed, Targhī was taken prisoner and Malik Tughlaq brought him into the royal presence.

A fourth time, Muhammād Turtāq¹⁰ and 'Alī Beg Mughul, who were the sons of the royal house of Khurāsān, brought together

¹ MS. (A), so also Firishta.

² MS. (A) در آمدہ دار.

³ MS. (A) جا تنگ گشت.

⁴ Or Kīlī (Barnī).

⁵ Barnī explains this. He says " 'Alāu-d-Dīn returned from Kīlī, considering that he had won a great victory: the Mughuls had been put to flight and the brave and fearless Zafar Khān had been got rid of without disgrace."

⁶ مُرْگَن. This word is given by M. Pavet de Courteille in the meanings of fusilier: bon tireur: héros. It is a Turkī word.

⁷ The reading of MS. (A) is here followed: *viz.*

ملک تغلق غازی ملک از درگاه بجهت دفع ان فتنہ نامزوں گشت.

MS. (A) از حصار بون برآمدہ.

⁹ MS. (A) با تفاق شبیخون بو سخل اور دند.

¹⁰ The reading of this name is a little uncertain. MS. (A) may be either قریان or قریان. Neither Barnī nor Firishta give any assistance: nor does

a very large army, which they divided into two and bore down upon Nagor,¹ while the other seized the fort of the Siimur hills, and occupied the country as far as the river Biah which they call Kali Pani.² Sultan 'Alau d Din appointed Malik Mānik his slave (who is Kafur Naib or Hazar Dinar³) with Malik Tughlq Governor of Depalpur to proceed to Amroha, and while the Mughul army, having succeeded in capturing much spoil and many cattle, was marching to the banks of the river Rihab Malik Manik came up in pursuit⁴ and a severe battle ensued. Both the Mughul princes evinced great bravery, but were ultimately taken prisoners, and were put to death, while the greater part of those accursed ones became food for the sword of vengeance, and the remnant of the sword fled panicstricken to their own country. The heads of these two princes were taken to Budaon and impaled upon the battlements of the fort. One of the learned poets of that time wrote the following quatrain which was afterwards inscribed upon the southern gateway of that city

Quatrain

Noble fortress! whose helper may the assistance of the Almighty ever be!

- May the victory and conquest of the Emperor ever be thy standard bearer!
The Malik of this age became thy builder, and built thee anew,
May Targhi, Il e 'Ali Beg⁵ become thy captive

And Mir Khusru⁶ has written an account of the fight between Malik Manik (who had obtained the title of Malik Naib⁷) in

either word appear in the Turki dictionary. The text reads تریان Taryāq which seems rather an *ex necessitate* reading. The *Tarihi* : *Alau re ds Turtaq* (Elliott III 72)

¹ MS تاریخ (A)

² MS کالی پانی مسکوپنہ (A)

³ So called because he had been originally purchased for a thousand dinars

⁴ MS اربعت رسیده (A)

⁵ MS علی بیگ (A)

⁶ MS علیہ الرحمۃ (A) omits

⁷ Firishta states that this title was conferred upon Malik Kafur (Hazar Dinar) on the occasion of his being placed in command of an army to proceed against Ram Deo, Raja of Deoghar a refractory tributary

the *Türkhi Khutbāt-i-Fatāh*¹ a marvel of literature, which mortal powers confess themselves impotent to approach or imitate, though to tell the truth all the writings of that king of poets, rightly named Khusrū, are of this excellence, and to praise and crown them is an impertinence and error for any other.

Whenever any thought shines forth from his mind
It is so subtle as to escape comprehension and defy imitation.

On the fifth occasion Iqbālmand and Kapak, Mughals, brought together an army to take vengeance for Turtāq² and 'Ali Beg, and invaded the frontiers of Multān. The Sultān on this occasion also appointed Malik Nāib, and Malik Tughlaq. They proceeded by forced marches while the Mughals were falling back, and pursuing them gave battle. Kapak was taken prisoner, but was ransomed by the infidel Tātārs, with the prisoners and abundant booty which had fallen into their hands.³ From that day the Mughals lost their enthusiasm for the conquest of Hindustān, and the teeth of their ambition became blunted.

After these victories, the Sultān one night was holding a wine party quite at his ease with his companions, and was quaffing copious draughts of wine. The night, like the circnlation of the wine cup, had come near to an end; suddenly some of the assembled guests began to make signs to each other⁴ with hand, and eye, and brow that it was time to break up,⁵ the Sultān happened to perceive it, he was annoyed and cried out Mutiny! Mutiny! and on the instant gave orders for Bahā (who was one of his boon-companions and choice spirits) to be killed. The rest fled in confusion. On the following morning when he came to realise

1 This work, known also as the *Tārikh-i-Alā*, is a prose history of the first years of Sultān Alā-d-Dīn Khiljī from his accession in 695 H. to the close of 710 H. (Elliot III. 68-69.)

2 MS. (A) omits تُرْتَاق and gives the pointing of Turtāq as تُرْيَاق.

3 MS. (A) افْتَادَه بُود (Khusrū, who makes the invasion of Kapak separate from and precedent to that of Iqbāl Mudbir as he calls him.

4 MS. (A) بَكَدِيْكُورا.

5 MS. (A) وَنَظَرَ سُلْطَان.

what had occurred, it was as clear as day to the Sultan¹ that his suspicion was groundless.

Wait, till the world removes the veil from the face of events,
And till that thou hast done this evening, tomorrow is
plain to thee

Then he asked for Qāzī Bahā². They replied He was sent into eternity at that very moment³. The Sultan was very repentant and ashamed at hearing this, and vowed never again to drink wine, and ordered it to be proclaimed that the use of wine should be absolutely abandoned throughout the kingdom. Cask upon cask of wine was poured out in the court till it became a flowing river. Everyone who was discovered intoxicated, was hauled off to prison, and punished by imprisonment⁴ and confiscation of property.

Piety and penitence became the order of the day the taverns were in ruins,⁵ and the police officers had plenty of work, and there was no longer any need to purchase vinegar,⁶ while the wine bibbers were giving expression by their actions to these verses

Now he sprinkles the flagon with salt, now he shatters the cup,⁷

How the policeman disturbs the peace of the tavern in which we sup

¹ The text has a note here to the effect that a ب should probably be inserted after سلطان but that it is not found in either of the two MSS before the editor

سلطان را چون روز روشن شد که آن کمان علطا دود

² The text here and in the former line reads MS (A) has بھار بھار

³ The text reads او خود همان رعنان بهرار سالها پیوست

⁴ تعریف مالی و بندی منکریده MS (A)

⁵ There is a play on words here in the original ده

⁶ Wine not being drunk all the grapejuice could be distilled for vinegar. There is a hint here that every one was discontented just as we say sour looks which the Persians express by saying فلان کسی سرکه فروشی می کند کند as we say sour So and so sells vinegar. Qāāni says to his mistress

سرکه فروشی مکن پیوره که در عشق
شیختم ارس سرکه کم نگودد همان راء

⁷ MS (A) omits را but the text is correct

And in the year 697 H. (1297 A.D.) the Sultān becoming suspicious of the newly-converted Muslim Mughuls was contemplating 188. to murder and eradicate them, and they also for their part, goaded by the extortion of the revenue collectors and their extortionate demands for refunding money,¹ were plotting a rebellion whilst the Sultān should be hunting and hawking.² One of them who was opposed to this scheme made it known to the Sultān. Secret orders were written and despatched to the Governors of the country saying that on a certain day³ they should put to death all the new Muslim Mughuls with one consent wherever they found them.

Accordingly on the appointed date they despatched so many poor hapless Mughuls with the sword of injustice, and sent them on their travels to the kingdom of annihilation, that the mind cannot compute their number, and the name of Mughul no longer survived in Hindustān, although this custom of killing strangers has survived from that time.

And in the commencement of affairs, the fact of so many victories following one another in close succession led to extravagant ambitions in the mind of the Sultān; one of these was religious innovation, and moreover by the assistance of these four Ulugh Khān, Nusrat Khān, Zafar Khān and Alp Khān he was led to estimate himself as being superior to the Prophet *on whom be the peace and blessing of God*,⁴ and his companions *may God be gracious to them all*.⁵ The second was the conquest of the whole inhabited world like Sikandar; this led to his ordering his name to be inscribed on the currency and mentioned in the proclamation as Sikandar-i-ṣāñī.⁶ When he sought the advice

1 This was spoken of above. 'Alāu-d-Dīn's officers disapproved of the lavish way he had squandered his money in gifts in the early days of his accession to power.

پوینیدن جانور و MS. (A).

در فلان ماه و MS. (A) omits.

عليه الصلوة والسلام MS. (A).

و MS. (A) omits.

6 Alexander the second. The accuracy of this statement is testified to by the existence of coins bearing this title. Gold coins weighing 166, 168·6 and 169·5 grs are in existence bearing the legend

سکندر الثانی بیین ا خلافة ناصر امير المؤمنین. (See Thomas, p. 168.)

Sikandaru-s-ṣāñī Yāmīnu-l-Khilāfat Nāṣiru Amīru-l-mūminīn.

of 'Alā'ī Mulk Kotwāl of Dihli he restrained the Sultān from pursuing both these claims and said, "No one can evolve a religion out of his own brain unless he be aided¹ by God, and till he can perform miracles² This object cannot be acquired by the strength of dominion, and wealth, and majesty, and splendour, moreover such an attempt may be expected, may be certain to result in violent disorders and tumults of all kinds, nothing will be gained while disgrace will follow the attempt as for conquering realms, it is a worthy ambition, but needs the highest qualifications, as well as perfection of rule and a vizier like Aristotle, none of which are here existent"

If the Sultan clears Hindustān of infidels and frees the environs of Dihli from these contumacious infidels, this will be in no way inferior to the world conquests of Sikandar"

The Sultan, after due meditation, was greatly pleased with these proofs deduced from reason and supported by precedent and bestowed a robe of honour upon 'Alā'ī Mulk and gave him large rewards, and abstained from attempting to satisfy either of his ambitions The Amirs, who on account of the harshness of the Sultan, and the roughness of his temper, were unable to say anything of service, all sent presents of horses and valuables for 'Alā'ī Mulk and were loud in praise of him

Verse

In my opinion that one is thy well wisher,
Who says that will be a thorn in thy path

In this year the Sultān proceeding to Deogir gained a fresh conquest³ and doubled his spoils

That which he cut after that his sword cut double,
That which he defeated after that his mace defeated again
and again

And in the year 698 H (1298 A D) he appointed Ulugh Khan to the command of a powerful army, to proceed into the country of Gujerat against Rai Karan who had thirty thousand cavalry, and eighty thousand infantry, and thirty herd of elephants Ulugh

¹ مُؤْمِنٌ مِّنْ عَدٍ لِّلَّهِ يَا شَدِّد (A)

² مُؤْمِنٌ مِّنْ عَادٍ شَوَّهَ (A) The text reads وَشَوَّهَ correctly

³ مُؤْمِنٌ مِّنْ دَهْرٍ وَّ فَيْحَ (A)

this rather unfriendly, and consequently plotted a rebellion, but eventually were dispersed, some of them went off to Rāī Hamir Dev in Jhain,¹ which is near Rantanbhor, and some went elsewhere.

Ulugh Khān proceeded by continuous marches to his master at Dihli, and from this we gather that the massacre of the foreigners (above alluded to) took place after the arrival of Ulugh Khān from Gujrat. Historians have paid little attention to the due order of events, but God knows the truth.

And in the year 699 H (1299 A.D.) Ulugh Khan was nominated to proceed against the fortress of Rantanbhor and Jhāin, which is better known as Naushahr,² and Rai Hamir Dev, the grandson of Rai Pithora,³ who had ten thousand cavalry, and countless infantry, and celebrated elephants, gave him battle but was defeated, and with great generalship withdrew the whole of his forces into the fortress of Rantanbhor.

Ulugh Khān having reported ⁴ the state of affairs to the Court, urged the Sultān to capture the fort, the Sultan collected his forces ⁵ and marched against Rantanbhor, and in a short time, by skilful effort, and aided by the energy of his Mahiks, completely subdued and took the fortress, and despatched Hamir Dev to hell. Great booty, and spoil, and treasures fell into his hands. Then he appointed ⁶ a Kotwal to hold that fortress, and having bestowed the country of Jhain upon Ulugh Khan, left to attack Chitor,⁷ and having conquered that place also within a few days,

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¹ Tieffenthaler, I p 322, mentions a city called Tschān at a distance of five miles from the fortress of Rantanbhor. This would appear to be probably the place spoken of in the text.

See Elliot, III 146 where Jhain is said to be Ujjain, also p 172, note 1, where this opinion is abandoned.

² Tieffenthaler does not mention this name.

³ MS (A) reads Rai Hamir Dev of Rantanbhor omitting سندھ رائی پٹھورا, but Barni calls Hamir Dev the نبسا of Rai Pithora, so that the reading of the text is adopted.

⁴ MS (A) نہودہ عرض

⁵ MS (A) omits لے

⁶ MS (A) نہود تعین

⁷ Barni says that after taking Rantanbhor and putting Hamir Dev to death the Sultan returned to Dihli so also Firishta. See Hunter Imp Gaz III 430

and¹ having given it the name of Khizrābād, and having bestowed a red canopy upon Khizr Khān aforesaid, made Chitor over to him as governor. Among the events which happened in this expedition this was one, that Nuṣrat Khān had come from Kattra² to Rantambhor, to reinforce Ulugh Khān before the Sultān arrived there;³ and during the siege one day a stone struck him on the head, and he went without delay to the other world. One arm of the Sultān, that is to say Zafar Khān, had been broken in the fight with Qutluq Khwāja, and now the second arm was broken also.

When the army was encamped in the neighbourhood of Malhab⁴ the Sultān one day was engaged in the hunting field;⁵ when night came on he remained in the plain, and at dawn of day he posted his troops all round, while he himself with a select following ascended an eminence and was watching the sport.⁶ In the meantime the brother's son of the Sultān, Akat Khān,⁷ together with a band of new-Muslim Mughuls who were engaged in performing the duties of guards, attacked the Sultān relentlessly and smote him with arrows, seized him and wounded his arm. As it was the winter season, and the Sultān was wearing a cap⁸ stuffed with cotton his wounds were not fatal. Akat Khān wished to alight from his horse and strike off the Sultān's head from his body, but some of the attendants pretending to side with him and take his part, cried out, the Sultān is killed! Akat Khān was satisfied at hearing this, and made off with all speed to the camp on horseback, and entering the royal hall of audience seated himself upon the throne, and drawing the canopy over his head, the Amīrs, in accordance with ancient custom, gave in their allegiance to him

¹ MS. (A) و.

² MS. (A) از کشته.

³ MS. (A) omits پا تکھا.

⁴ The reading here is doubtful. The text has در نواحی قصبه پخیت with an alternative reading سون پت in a footnote. MS. (A) reads در نواحی ملہب Firishta (Bo. Text p. 186) reads تلب Talib.

⁵ قمر غدہ Qamurgha, lieu de chasse. (Pavet de Courteille). A Turkī word signifying hunting ground. Firishta loc. cit. also uses this word.

⁶ MS. (A) omits و.

⁸ MS. (A) reads کله پر پنڈہ.

⁷ Firishta also says Akat Khān.

as the rightful king,¹ and raised no overt objection Akat Khan was so overwhelmed by his inordinate lust that on the instant he made an attempt upon the *haram*,² but Malik Dinar *Harami* who was on guard at the entrance to the *haram* with his men armed and equipped, said, Till you shew me the head of the Sultan I will not permit you to set foot within this private chamber. Sultan 'Alau d-Din, when he had somewhat regained consciousness³ after that perilous attack, bound up his wounds. He was convinced in his own mind that Akat Khan, in unison with the Amirs who had revolted, had had the audacity to make this disgraceful attempt upon his life, for that were it not so, he was not the man to attempt it alone.

Accordingly his intention was to make his way to Jhun (where Ulugh Khan was) with the fifty or sixty attendants who had remained with him, and see what course Ulugh Khan would recommend. One or two of his confidential retainers pointed out the unwisdom of this course and urged him to go at once to the royal pavilion and kingly court.

Before they arrived at the Court fifty horsemen joined them, and Akat Khan took the road to Afghimpur, but a body of men who had been despatched in pursuit of him by forced marches made him prisoner,⁴ sent him into the Sultan's presence, and then utterly destroyed all his family and relations wherever they found them, among whom Qatlaq Khan his brother also perished.⁵

Verse

One who injures the country is better behaved

And at that same time 'Umar Khan and Mangu Khan the two

¹ The words تورا و توزک *tora o tuzuk* are Turkic words (P de C) or signifies the royal family. It also means King law right also a custom introduced by Chengiz Khan توزک *tuzuk* means simply 'right' or 'authority.' Hence the words in the text would mean that they acknowledged him as rightful king with due formalities.

² MS (A) omits حاص .

³ MS (A) برسی آمد

⁴ MS (A) اورا دستگیر کر داد

⁵ The account given by Barni of this occurrence is the same as the text (Elliot III 17 -173) Firuztah also calls him Saleimān Shah, Akat Khan, though Briggs in his translation calls him The Prince Rookn Khan

the entrance to the Red Palace, and compelled the chief men whether they would or no, to swear allegiance to him.

The Sultan, when he heard this tidings, did not publish it, nor did he betray any signs of emotion, until he had succeeded by superhuman effort in entirely¹ reducing the fortress. A week had hardly passed after this exploit of Hāji Maulā when Malik Hamidu Dīn, who was Amir of Koh, with his sons who were renowned for their valour, and a body of the cavalry of Zafar Khān who had come from Amrohā to oppose the Mughuls,² engaged Hāji Maulā in fight, and having destroyed him, put to death the hapless Suyyid Zada also, and sent their heads to Rantabhor. The Sultan nominated Ulugh Khān to proceed to Dihli to track out those who had taken part in that³ rebellion, and bring them to destruction. He also completely eradicated the family and relations of Maliku l Umarā on this suspicion that Hāji Maulā would not have embarked on this enterprise without their instigation.⁴

The Sultān after adding the fortress of Rantabhor and its surrounding districts to the jāegir of Ulugh Khān returned (to Dihli). Ulugh Khan was taken ill that very day while on the road, and died,⁵ and Rantabhor became for him like the Paradise of Shaddad.⁶

¹ مخد تمام فوق الحمد والغاية فتح قلعة دست داد و (A) MS

² بجهت عرض معلى (A)

³ در آن فتنه

⁴ The text reads شروع درین اصر نموده باشند so also MS (A), but we should, read شروع درین اصر نموده باشد as without this the sense is not very obvious

Barmi states, "The sons and grandsons of the old *kotwal* Maliku l Umarā had no guilty knowledge of the revolt, but they and every one belonging to that family were put to death."

⁵ The *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* states, in opposition to our author, that Ulugh Khān did not die till four or five months later, when he had collected a large force for the purpose of attacking Tilang and Ma'bar. Firishta also states that Ulugh Khan died about six months later.

⁶ MS (A) reads حکم پیشت شدای پیدا کرد See Qur'an Ixxxxix 5

"Hast thou not seen how thy Lord did with 'Ad? with Iram of the columns? the like of which has not been created in the land."

Moreover a band of robbers of Jālor, whose leader was Mir Muhammad Shāh, were captured in Rantambhor after the fort

Iram of the columns "This city is said to have been situated in Yemen, between Hazramaut and Ṣana'a. It was founded by Shaddād ibn 'Ād, who was excessively strong and mighty, and when he heard of Paradise and of what God had prepared therein for his saints, 'palaces of gold and silver and abodes beneath which rivers flow, and upper chambers above which are other upper chambers, (Qur'ān xxxix. 21) he said to his mighty men 'Verily I will take to myself upon the earth a city like unto Paradise.' Then he appointed thereunto a hundred men of his servants and mighty men of valour, and under the hand of each of them a thousand helpers, and bade them search out and find an open space of the plain in the land of Yemen, and choose the best thereof in soil. Then he provided them with wealth, and designed for them the pattern of their work, and wrote to his three chief lords Ghānim-ibn-'Ulwān, Zahhāk ibn 'Ulwān, and Walīd ibnur Raiyyān, and charged them to write to their lords in the utmost parts of their cities that they should collect all that was in their land of gold and of silver, of pearls and of rubies, of musk and ambergris and saffron, and should send them unto him. Then he sent unto all the mines, and took out therefrom all the gold and the silver that was in them, and he sent his three agents to the divers into the oceans, and they brought out therefrom jewels, and gathered them together as it were mountains, and all of this was brought to Shaddād. Then they sent the miners to the mines of rubies and emeralds and all other jewels, and they brought out from thence immense riches. Then he ordered and the gold was beaten and fashioned into bricks, and he builded therewith that city, and he commanded the pearls and the rubies, the onyx and the emerald and the cornelian, and the walls of the city were set with them. And he made for it upper chambers, and above them other chambers supported on columns, and to all of them pillars of emerald and of onyx and of ruby. Then he caused to flow beneath the city a wide channel which he brought to the city from beneath the earth a space of forty leagues, like to a large canal. Then he ordered, and there were made to flow from that channel, rivulets in the streets, and highways and streets flowed with clear water. And he ordered banks to be made for that canal and for all the rivulets, and they were overlaid with red gold, and the pebbles thereof were made of all kinds of precious stones, red and yellow and green. And there were planted on either bank of the stream and of the rivulets trees of gold bearing fruit, and the fruits of them were of those rubies and precious gems. And the length of the city was made twelve *farsakhs* and the breadth thereof like unto the length. And the walls of the city were high and lofty, and there were builded therein three hundred thousand palaces set with all kinds of jewels within and without. And he built for himself in the midst of the city on the bank of the canal a palace lofty and high, towering over all those palaces

* * * * * * * and there passed

in the building of it five hundred years.

was taken. When the Sultan asked Muhammad Shah (who had been wounded) 'If I should spare your life and have you cured, and you should thus escape this deadly danger, how would you treat me in future?' he replied, 'If I should get well and should have an opportunity, I would kill you and raise the son of Hamir Deo to the throne' The Sultan wondered, and was amazed at 1 this audacity, and enquired of his most shrewd and astute Amirs the reason why the people had so turned against him, and why these continual riots and seditions were so constantly occurring, and further sought to know how to set about remedying these evils. They shewed him several paths of conduct which would end naturally in four things. *Firstly*, that the king should in his own person be aware of the enterprises both good and bad which are going on in his kingdom. *Secondly*, that he should put an end to wine bibbing, which is the source of so much evil. *Thirdly*, abindonment by the maliks of their gadding about to each others' houses and holding deliberative meetings. *Fourthly*, to demand back the money which he had lavished, from all classes, whether soldiery or populace, because it is the fountain head of all riot and sedition, especially upstarts and *nouveau riches*,² and in a short time these regulations would by their inherent good, be acceptable to the Rais, and pass from potentiality to actuality just as has already been related in a former place.

The Sultan did away with wine drinking, and brought the other

Then Almighty God wished to send a warning to him and to his host, calling him to repentance, and he chose to himself Hud ibn Khalid who came and called upon Sulayman to believe and confess the power and unity of God, but he persisted in his idolatry and disobedience. Then Hud warned him of punishment to come and of the fall of his kingdom but he would not be moved from his evil ways.

At last he was informed that the city was finished and he set out to go to it with three hundred thousand, leaving all his kingdom to his son Murad who had it is said believed in the words of Hud. When Shaddai arrived with one day's journey of Iram a voice came from heaven, and he and all who were with him fell dead, not one remained, and all who were in the city died, the workmen and artificers the agents and warriors, not a soul remained alive. And the city sank into the earth.

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¹ MS. (A) reads **مَهْلِك** in place of **نَاهِم**.

² The Persian phrase is دوکیسای سلسله Daukisah-e-syle.

regulations also into force, and also published several new rules of his own, which have never been heard of either before or after his time, whether they were in accordance with religious law or not ; one of these rules was that regulating the price of grain, and cloth, and horses, and all necessaries essential to the comfort of the soldiery and populace, and the bestowal of rewards and alms upon all classes of the people, the detail of which is told at some length in the history of Ziā-i-Barnī.¹ Those laws were the most extraordinary of all : this cheapness of provisions was one of the chief sources of the prosperity of the people, and formed a stout wall of defence against the irruption of the Mughuls. And inasmuch as in mentioning some of these events and occurrences in the original work,² the chronological sequence has not been preserved, and they have been only incidentally mentioned as occasion arose, for this reason they have also been recounted here in the same manner.

196. In the year 700 H. he ordered 'Ainu-l-Mulk Shihāb Multānī to proceed to Mālwa with a large army [and Kōkā the Rānī who had forty thousand cavalry and 100,000 infantry, not being able to stand against him fled].³ 'Ainu-l-Mulk ravaged and pillaged that country and returned victorious with countless spoils.⁴ The Khusrū of poets has described this in the '*Ashīqā*, in these words :

He gave 'Ainu-l-Mulk a signal with his brow
To turn his face towards the kingdom of Mālwa ;
From the clear-sightedness which 'Ainu-l-Mulk possessed,
That which he ordered was brought into sight.
He marched with an army drawn up in array,
And placed round them sentinels like the eyelashes.⁵

And in the year already mentioned the Sultān set out for Sorath⁶ on a hunting expedition, and despatched to hell Satal

¹ The *Tūrīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*. Elliot and Dowson, III. pp. 192 *et seqq.*

² MS. (A) در اصل کتاب.

³ The words in brackets are not found in MS. (A).

⁴ Firishta gives the date of this expedition as 704 H. and calls Koka the Rājā of Malwa. The text and MS. (B) reads رانی *Rānī*.

⁵ There is a series of play upon the words عین 'ain and دید dīdā both of which mean "eye" which is quite lost in translation.

⁶ MS. (A) reads سوانة. Sawāna. The text has سوارہ Sorath. *Aīn-i-Akkari* II. (J.) 243, 358. Bayley, *Hist. of Gujurāt* p. 2.

Dev a rebel who had taken refuge in that fortress with a huge army, the Sultān's army having before been unable to reduce it, but it now fell into their hands. And in the year 701 H. (1301 A.D.) the fort of Jalor was reduced by Kamālu-d Din Kārk and he sent Kanhar Dev, a headstrong rebel to the lowest abyss of hell

And in the year 702 H (1302 A.D.) he sent Malik Kāfür Nāib¹ with a large army and complete equipment towards Tilang and Marhat² and an immense quantity of treasure with elephants and horses, jewels and cloths, fell as spoil into the hands of the troops.

And in the year 709 (1309 A.D.)³ Malik Nāib Kāfür went a second time to Arunkal⁴ and having taken much treasure and several fine elephants and seven thousand horses as a present from Rai Nadar Dev the Governor of Arunkal made him a regular tributary. And in the year 710 H. (1310 A.D.) the country 19
of Ma'bār⁵ as far as Dhor⁶ Samundar came into the possession of the Muslims

And in the year 711 H (1311 A.D.) Malik Nāib brought to court and presented his spoils consisting of three hundred and twelve elephants, and twenty thousand horses, ninety-six thousand mans of gold, and many chests of jewels and pearls besides other

¹ MS (A) reverses the order of this name. The text has نایب کافر.

² Telingā or Telengāna, the ancient name of one of the principal kingdoms of S India. See *Ain-i Akbari* II (J) 237, also Hunter *Imp Gaz* I part Andhra, also Cunningham *Anc Geog of India* p 519, 527

³ There is a great gap here in the history partly due to the confusion of dates, and absence of chronological sequence mentioned by the author. Barnī gives no assistance and Firishta very little

⁴ Warangal was the ancient capital of Telengāna (Tieff III 5) See Hunter *Imp Gaz* XIII 521 Regarding Marhat or Maharashtra see Hunter, *Imp Gaz* IX 166, also Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas, Preliminary Observations*, also Cunningham, *Anc Geog of India* p 553.

Arangal or Warangal Barnī gives Laddar Dev as the name of the Rai of Arangal Elliott III 201 So also Firishta See text I p 207

⁵ Ma'bār Coromandel See Ibn Bajūrah (Paris Edn) III 328 *Ain-i Akbari* (Jarrett) III 51, 60 Abu'l Fedā (Reinaud) I cxlviii

Ma'bār extends from Kulam (Cavalam) to Nilāwar (Nellore) Wassāf (End D III 32)

⁶ Firishta says Khwaja Haji and Malik Nāib were sent to conquer Ma'bār and Dhor Samund where there were idol temples full of gold, and jewels I cannot identify Dhor Samund

booty beyond the limits of computation; Amīr Khusrū who was with that army has given full particulars in the *Khuzānu-l-Futūh*: some attributed these victories to respite before punishment, and some to the miraculous powers of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn, while others held that the peace and security of that reign were due to the unbounded blessings of the Sultānu-l-Mashāikh Nizāmu-l-Auliya¹ may God² sanctify his resting-place.

At length when the Sultān's mind was satisfied, and he gained some leisure from the administration of the State, he set himself to provide for the future of his two sons, allotting to each one a province in the neighbourhood, and setting apart districts for them. Among other events was the marriage of Khizr Khān to Dewal Rānī, and Girāi's account is of a nature to last to all eternity, and those who have the taste may read the account of that in the 'Ashīqa;³ then having bestowed upon Khizr Khān the canopy and staff of office, and having made him his heir the Sultān sent him away to Hatnāpūr⁴ and the foot of the hills. When affairs were settled,⁵ and the heavens began to act with their ingrained natural deceit, and commenced displaying those evil traits, and old age overcame the Sultān's health, his followers deserted him;

Verse.

In the world, when a king becomes advanced in years
 His worshippers grow weary of him ;
 His head, which is worthy of a crown,
 He must recline on musk not on ivory.⁶

198. Various disorders affected him,⁷ and hectic fever which leads⁸ to

1 Nizāmud-dīn Auliya was the son of Ahmad Dānyāl. He was born at Badāon. He died A.H. 725 and is buried at Dihlī.

See *Aīn-i-Akbarī* III. 365. Firishta gives a long biography of him.

² MS. (A) omits *وَ*.

³ See E and D III 552, 553.

⁴ Text reads هننا پور. MS. (A) reads هستنار Hastingāwar (? Hatnāwar). See *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (J) II 104 and III. 70. also Hunter *Gaz. Ind.* v. 352.

⁵ MS. (A) يافت.

⁶ It was the custom to bury kings with musk, camphor and other odiferous substances. The throne was of ivory.

⁷ MS. (A) عارض شد و.

⁸ MS. (A) reads مسْتَوْجَب for موجب.

ill temper, and suspiciousness, and causes the health to become deranged, gained the mastery over him, and when only such a small amount of health remained that it was like a single lump to light the whole house Khizr Khan in fulfilment of a vow he had made, in singleness of heart and sincerity of spirit set out from Hatnapur¹ barefooted upon a pilgrimage to the holy men of Dihli, and performed his thanksgiving for the restoration of his father's health, but it is a very strange fact that he never once went to visit the Sultan I-Mashaykh wal Auliya,

"Shuh² of the sects, Pillar of the faith, Nizamuddin
Like Khizr and Masih with a breath brings bones to life"

with whom he was connected by bonds of affection and sanctity

And Malik Naib informed the Sultan of the coming of Khizr Khan with considerable embellishment, saying that Alp Khan, the maternal uncle of Khizr Khan, who had arrived from Gujrat, out of policy and prudence, having regard to the affairs of the State and in his desire to become Naib and Vakil, had himself summoned his sister's son, and further remarked that if this crude idea and immature desire had not fixed itself in the mind of Khizr Khan, why had he come unbidden to the Court?

The Sultan whose health was upset and his brain disordered and disposed to entertain absurd prejudices in accordance with the saying³ "When a man's health is disordered his fancies are disordered," from his great lack of discrimination taking this suggestion as the actual fact, and regarding this assertion⁴ as the truth instantly gave orders for the execution of Alp Khan

Malik Naib and Malik Kamaluddin Kark seizing that unhappy wretch like a meek lamb, cut him to pieces inside the Royal palace. After that Malik Naib induced the Sultan (on the ground that Khizr Khan had taken alarm at the murder of his uncle and that it was not expedient for him to return to his own place in the court), to issue instructions that, to allow of the restoration⁵ of order in the State, he should go for some

¹ MS (A) reads Hatnapur Khnsru in the 'Asl qa states When the Sultan recovered in some degree Khizr Khan set out on his expedition to Hatnapur (E and D III 554)

² MS (A) ﴿

³ MS (A) reads ﴿

⁴ MS (A) omits ﴿ text line 1 and ﴿ text line 2

time to Amroha till a command should issue summoning him to the presence. In the meantime he might engage in hunting, and he was to return to the Court his canopy and staff of office, and all the other insignia of royalty. Khizr Khān having obeyed this order with a sad and distracted heart, after a little while relying upon the sincerity of affection he entertained for his father and the confidence between them, wrote to him to this effect,¹ that he had never committed any breach of trust which could cause the Sultān to be so wroth with him; then overcome by sorrow he determined to leave Amroha for Dihli. When he arrived to do obeisance to his father, the chord of fatherly affection was stirred in the heart of the Sultān, he clasped his son to his breast, and kissed him several times on the forehead, and motioned to him to go and see his mother. Khizr Khān went thither, and Malik Nāib out of villainy,² on the instant went back to the Sultān and filled his ears with lies, saying,³ ‘Khizr Khān has now come for the second time to the palace with evil intentions without orders, and the Sultān takes no notice of the matter.’ The Sultān upon this occasion gave orders to send both brothers, Khizr Khān and Shādī Khān, to the fortress of Gwāliār.⁴ Malik Nāib, after these two heirs had been deported, and the way was clear for Malik Shihābu-d-Dīn, the son of the Sultān by another mother, who was yet a lad of tender years, made him heir-apparent and exacted from him an agreement.

After two or three days the Sultān’s life became intolerable through his affliction, and he would willingly have purchased a breath at the price of a world, but it was not to be had.

Verse.

Sikandar, who held sway over a world,
At the time when he was departing, and was quitting the
world,

It could not be as he wished, though he would have given
a world could they have given him in return the brief
respite of a moment.

¹ I follow the text here. MS. (A) omits بعرغش.

² MS. (A) reads از روی حرامخوارگی.

³ MS. (A) omits و گفت and inserts اگ.

⁴ MS. (A) کالیور. *Kalewar.*

The mint of Existence was emptied of the coin of life
 This event took place in the year 715 H (1316 A D)¹ The duration of the reign of Sultān 'Alau d-Dīn was twenty one years

'Alāu d-Dīn who struck his stamp upon the golden coin
 Subdued a world beneath the palm of his gold scattering hand²

By the revolution of the sky, that stamp became changed,
 but that gold
 Remained the same in appearance, and you may see it now
 passing from hand to hand

[Account of Amir Khusrū and Mir Hasan may God have mercy on them]³

And among the poets⁴ by whose existence the reign of Sultān 'Alau d-Dīn was adorned and honoured, one was the Khusrū-i-Shā'irān (Prince of Poets), may God shew him mercy and acceptance, whose writings, whether prose or poetry, have completely filled the world from one remotest end to the other

He completed his five works, collectively called Khamṣa,⁵ in the year 698 H (1298 A D), in honour of Sultān 'Alau d-Dīn,

¹ MS (A) reads خمس Khamṣa in place of سنت sit and this is correct as 'Alau d-Dīn died on the 7th Shawwāl 715 H see E and D III 555 but see also p 208 'On the sixth Shawwāl towards morning, the corpse of 'Alau d-Dīn was brought out of the Red Palace of Siri and was buried in a tomb in front of the Jamī Masjid' (*Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*) See also Thomas Patlan *Kings of Delhi* p 158 n 1

² MS (A) reads ذیروز کف دست Zirāz kaf dast See Thomas Pathan *Kings* pp 158 et seqq,
³ These words are not found in MS (A)

⁴ MS (A) reads کے خواجہ ke ḫawājeh

⁵ These were the following —

سکندر نامہ Sikandar nama
Hasht Biḥšīt دشت دشت
Lail wa Maynun شیرین و حسرو Shirin wa Khusrū
Panj Ganj پنج گنج

Khusrū was of Turkic origin his father Amir Ma'lūm came to Delhi during the invasion of Chingiz Khan into the service of Sultan Mu'mmad Langīlaq Shah by whom he was advanced to high office but was eventually murdered. Mir Khusrū succeeded his father but gave up office and became the devoted disciple of Nizam d-Dīn Anīya His Khamṣa was written in imitation of the Khamṣa of Shāh Nizamī

He is said to have written 400 000 couplets Neither Khamṣa is now extant

within the space of two years. Among these works is the *Maṭla'ū-l-Anwār*¹ which he composed in two weeks as he himself says (in these verses) :

The year of this ancient heaven which had passed away
Was after six hundred and ninety eight.

Following on the steps of the sky traversing star²
In two weeks did the full moon³ arrive at completion.

In the *Nafahāt*⁴ it is stated upon the authority of Sultānu-l-Mashāikh Nizāmu-l-Auliya, may God sanctify his sacred resting-place, that on the day of judgment each individual will boast of some one thing, and my boast (said he) will be of the heart-burnings of this Turk Allāh⁵ (God's champion); Mir Khusrū probably alludes to this when he says :—

Khusrū my friend, strive in the right way

That you may be called Turk-i-Khudā (God's champion).

201.

Another poet was Mir Hasan Dihlavi⁶ whose anthology also has enslaved the east and west of the world. Although in that reign there were other poets who composed anthologies, still by reason of these two eminent poets the mention of the others sinks into insignificance.

"When the sun comes out the stars disappear."

The death of Mir Khusrū took place in the year 725 H. (1325 A.D.). He is buried in Dihli at the foot of the sacred tomb of his

¹ مطلع الانوار *Maṭla'ū-l-Anwār*. "Ortus luminum. Poema persicum, quod ad Pentada Khosrewi Dehlewi, anno 725 (inc 18 Dec. 1324) mortui, pertinet. Viginti libri qui singuli historiam unam continent." H.K. 12256.

² اختر گرد ون خوام *Akhtar-i-gardūn khirām*. ³ ملک کamil. *Mah-i-Kāmil*.

⁴ نفحات *Nafahāt*. The *Nafahātu-l-Uns* see Hāji Khalīfah.

Nafahātu-l-uns "halitus familiaritatis e viris sanctitate eminentibus prodeuntes, auctore Molla nostro Nür-ed-dīn Abd-el-rahmān Ben Ahmad Jāmī anno 898 (inc. 23 Oct. 1492) mortuo." H. K. 13922.

⁵ ترک اللہ *Turk Allāh*.

⁶ میر حسن دھلوی *Mir Hasan Dihlavi*. Mir Hasan Dihlavi, whose name was Sīaiķī Najmu-d-Dīn Hasan, was one of the most accomplished poets of his time. He, like Mir Khusrū, was a disciple of Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliya. *Majma'u-l-Fusahā* I. 196). He died as our author tells us (in 739 A.H.) at Daulatābād in the Deccan, where he was buried. So also Ātash Kada p. 351.

own spiritual instructor¹ may God shew mercy to them. Maṇīlāñ
Shihāb² wrote an enigmatical chronogram upon that, and having
had it engraved upon a tablet of stone had it fixed above the
shrine³ of Mir Khusru. It is as follows —

Mir Khusru, the Khusru of the kingdom of eloquence,
That ocean of excellence, and sea of perfection,
His prose is more attractive than flowing water,
His poetry purer than the most limpid streams,
A sweet-singing nightingale without a rival,
Honey-tongued parrot without an equal
In tracing the date of the year of his death,
When I placed my head upon the knee of thought,
One phrase 'Adīmū l-Mīsl'⁴ came as the date,
Another was Tūqī-i Shakar Maqāl⁵

Mir Hasan, in the year in which Sultān Muḥammad having
laid waste Dihli built Daulatābad⁶ in the Deccan, died in that

¹ Nizāmū d-Dīn Auliya

² See p. 99 note 2 of this work.

³ There is no English equivalent that I am aware of for the word مزار which means "a place of pilgrimage". The word "shrine" conveys this idea better than most others.

⁴ The letters of العجم المثل give the date 725. Thus $70 + 4 + 10 + 40 + 1 + 30 + 40 + 500 + 30$. So also do those of طوطی شکر مقال Thus $9 + 6 + 9 + 10 + 300 + 20 + 200 + 40 + 100 + 1 + 30 = 725$. Not counting the hamza.

Mir Khusru died in the month of Rāmazān 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) and is said in the *Majma'u l-Fuṣḥa* to have been buried in the burial place of Shukh Shakkar Ganj, as above stated in the text he was buried close to the grave of his spiritual guide Nizāmū d-Dīn Auliya.

⁵ 'Adīmū l-Mīsl means "peerless" Tūqī-i Shakar Maqāl, "Parrot of homed speech".

⁶ MS. (A) omits اباد ساخت ending فرسود

Daulatabad Lat $19^{\circ} 57' N$ and long $75^{\circ} 18' E$. 28 miles N.W. of Hyderabad

It was originally called Deogiri or Deogarh, and was the capital of the Yadava kingdom. After being taken by 'Alād-Dīn, which event is noteworthy as being the first appearance of the Muhammadans in the Deccan it was given back to its Rāja Ramchandra who rebelled, was subdued by Naib Malik Kafur taken prisoner and sent to Dihli whence he was restored to his kingdom. Finally in 1338 (739 A.H.) Muhammad Fughlaq Shah

country, and was buried in the city of Daulatābād where his tomb is well known, and is visited as a shrine of sanctity.

'Ārif Jāmī,¹ may his resting-place be sanctified, says—

Those two parrots from whose birth
Hindustān was filled with sugar,
Became at last a mark for the arrow of the sky
And were silenced and prisoned in the cage of earth.

SULTĀN SHIHĀBU-D-DĪN IBN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN KHILJĪ

202. Who was a child, ascended the throne as a puppet in the month of Shawwāl, 715 A.H. (1316 A.D.) by the exertions, and with the consent of Malik Nāib, and was styled by the above title. He sent Malik Ikhtiyārū-d-Dīn Sanbal to the fortress of Gwāliār to put out the eyes of Khizr Khān and Shādi Khān. He also caused the mother of Khizr Khān, Malika-i-Jahān, to be imprisoned, and confiscated all her property, and having thrown the Shāhzāda, whose name was Mubārak Khān, into prison, intended to put out his eyes, but fate did not second his efforts.

deserted Dihlī for Deogiri which he renamed Daulatābād and issued stringent orders to all the inhabitants of Dihlī to remove to the new capital.

Ibn Batūṭa (Paris Edn. IV. 46) who visited at this time, compares it to the former capital, and say that the citadel was named دیوگیر. This was evidently the old name of the city, Deogir as we should probably read دیوگیر.

1 Nūru-d-Dīn 'Abdu-r-Rahmān was born in 817 A.H. (1414 A.D.) at Jām Khurāsān, whence he took the name of Jāmī.

His father's name was Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Alīmad. He was from his earliest years distinguished for his mental powers, and at the early age of five received the name of Nūru-d-Dīn (Light of the Faith) and later he was known as Maulānā. He became very famous and attained to the highest dignity attainable by a mystic, that of 'Ārif. He wrote many works in poetry, grammar and theology, among others the *Haft Aurang*, a series of seven poems, viz., *Silsilatu-l-Zahab*, The golden chain; *Qissā-i-Salāmān wa Absāl*, Story of Salāmān and Absāl; *Tuhfatu-l-Akrar*; The Offering to the Wise; *Subhatu-l-abrār*, Rosary of the Pious; *Yūsuf wa Zuleikha*, Yusuf and Zuleikha; *Lailī wa Majnūn*, Lailī and Majnūn *Khirad Nāma*, Book of Wisdom.

He died in the year 898 H. (1492 A.D.)

See: Ḥāfi Khālidah 14412. *Yusuf and Zuleikha* (Griffith's Preface.) Beale (Dict. of Or. Biog.). p. 132.

When his attempts to uproot the family of 'Alāu d-Dīn became known, two sirdars named Mubāsh̄ir and Bāsh̄ir in concert with a body of *pākhs* of the garrison of the Hazār Satūn palace, one night murdered Malik Nāib¹

Verse.

If thou doest evil, hope not for good,
For never wilt thou gather grapes from thorns,
I do not imagine that thou who hast sown barley in autumn
When harvest comes wilt gather in wheat

Then, having released Shāhzāda Mubārak Khān from prison, they appointed² him to be Nāib to Sultān Shihābu-d-Dīn in place of Malik Nāib. Mubārak Khān carried on the affairs of the state for one or two months after that, and succeeded in conciliating the Amirs and Maliks. Then he sent Sultān Shihābu d-Dīn to the fortress of Gwāliār where he finally died in the year 716 H³

Verse.

No one has ever seen a trace of fidelity in Time,
Everyone who seeks fidelity from Time is in error

The Sirdārs having put some of these *pākhs* to death,⁴ scattered the rest of them in all directions 203

Verse.

Good requites good, and evil meets with evil,
This is the way of the world — requital of actions

And the period of the reign of Shihābu d-Dīn was three months and a few days

SULTĀN QUTBU D DĪN MUBĀRAK SHAH IBN 'ALAU-D DĪN KHILJI
Ascended the throne of Dihli with the consent of the Amirs

¹ Thirty five days after the death of 'Alau d Din (Barni) i.e., 716 H (1316 A.D.)

² MS (A) مصوب گردانیده اند

³ There is a difference here of great importance between the printed text and the MS. The former has 710 H while MS (A) reads 716 H which is correct, as is seen from the *Nuh Siphr* of Mir Khusru

⁴ MS (A) معاشر، علیم

With regard to the succession of Shihābu d-Dīn, see Firishta who describes him by the name of 'Umar Khan (Briggs' *Firishta* I 383). His full name was Shihābu d-Dīn 'Umar according to Mir Khusru

and Vazirs in the early part of the year 717, II.¹ and apportioning appointments and suitable *jāegīrs* among his most trusted Amirs, specially distinguished by promoting to high office one Hasan, Barāwar bacha,² who was very handsome, and had been brought as a captive from Mālwa. He had been the *protégé* of Malik Shādi Nāib-i-Khāṣṣ, the *Hājib* of Sultān ‘Alān-d-Dīn.³

He gave him the title of Khusrū Khān. The tribe of Barāwar⁴ are a family of servile position in Gujrāt; but now in the kingdom of Dihli, the Sultān, to such an extent was he infatuated by his beautiful face, raised him, in spite of his unfitness for the office, to the trusted post of Vazir.

Verse.

If thou desirest thy kingdom to be glorious
 Give not high office to an upstart;
 Unless thou wishest that thy state should be ruined
 Entrust not thy affairs to the inexperienced.

And Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn, inasmuch as he had undergone the affliction of imprisonment, on the very first day of his reign had all the prisoners liberated, and appointed Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā the Son of Ghāzī Malik, who eventually was entitled Muhammād ‘Ādil, to be *Mīr Ākhor*.⁵

In the first year of his reign he contemplated the conquest of Deogir otherwise called Daulatābād,⁶ but his Amirs opposed and dissuaded him.

¹ So also the *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhi* of Barnī, but Khusrū in both the *‘Ashīqā* and *Nuh Sipihr*, says the beginning of 716 II. In the latter poem the date is specifically stated to have been the 24th of Muḥarram, 716 H. But Firishta says the 7th of Muḥarram, and the editor states in a footnote to the translation of the *Nuh Sipihr*, that in some loose extracts the date is 717 H.

² Alāu-d-Dīn having died on the 7th Shawwāl 715 and Shihābu-d-Dīn having reigned three months and a few days, would bring the accession of Qutbu-d-Dīn to about the middle or end of Muḥarram 716, so that we may consider this as the correct date unless there was an interregnum of a whole year, of which there is no evidence.

³ MS. (A).

³ MS. (A) omits ، after خاص.

⁴ MS. (A).

⁵ Master of the Horse. Akhor is a Turkish word signifying stable. Cf. Akhtā, a Turkī word signifying, a gelding.

⁶ See p. 271 note 6.

Verses

It was not deemed expedient, from motives of wisdom,
 That the world's king should move from his place,
 Who knows, what are the hidden designs of evil wishers,
 Or who, in all sincerity, is well disposed to the king ?

204.

In the year 718 II (1318 A D) Saltān Qutbū d Dīn sent Sar
 Sulīh Kōtīāl¹ with orders to proceed to Gwīhār and put to
 death Khūzī Khān and Shādi Khān. Having done this he sum-
 moned Dewāl Rām and included her in his harem. With
 reference to this Mir Khusīū writes

Verses

In short one who is acquainted with the secret of this mystery
 In this way opened the door of this treasury of secrets,
 That when the Sultan Mubārak Shah in cruelty
 Turned against his own birth and kin with anger and frown-
 ing,
 He considered that the interests of the country demanded
 their murder,
 And thought that they deserved the sharp sword
 His object was to empty the country of noble men by malici-
 ous enterprise
 Secretly he sent a messenger to Khūzī Khan
 Making treacherous protestations of hearty good will
 Saying, Oh thou shining light who removest far from the
 assembly,
 Thy body ill at ease and thy countenance without light,
 Thou knowest that this is none of my doing,
 The oppressed remains while the oppressor disappears
 If thou art imprisoned, by the Lord of the world
 When the time comes he himself will loosen these bonds.
 In this matter haste and anxiety are not fitting,
 An elephant extricates itself from the mire by patient en-
 deavour
 Now, we too are engaged in plumbing this matter
 So that by clever contrivance we may free you from that
 captivity

¹ "A rottan named Shādi (Mir Khusrū E and D III 655)

If thou art fitted to become a king
 We will make thee ruler over a wide kingdom.
 But the affection for some one which springs in thy heart
 Is not fitted for the loftiness of thy ambition.
 Dewal Rānī who is but a handmaiden to thee,
 For whom even were the moon needed as handmaid this were
 an easy matter,
 I have heard that she is so dear to thee
 That thy cypress-like form stoops to kiss her feet.
 This is not fitting that from shortsightedness
 The king should be enslaved by a slave.
 The gourd is in any case of no account in the garden
 That it should attempt to raise its head in emulation of the
 205. *Ohinār.*

A straw which places its foot upon the face of the stream
 Is carried hither and thither by the wind and buffeted by the
 floods.¹
 [My heart's desire makes this request, that thou should'st give
 up that mistress of thine.]
 Since she went from here, send her back hither again
 Send her to take her place at the foot of my throne.
 When the infatuation of thy mind is somewhat less
 We will send her back to thee to be thy handmaid.
 When the messenger went and took back the message
Khizr Khān's heart no longer enjoyed any rest.
 First he wept tears of blood which flooded his eyes and lips,
 Then he sent back an answer mingled with blood
 Saying, since the Shāh has attained his ambition in becoming
 a sovereign,
 He must leave Dewal Rānī to me.
 If however you desire to deprive me of this wealth
 You desire to see me despoiled of wealth and light.
 Since this heart's delight holds her head as high as mine
 Cut off my head, afterwards thou wilt know.
 When the messenger, from that grief-stricken soul

¹ Here follows in the text the following verse given above in brackets.
 تمنای دل ما میکند خواست که زان زانو نشین برواید خاست

With a footnote saying that this verse is in the 'Ashīqa but in none of the three MSS. It is also not in MS. (A.)

Bore those fiery sighs to the palace of the king,
The Emperor waxed wrath from head to foot
From his heart he smiled, as lightning smiles in the cloud,
The flame of the fire of ¹ enmity shot forth,
He who sought a pretext, was provided with a new one ²
In anger he sent for Sar Salahi (the Kotwāl)
Saying you must travel this day before nightfall a hundred
 krohs,
Go to Gwāhār at this moment without delay,
And with the sword cut off the heads of the lions of the
 country,
That I may be safe from the nobles of the country,
Because this disturbance small as it is, risks the existence of
 the country
At his order the tyrant set out,
The pigeon was tied ³ by the foot and the hawk hungry.
In that day and night he travelled several leagues
He arrived and again imprisoned him intending (to kill him) ⁴
He made known the orders he had received from the throne,
The garrison of the fort set about carrying out this severe
 measure,
The ruthless soldiery entered shamelessly ⁵ into that pure 206.
 place of chastity,
The veiled ladies ⁶ were thrown into consternation and screamed
 so that the roof and doors shook with their cries
In that palace every arrow like beam ⁷ became curved like a
 bow,
The day of resurrection became a guest in that Paradise,
From the corners of the rooms in great consternation
The male lions leapt forth in wrath,

¹ MS (A) reads شعلہ کیں زد ریا دره

² MS (A) reads بھای حوری را زند بھا دے

³ MS (A) مدد The text has a misprint مدد

⁴ The text is wrong here MS (A) reads correctly

رسیدہ و ندد کرد اور بو بادگ

⁵ MS (A) نہ بی آئی

⁶ MS (A) درو پوشیدگیں

⁷ تیر ۲ has here the two meanings of arrow, and rafter or beam,

The arms had lost their strength, and the bodies their power,
Force was dead, and wit had sunk to sleep.¹

Shādi Khān Wali waxed wrath, and sought aid from the
protection of God most High.

Nimbly he leapt upon the Kotwāl and fought with him for a
long time, threw him to the ground and sought for a sword
wherewith to slay him.

Inasmuch as he had lost his sword of victory

What did that unattainable strength avail him ?

Allies ran up to help him from right and left

They fell one after the other and that fallen one rose up.

Each fierce (lion) was attacked by ten dogs.²

See how the dogs vent their wrath upon the lions,

Hey for the meanness of the cowardly sky

That permits dogs to hunt lions !

When they had forcibly bound those two prosperous chieftains,

The time bound the hands of fortune and prosperity.

Those wondrous men fell into disgrace,

Blood-reeking swords appeared on every side

When the murderous clashing of daggers was heard,

The blood-thirsty murderer appeared from the door,

Hard as a rock,³ source of grief, though his name was Shādi
(Joy)

As repulsive as the document of a dowry, and the grief
arising from debt.

Artful enough to depose Dajjāl⁴ from his place,

١ توان مرده خرد درخواب رفت. MS. (A).

٢ بهریک شرڑھ دھگان سک بیاویخت. MS. (A).

٣ جمادی (A).

٤ الدخال. دجال Al-Masīḥa-l-Kazzāb. Ad-Dajjāl called also

The false Christ or Antichrist who is to appear as one of the signs preceding the resurrection. Cf. 2 Thess. ii. So called according to some because he will cover the earth with his adherents like as the tar covers the body of the mangy camel, the word دجل dajala in Arabic having the primary meaning of smearing with tar.

According to others he is so called because of his lying (secondary meaning of دجل) in arrogating to himself godship; or again from دجل dajala in the twofold signification of "covering" (truth with falsehood) or "gilding," see Lane s. v.

Hideous enough to make Satan forgetful of his own ugliness,
 On each side of his face was gathered a dark cloud,¹
 From every hair sprang a sword ²
 Fierce wrath as cutting as the executioner's sword,
 A glance as piercing as the chisel of Farhād,³
 His lips writhed in an angry smile,
 Through wrath searing his lips between his teeth
 His one desire and wish was revenge and punishment,
 From head to foot a statue of hatred and scorn,

207.

According to the *Mishkāt*, Dajjal will be the second of the ten signs or tokens which are to precede the resurrection. After three of these signs have occurred, namely, the rising of the sun in the west the coming of Dajjal, and the appearance of the beast which is to emerge from the mountain of Sifāh, repentance will no longer avail anything.

The coming of Dajjal is to be a time of calamity such as has never before been known. He is of low stature though bulky, with splay feet, blind, with the flesh even on one side of his face without the mark of an eye. His right eye is blind, like the seed of a grape, and the word *كُفْر* *kufr*, infidelity, is written between his eyes, he is to appear from the middle of a road between Syria and Iraq and will mislead on the right hand and on the left. The repetition of the Chapter of the Cow (Qur'an XVIII) will be a means of repelling his wickedness. He will not be able to enter either Mecca or Medina. His stay upon earth is to last forty days, one day equal to a year, and another day equal to a month, another day like a week and rest of the days like ordinary days. Dajjal will it is said bestow great abundance upon those who believe in him, but sorely afflict those who reject him. He is to perform miracles such as killing a youth by severing him in two with a sword and restoring him to life. Then Jesus will descend from heaven and will destroy Dajjal at the entrance to a village called *Lud* in Palestine. The Jews of Isfahan will follow Dajjal before whose coming there will be three years during the first of which the sky will withhold one third of its rain and the earth one third of her productions during the second the sky will withhold two thirds and the earth two thirds, during the third neither sky nor earth will yield rain nor produce and every animal in the earth will die. He will then come forth upon a white ass, the space between the ears of which is seventy feet.

¹ His whiskers ² MS (A) *كَسِير* The text reads *كَسِير*

³ *فَارِهَاد* See Beale Dict Or Bieg p 87 for the story of Farhād who in order to gain the lovely Shirin with whom he was madly in love, attempted to cut through a mountain, he was on the point of completing his labour when false intelligence was sent to him by the husband of Shirin that she was dead, whereupon he cast himself headlong and was dashed in pieces.

When he gave the signal and brandished his sword on all sides¹
 Not one leapt like lightning from that mass of clouds.

May God have mercy !

How could anyone draw the sword of revenge upon that
 crowd of moonlike faces.

Whose heart would not be torn with distracting grief

In pity for so many young and beautiful men ?

Oh Lord ! may the breast of heaven be rent a hundredfold
 To think that it has brought so many noble ones to the dust.

How can you look for pity for the blood he sheds, in the heart
 of the butcher ?

Whose one desire is to see his knife stained with blood.

When the bloody butcher binds roses upon his head,

Why should he withhold his knife from the rose-like body ?

Since no one of them desired that the sword should succeed
 in shedding their blood,²

There leapt from their midst like a whirlwind

A man of low origin, a Hindū by birth

Dusky of hue, like to Ahriman,³

Nay ! a thousand Ahrimans would stand aghast at his face ;

Grief-increasing like the pleasure of those in distress,

Wrong in judgment like the intellect of young people ;

Unlucky to look upon as a young owl,

Like a morning in Dai⁴ at Ghaznī cold and inhospitable ;

Like the night of sorrow his forehead full of gloom,

Like the nature of a wicked man, accursed.

A lip like the sole of a ploughman's foot,

A cheek like the mouth of a man with paralysis ;

That hideous one had a mouth like a helmet,

His smile like the yawning of a burst shoe ;

Long whiskers twisted over his ears

1 MS. (A) تیغ خون راند و هرسو اشارت کرد.

2 MS. A تیغ خون را.

3 Ahrimān, the Satan of the Persians, is said in their traditions to have . been born out of the thought of the Almighty and of his pride in the world, while the first man (whom they call Gayōmarth) was born from the sweat of the brow of the Almighty wiped off in bewilderment at the sight of Ahrimān. See Albirūnī (*Chron.*) p. 107.

4 The tenth month of the Persian year. See Albirūnī (*Chron.*) p. 52. It answers to our month of December.

His whiskers taking the place of the ring in the slave's ear,
 Lightly he leapt out from the line of warriors,
 [You would think that a wave of blood would burst from him, 208
 His skirt tucked up in his wrathful haste, his sleeves drawn
 back for bloodshed]¹

He demanded a well tempered sword from his officer,²
 Drew it, and tightened up the skirt of his tunic,
 [The head of that cypress like noble fell from his shoulders
 He who was renowned for his youth and beauty]³
 Martyrdom was evident⁴ in Khur in that palace,
 Just as the tree praises God when its branches put forth leaves
 The heaven kept lamenting over his punishment,
 The angels continually assisted him in his martyrdom,
 Rizwan threw open the gates of Paradise,
 All the Huris began to sing his praises
 From that martyr's shout of triumph which came forth from
 the Shāh,
 The sun and moon joined in the martyr's song
 When the dagger was raised aloft and the Shāh's face was
 seen amid its clustering locks,
 Lamentation arose in that assembly like⁵ the roll of thunder,
 The sun made his body a shield to protect him,
 But Fate turned it on one side from before him
 When the sword of Fate severs the cord of Hope,
 Neither sun nor moon can become a shield for thee,
 With one blow which that ruthless one struck
 He made the Shāh's head a guest in his bosom
 To wash away the blood, the revolving water wheel of the sky
 Required that the spring of the sun should yield all its blood,
 But since there was no longer a breath of life in his body,
 Of what avail was it to wash the blood from the surface of it.
 Dewal Rani, who was a woman of dignity and beauty,
 Was the lifespring of Khur Khan's existence

¹ A footnote to the text states that these lines are not in either MS MS (A) contains them

² MS (A) در میانندگ

³ These lines are not in the text MS (A) reads

او آمد گردن سر و گرا می * که از سر سدری خود دود نامی

⁴ MS (A) شهادت حامت

⁵ MS (A) چون رعد

Since the Khizr of the sky had lain in ambush to slay him
 That very well of life¹ of his became the sword of enmity.
 When we look in this crystal globe carefully
 Many life giving springs are also fatal to their Khizr.
 The soul of the lover was poured out with his life blood,
 But still was hovering round about the beloved one.
 A rose from which thou hast tasted a pearl of dew,
 Thou wilt shed thy blood² for it a hundred times.
 Instead of rose water they drew his heart's blood from that
 rose,
 See how they (mercilessly) robbed him of his blood !

And when the foundation stone of this edifice of his destruction
 of the family of 'Alāu-d-Din was laid, the question was asked of
 a devotee, why this should be ? His reply was because 'Alāu-d-Din
 had cast a firebrand into the family³ of the uncle of his bene-
 factor, and as a consequence similar treatment had been meted out
 to his own family.

Verse.

209. In this full voiced, ro-echoing dome (the world)
 Whatever speech you utter that same will you hear.

At all events, after the usurpation by Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn, all
 the rules and regulations made by 'Alāu-d-Dīn, each of which
 embodied some wise purpose or far-seeing design, were thrown
 into confusion, and dissoluteness and wickedness, contumacy and
 rebellion sprang anew to life during the reign of Sultān Qutbū-d-
 Dīn, who threw open the doors of license and gratification of
 desires to the people ; and when Malik Kamālu-d-Dīn Garg, after
 that Alf Khān had been summoned to the presence and had been
 executed, proceeded to Gujrāt where he attained martyrdom,
 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī was nominated by the Court,⁴ and having
 quelled the disturbance there regained possession⁵ of Nahrwāla
 and all the country of Gujrāt, Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn married the

دیوں رانی ۱.

خون خود (A) MS.

³ MS. (A) reads خاندان instead of خان و مان and خانمان in place of خانمان.

نامزد شہ ۴.

در ضبط آورد و (A) MS.

daughter of Malik Dinar, and having given¹ him the title of Zafar Khan sent him to Gujrat. He performed² the important duties of that province better and more satisfactorily than 'Alau-l-Mulk.

In the year 718 H (1318 A.D.) Sultan Qutbu-d-Din marched for Deogir with a larger army, and the Rais of that country were not able to stand against him.

He slewed³ Harpal Deo who had rebelled during the time which followed the death of Rim Deo.⁴ The country of the Marhattas also fell into the hands of Qutbu d Din who, having given Khushu Khan the canopy and staff of office ordered him to proceed to Ma'bar, and having left Yakkhu in Deogir as Naib, returned to Dihli. Near Badra-i-Sakun⁵ Malik Asadu d Din ibn Yaghrib Khan who was called Malik Khamush, and who was the uncle's son of Sultan 'Alau d Din, was smitten with the ambition of chieftainship,⁶ and plotted a rebellion against the Sultan, who however was warned⁷ of this design by one of his loyal adherents and gave orders for the immediate execution of Malik Asadu d Din. He also sent orders that twenty of the relations of 210 Yaghrib Khan who were aware of this conspiracy⁸ some of whom were children, should be executed, and when he reached Jhain he sent Shadi Kath⁹ his chief captain to Gwalior to bring the family and relations of the murdered Khur Khan and Sladi Khan with the remainder of the harem of 'Alau d Din to Dihli, after having

¹ MS (A) inserts واریا

² MS A درگرد The textual reading is preferable

³ The Sultan ordered him to be slain and his skin to be hung over the gate of Deogir.

⁴ MS (A) omits اس

⁵ Called Ghat-i-Sakun by Barni

⁶ MS (A) reads سری

⁷ MS (A) حضردار گردایید

⁸ There is a direct opposition here between the parallel text and the MS. The latter MS (A) writes اس واقعہ حضردار شنید, and this is adopted as it seems more reasonable than that entirely innocent persons should have been put to death though the statement that some were children is in keeping with the reading of the text. This latter is moreover supported by the statement of Barni. They had no knowledge whatever of the conspiracy, but were all seized and slaughtered like sheep.

⁹ MS (A) reads شادی کند Sladi Kath and this is the name given also in Barni's history. Neither the text nor the alternative reading given in its footnote is correct.

killed Sultān Shihābū-d-Dīn, which he carried out. Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn was led by the fact that Khizr Khān had been a disciple of the Sultān-i-Mashāikh Nizāmū-d-Dīn Auliyā, to regard that holy Shaikh with suspicion and distrust, and in opposition to the wishes of the holy Shaikh, sent for Shaikh Ruknū-d-Dīn from Multān, and honoured Shaikhzada-i-Jām, who was one of the opponents of Shaikh (Nizāmu-d-Dīn) with special distinction.

Verse.

When God¹ desires to openly disgrace any man
He leads him to abuse those of holy and pure nature;
And if God desires to hide the sins of any man
He leads him to talk little about the sins of other sinners.

His habits also underwent great change, and his heart emboldened him to walk in the valley of bloodshed as his father had done, so that rivers of blood began to flow, and he put to death without any cause Zafar Khān Wali of Gujerāt.

In the mean while Yaklakhī had prepared a rebellion in Deogir, and had arranged to assume the insignia of royalty. At last when Khusrū Khān reached Deogir, the men of the army who had been sent to Deogir seized Yaklakhī and made him over to Khusrū Khān, who sent him bound to Dihlī where he was executed. The Sultān² also put to death Malik Shāhīn who was known by the title of Wafā Malik, without any reason save the representations of some intriguers.

In these days the Sultān used generally to array himself in women's garments, and adorning himself like them with gold and jewels, used to give public audience. Moreover he openly indulged in drinking and other forms of vice, inter marem feminamque discrimen nullomodo facere solebat.

Verse.

Statura cuiusvis ut littera *Alif* erecta, idem quod litteræ *Dāl* et *Nūn* incurvescebat, adeo *Alif* in rimam omnium inserebat.

¹ MS. (A) omits the word *لله* in error.

² MS. (A) omits the word *وله* but it appears to be required.

He used to command buffoons and jesters to insult with jest and witticisms his most trusted and eminent Amirs, as for instance 'Ainul Mulk Multuni and Qarabeg who held fourteen appointments, and summoning them for that purpose to the roof of the Hazar Sutun palace, they used to perform low buffooneries, et nudifici, gestu turpi et obsceno, in vestes nobilium honoritorum mingebrunt Thus he prepared everything that was necessary for the downfall of the kingdom.

Verse

There was the rose, the leaf adorned it too

And the kingdom seemed to say —

Oh ! King what can come to pass from wine bibbers
 What too can come to pass from unrestrained lust
 The king maddened by lust, the empire ruined, the enemy
 before and behind

It is only too plain in such a case, what must come to pass
 And after the murder of Zafar Khan, he raised Husamuddin
 who was half brother¹ to Khusru Khan to succeed to the position 212
 enjoyed by Zafar Khan and nominated him to proceed to Gujarat
 Husamuddin collected together the Burawar² crew from all
 parts of that country and nursed a scheme of rebellion in his
 brain The Amirs of Zafar Khan's party³ however seized him
 and sent him to Dihli The Sultan led by the feelings he ente-
 tained towards Khusru Khan took no steps to punish him but
 had him set at liberty on the instant and gave him extraordinary
 privileges Then he appointed Malik Wajiduddin⁴ Quraishi,
 to Gujarat in place of Husamuddin He it was who was the

¹ Barni calls him درادر مادر which the translator renders maternal uncle
 But if our text is correct it would appear that he was not but درادر مادری that is to say half brother by the same mother, but by a different father This is the meaning of the word درادر احبابی here used, and would further account for Barni later on calling him baseborn

² MS (A) درادر

³ MS (A) طور حان

⁴ Thus the printed text. Barni also calls him Wajiduddin so I have adopted this reading MS (A) reads وحید الدین Wajiduddin

cause of the arrest of Yaklakhī.¹ Khusrū Khān having arrived on the frontier of Telinga, and having blockaded the Rāi of that country in one of his fortresses, accepted several head of elephants² with treasure and valuables beyond all power of computation as a present from him, and moved his camp towards the Maithili country,³ and having gained possession of nine hundred and twenty elephants and a diamond weighing six dirams, came into the country of Ma'bar, and relying on that⁴ wealth entertained the idea of disobedience and rebellion, and obtaining permission to remain there, put to death several Amīrs whom he had with him. Malik Talbīgha Yaghda⁵ and Malik Talbīgha Nāgorī and Malik Hājī Nāib, with certain other Amīrs of the Sultān's party, becoming aware of his secret intentions threw him by force into a litter, and, marching with all haste by forced marches, conveyed him from Deogīr to Dihli in seven days and acquainted the Sultān with his nefarious designs. Khusrū Khān however in the private apartment of the palace where he enjoyed the special companionship of the Sultān, gained him over by artful and specious representations, and fully persuaded the Sultān of the villainy of the Amīrs.⁶ The Sultān took his words as Gospel, so greatly was he influenced and controlled by him, and was incensed against the Amīrs, censured them⁷ severely and subjected them to many indignities, and although they brought forward many veracious witnesses in support of their allegations it was all of no use, and the wretched witnesses were severely punished.

213. The story of Farazdaq the poet fits in with this, namely when he accompanied by his wife, appealed to the Khalifah of Baghdād, he got Ja'far the Barmecide, to plead for him, and used his wife Zubeida Khātūn as an intermediary. Hārūn the Khalifah was

¹ The printed text has simply لکھی but MS. (A) reads يكھی يکلکھی. Yaklakhī. Yakalakhī it will be remembered, had been appointed Governor of Deogīr after Harpāl Deo had been taken and put to death. According to Barnī, Yaklakhī was "an old servant of 'Alān-d-Dīn, who for many years was nāib of the barīds" (couriers). Yaklakhī now revolted and was arrested by Wahīdu-d-Dīn.

² MS. (A) omits.

³ MS. (A) جرکت نمود و.

⁴ MS. (A) بوقت آن امور.

⁵ MS. (A) reads thus. Barnī calls him Mālik Talbagha Yaghda.

⁶ MS. (A) omits سلطان خاطرنشان.

⁷ MS. (A) omits ایشان ب.

favourably disposed towards Zubeida, and passed orders in accordance with the petition of the wife of Farazdaq¹. He accordingly wrote these lines —

An advocate who appears before thee clothed
Is not like one who comes before thee naked²

That is to say an intercessor who comes near thee wearing drawers will not be so influential as she who comes naked. From that day this became a proverbial saying among the Arabs.

As soon as Khusūn Khan became quite assured in all ways of his predominant influence over the Sultān, he gave orders for the assembly of all his tribe from Gujrāt and began to introduce them into the service of the Sultān. The Sultan reposed entire confidence both in him³ and in his family, and gave up the reins of Government absolutely into his hands,⁴ abandoning himself to rioting and debauchery⁵.

¹ Abu Fīrās Hammām or Humāim the son of Ghālib surnamed Abul Akhtal was a celebrated poet of the tribe of Tamīm. He was commonly known as Al Farazdaq because of his stern and forbidding countenance. The meaning of Farazdaq is said to be a lump of dough which has been kneaded (Freytag *Hamasah* II 555). It was a nick name given him according to Ibn Kutaibah on account of his ugly face. He further states however that he was so called on account of his short and dumpy stature which made him be compared to the crust (*farażdīqa*) with which women polish their teeth. But the first explanation is best, because the poet caught the small pox and when he recovered his face remained deformed and wrinkled (Ibn Khall do Slane III 623).

² Read مُسْتَرًا for بُزُلًا which appears to be intended for بُزُلًا. The occasion on which these lines were spoken was, according to Ibn Khalīqān, when Nawār the granddaughter of Dabua wished to marry one of the Qarnāsh tribe, and asked Al Farazdaq to act as her legal guardian because he was the son of her uncle. He however availed himself of a formal promise given by her to abide by his decision as to her affairs to say he would marry her himself. Nawār was very angry at this and went to 'Abdullah ibn az Zubair sovereign of Hijaz and 'Irāq to obtain redress. Al Farazdaq set out also. They stopped at different houses. Al Nawār stayed with al Khanla, wife of Abdullah ibn az Zubair, and Al Farazdaq with Hamza their son. Al Khanla interceded for al Nawār, and her intercession prevailed over that of Hamza whereupon Farazdaq spoke as above (Ibn Khall (do Slane) III 624).

³ MS. اعتماد قائم در او و قبیله او نمود و (۱)

⁴ MS. (A) omits دار

⁵ MS. (۱) مشغول شد

Verse.

214. Casting aside the Qur'ān and the sword
Taking instead to the cup and flagon.

The attendants who were loyal to the state were struck dumb and were compelled by the necessity for time-serving to throw themselves upon the protection of Khusrū Khān,

Verse.

If the times give the reins of authority to a wolf,
You must save yourself by saying, God save you Sir !

And the family of Barāwar¹ gained entire control of the Court of the Sultān, and used to assemble by day and by night at the house of Khusrū Khān to plot sedition and rebellion against the Sultān, and when Qāzī Ziāu-d-Din, who was known as Qāzī Khān, made these facts known, the Sultān who was the slave of his lust immediately summoned Khusrū Khān in private,² and informed him of what had been said, whereupon Khusrū Khān said, the people see the great kindness which the Sultān shews me and regard it as excessive, and from motives of jealousy falsely accuse me. The Sultān believed him and³ made over to him the keys of the royal treasury and of all the other store-houses as well : Khusrū Khān⁴ regarded this as a proof of his complete ascendancy deduced from it a favourable omen for his future :—

Verse.

When he saw his affairs so prosperous
He considered that omen as a proof of victory ;
From that favourable omen the heart of Khusrū Khān,
Like a strong mountain, became firmly established.

Eventually, one night the Sultān was holding a drinking party in the company of Khusrū Khān, and the Amīrs of the guards withdrew from their posts. Qāzī Khān came down from the roof of the Hazār Sutūn palace and was engaged in examining if the doors were safe, and the guards posted.

¹ MS. براو (A).

² MS. (A) adds دخلوت.

³ MS. (A) مسپرد او کرد و صدیق.

⁴ MS. (A).

In the meantime one Randhol¹ the uncle of Khusrū Khān 215. with a body of the Barāwas, having daggers concealed under their arms came upon Qāzī Khān, and kept him engaged in talk on one way and another, till, taking him off his guard, they stabbed him and despatched him as a martyr to his abode in Paradise. There was a great uproar,² and the Sultān, who at that moment had no other companion than Khusrū Khān, enquired what was the tumult. Khusrū Khān rose from beside him and went out to instigate his followers to murder the Sultān, then returned and said that some of the horses of the stud had broken loose, and were fighting among themselves. At this moment Jāhiriyā the uncle of Khusrū Khān approached the Hazār Satūn with a party of his men, and having assassinated Ibrāhim and Ishāq who were on guard at the palace, made for the Sultān. The Sultān rising,³ half intoxicated as he was, ran towards the haram, Khusrū Khān caught him from behind by the hair of his head, and as the Sultān was begging him to aid his escape Jāhiriyā arrived, aimed a blow at the Sultān wounding him in the side, then with his sword cutting off the Sultān's head⁴ threw it down below from the roof of the palace.

Verse.

The bed of that dear one was one of thorns
For his brocaded bed led to his ruin.

When the populace saw what had occurred, every one of them went into hiding and there was dismay in all quarters. Putting to death some of the Amirs at the door of the palace, the Barāwas entered the Sultān's haram and tore Farid Khān and Mangū Khān, the two infant sons of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, from their mother's arms and cut off their heads, and committed every kind of violence they wished, and in one moment scattered to the four winds all the honour and glory of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Qutbu-d-Dīn.

Verse.

In one hour, in one moment, in one instant⁵
The whole course of the world becomes changed.

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¹ MS. (A). رندھول.

² MS. (A) omits بلند.

³ MS. (A). بو خاستہ.

⁴ MS. (A). سر مسلمان را.

⁵ MS. (A) has بیک بیک ساعت بیک دم بیک اعظم.

And when they had glutted themselves with murder and rapine, they sent for certain of the Amirs namely 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī, and Malik Fakhrū-d-Dīn Jūnā, by whom is meant Sultān Muhammād ibn Tughlāq Shāh, and Malik Wahidu-d-Dīn Quraishi with the two sons of Qarābeg and other notable Amirs, and kept them all that night till morning upon the roof of the Hazār Sūtūn; and when it was day they made all the 'Ulamā and chief men of the city swear allegiance to Khusrū Khān, and read the *Khuṣbah* in his name. By craft they got the upper hand of a certain party whom they suspected of being opposed to them, and sent them to the world of non-existence, and made over the family of Qāzī Zīān-d-Dīn Qāzī Khān,¹ all except his wife who fled,² to the aforesaid Randhol.³

Husāmu-d-Dīn, the brother by the mother's side of Khusrū Khān, was given the title of Khān-i-Khānān and Randhol⁴ became Rā'i-i-Rāiyān, and the harams of Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn and the other princes and relatives they divided among themselves. Khusrū Khān took to himself⁵ in marriage the chief wife of the Sultān. These events happened in the year 720, H. (1320 A.D.) and the duration of the reign of Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn was four⁶ years and some months.

Verse.

Since the world began so it has been, and so will always be,
To everyone the end of all things will be as this.

NĀSIRU-D-DĪN KHUSRŪ KHĀN

Whose name at the first was Hasan Barwabacha, in the aforesaid year sat upon the throne of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Qutbu-d-Dīn, by the co-operation of his own tribe; and the Amirs who have already been mentioned, whether they would or no, were constrained to give in their allegiance to him, and addressed him by this title. The rites and ceremonies of Islām tended towards neglect while Hindu customs and heathen observances obtained currency.⁷ Idolatry and devastation of mosques became wide-

¹ MS. (A) omits و.

² میخت (A).

³ MS. (A) رندھول.

⁴ میخول (A).

⁵ MS. (A) در.

⁶ MS. (A) reads ۴۰.

⁷ MS. (A) راج گرفت.

spread, and although Khusrū Khān, to conciliate the people scattered gold and lavished presents on all sides so that in a short time he squandered the greater part of the treasure of Alāu-d-Dīn and the wealth which Qutbū-d-Dīn had amassed,

Verse.

Who was it had acquired the wealth,
Who was it squandered it ?

still the hearts of great and small were not so attuned to this disloyalty and irreligion of his that he could bring them into harmony with his own.

And in the year 721 A.H. (1321 A.D.) Khusrū Khān put out the eyes of certain of the offspring of 'Alāu-d-Dīn, for instance Abūbakr Khān, and 'Ali Khān, and Bahādur Khān,¹ and gained over^{*} certain of the Amirs, such as 'Ainul Mulk and some others.

The Hindūs gained ground and increased their influence in most of the provinces, and a torrent of destruction swept suddenly upon the followers of Islām and destroyed their wealth and property, giving their families to the wind of extinction.

The affair of the Ghuzz which had happened in the time of Sultān Sinjar² was forgotten, and the state of mankind was expressed by this verse—

Verse.

You will never see your fellowmen happy save at the door
of death,
You will never find a virgin save in the womb of earth.

Khusrū Khān⁴ issued *firmāns* to all the outlying districts and invited the people to side with him, he also bestowed upon Yūsuf 218. Sūfī Azlbacha⁵ the title of Sūfī Khān while Ikhtiyārū-d-Dīn Sanbil was styled Hātim Khān. He also made Kamālu-d-Dīn Sūfī Wakildar, and the son of Quira Qumār 'Arizu-l-Mulk; Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā the son of Ghāzi Malik he appointed Ākkur Beg, and was especially desirous of gaining his good will, with the object of using his influence to induce Ghāzi Malik also, who

¹ MS. (A).

² متفق ساخت.

³ MS. (A) سرچهر.

⁴ MS. (A) omits ج.

⁵ MS. (A) The text reads بیروارچه.

was one of the notable Amirs of 'Alāu-d-Din and was posted to oppose the Mughuls, to leave the frontiers of Dipālpur and fall into his trap. At that time he put into effect every means he could devise and gave 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī for a time the title of 'Ālam Khān. At last having gained over Ghāzī Malik, he wrote a letter¹ expressing his sincerity of purpose, and desiring him when the day of battle should arrive to flee from Dihli to his own country, that is Mālwa, and return when the danger had passed.²

And of the Amirs, some sided with Khusrū Khān out of lust for place and property, but some others were rebellious. When Ghāzī Malik heard this startling news his zeal for Islām and for the preservation of the honour of his benefactor was stirred, so that he girded up his loins for vengeance, and sending despatches to the Maliks of the various districts sought their aid in extirpating that ungrateful wretch. Malik Fakhru-d-Din sent secretly a letter to his father conveying his intention to fly from Dihli and asking for post-horses,³ which in the Hindi tongue are called *dāk chauki*, and for the posting of cavalry escorts at several places along the route.

219. At last one night by the assistance of the Son of Bahram Iba⁴ the governor of Multān and Uchh⁵ he fled from Dihli with a party of horsemen and made his way by forced marches towards Dipālpur.

Verse.

Seated upon that fleet Burāq⁶
He hastened steadfastly with unity of purpose.

1 MS. (A) نوشت مشتمل بر مکتوبی.

2 I read here بعده از قرار گرفتن مراهب although MS. (A) is the same as the text مذهب.

3 *Ulāq* or *Ulāgh* travail sans salaire—cheval—courrier—petit bateau. (Pavet de Courteille).

4 MS. (A) and text footnote.

5 The text has a misprint آنچہ here.

6 The animal upon which Muhammad was mounted during his ascent to heaven known as the معراج (mi'rāj) Qur'ān XVII. i.

In the *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābih* it is thus described, "After this a white animal was brought for me to ride upon. Its size was between that of a

And Ghāzi Malik himself previously to this had sent two hundred cavalry into the fort of Sarsuti When Khusrū Khān awoke from his slumber of neglect he recognized that the departure of Malik Fakhrud Dīn Jūnā was a strong proof of the decline of his own power¹ accordingly he despatched the son of Qorrā Qumār, whom he had appointed 'Āriż-i-Mamālik,² in pursuit of him He proceeded as far as the town of Sarsuti, but on his arrival there was obliged to retrace his steps without finding an opportunity of accomplishing his object, and conveyed to Khusrū Khān tidings regarding the real state of affairs

Ghāzi Malik, after the arrival of his son, was demonstrative³ in his expressions of satisfaction, and gave effect to the aspirations of the Maliks, further by issuing orders for the commencement of the *jihād*⁴ he made amends for the previous delay, and gave full satisfaction to the demands of bravery by marching in the direction of Dihli

Khusrū Khān having bestowed upon his brother Khān-i-Khānān the canopy and staff of office, despatched Sufī Khān with the other Amirs of this canaille against Ghāzi Malik who for many years had done yeoman's service in the various wars with the Mughuls, and had everywhere returned victorious and triumphant But on the other hand Malik Bahrām Iba, the Governor of Multān and Uchh, arrived to reinforce Ghāzi Malik The two armies selected as their field of battle a spot near the reservoir of Thānesar⁵ At the first onset the breeze of victory blew favourably for the armies of Islām, the standards of the infidels

male and an ass and it stretched as far as the eye could see The name of the animal was Buraq' (*Miqkātu l Maṣabīh*, Matthews II 651) The word Buraq signifies brilliant like lightning, or swift as lightning

¹ MS (A) reads درلت مورڈ ² Mustermaster General See p. 291

³ MS (A) مودہ و

⁴ Holy war undertaken in defence of the religion of Islam

⁵ حوض تھا نسرا This is the lake with which one of the alleged derivations of the name *Sthānesvara* is connected viz. *Sthanu* (a name of Maladeo) and Sar a lake See Hunter Imp Gaz XIII 260

This holy lake is situated (says Cunningham) to the South of the town it is called by various names It is the centre of attraction for most pilgrims It was in full repute in A D 500, but in the Pauranic legends is given an antiquity long anterior even to the Pandus themselves, the sacred pool is at least as old as the R g Veda itself (Cunningham, A G India, pp 335 336)

were overthrown, and the adherents of Khusrū Khān abandoning their elephants and horses, and ammunition and standards fled precipitately to Dihli. Ghāzi Malik with all speed pursued and scattered these ungrateful wretches¹ and reached Dihli in one long march.² Khusrū Khān having rallied his scattered and panic stricken forces, opened the doors of the treasury and gave his army three and four years' pay together with large rewards and promises of appointments and governorships; and things being as they were, he brought out from confinement in the *haram* the remainder of the princes of the family of 'Alāu-d-Dīn whom he had blinded, and put them to death; then, led by hostile Fate, he marched on from the city in great force and proceeded to the Hauz-i-Khāss³ where he encamped, his camp extending in one line of tents from the Hauz-i-Khāss to Indrapath,⁴ while Ghāzi Malik encamped in the vicinity of the tomb⁵ of Sultān Razzīya. In the meanwhile 'Ainu-l-Mulk, in accordance with agreement, having deserted the unsuccessful army of Khusrū Khān fled with haste towards Dhār and Ujjain;⁶ his defection was a cause of great despondency to the followers of Khusrū Khān. On the following day the array of battle was drawn up and the followers of the truth engaged in close conflict with the partisans of infidelity, and utterly vanquished the impious horde.

At the outset the army of Khusrū Khān obtained the mastery, and the army of Ghāzi Malik suffered a repulse, but Ghāzi Malik planting firmly the foot of resolution like another Rustum came to the rescue, and with three hundred cavalry, men of tried

۱ MS. (A) کافر نعمتیا۔

² The distance traversed in this march was about 90 miles as the crow flies, a long march but perfectly feasible for cavalry.

³ Barnī says the Hauz-i-'Alāi. The royal lake constructed by 'Alāu-d-Dīn.

⁴ Indrapath. MS. (A) اندرا پستہ۔ Barnī tells us that Ghāzi Malik's force lay encamped at Indrapath so that the two camps were face to face. It lies just outside Dihli. Its etymology, Indraprastha, points it out as the probable place where Indra slew the Vritras with his thunderbolt formed of the head of the horse-headed Dadhyanch (see also Cunningham 335).

⁵ I read here حظیرہ not خطیرہ as in the text and MS. The burial place of Sultān Razzīya is not apparently mentioned in any of the histories, but as she was taken prisoner at Kaithal and put to death there (638. H.) it is not unlikely that she was buried near Indrapath.

۶ MS. (A) شقافت۔

valour, whom he had kept in concealment in an ambush, utterly discomfited the infidel hordes¹ and Malik Talbagha² Nâgor, and the son of Qutra Qumâr³ with the other nobles of that ignoble kingdom, in that battle became food for the sword,⁴ as such hypocritical knaves should. Khusrû Khân brought to bear all temerity and manliness in spite of his unmanly character, and fought bravely till the close of the day, but⁵ at last finding he was unable to withstand these lionhearted warriors, he turned his back in flight, and made for Talpathi; his canopy and standards and borrowed⁶ retinue fell into the hands of Ghâzi Malik.

Khusrû Khân returning from Talpathi came to the tomb of Malik Shâdi⁷ who was an old patron of his, alone and distraught, and hid himself there in despair, but the following day they laid hands upon him, treating him with all possible indignity, and brought him to Ghâzi Malik,⁸ so that he reaped the reward of his infamous and abominable deeds.

Verse.

The tree thou didst nurture has borne its fruit,
Dost thou not see even now its fruit in its bosom,
If it has borne thorns it is thou who didst plant them,
If it has brought thee silk attire it is of thy own spinning.

And the following day Ghâzi Malik left Indrapath⁹ and alighted at Kûshk Sabzî¹⁰ Great and small came out to welcome his coming, and gave vent to expressions of congratulation. The day following he went on to the city of Dihli, where tidings was

¹ MS (A) حمیت کوڑا

² Text تلپندہ MS (A) تلپندہ.

³ Shâyiata Khan

⁴ MS (A) omits درخ

⁵ MS (A) inserts و.

⁶ عاریتی

⁷ MS (A) گھد

⁸ MS (A) omits ملک

⁹ MS A بندہ. The text reads تلپندہ. But the real reading should be Indrapat, as is shown by what has gone before, and also by Baroi

¹⁰ گوشک سری "the Green palace" but although this is the reading of the text and both MSS, I think we should read for گوشک سری undoubtedly kughk, Sir, the palace of Siri. This is the reading of the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi.

brought to him that the rascal Khān-i-Khānān had crept into the corner of a garden,¹ where he was lying concealed.

Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn proceeded by order of Ghāzī Malik, and having mutilated and disgraced him² paraded him about the city where he met with condign punishment. This event took place in the year 720 A.H. (1321 A.D.). The duration of Khusrū Khān's rule was four months and a few days.

Verse.

That which thou doest they will shew thee again,
That which thou givest, they will return thee the like.

SULTĀN³ GHĪYĀŠU-D-DĪN TUGHLAQ SHĀH⁴

Who is the same as Ghāzī Malik, ascended the throne in the year 720 A.H. (1321 A.D.) by the consent of the Amirs and nobles and was styled by this title. In the space of one week 222. he ordered and regulated the important affairs of the state with a perfection unattainable to others in the course of years.⁴

He appointed his own relations to various posts and showing many favours to the Amirs of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and to some of the Maliks of Qutbū-d-Dīn gave them districts. Then he directed his ambition to the rebuilding of the fortress of Tughlaqābād and all the lofty edifices, and set about it (without delay).⁵ and Badr Shā'ir Shāshī⁶ invented as a chronogram for the date of building

¹ MS. (A) omits وَ.

² مُنْلِي سَخْتَن *Muṇlī Sākhtan* is the term applied to a form of punishment which consisted of cutting off the nose, ears and lips. The literal meaning is "making a public example."

³ MS. (A). The text omits the prefix الـ.

Barnī gives an account of the mode in which Ghāzī Malik succeeded to the throne, not as an usurper but as the rightful successor in the absence of any scion of the house of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Qutbu-d-Dīn. (See Elliott, III. 228-229).

⁴ MS. (A) omits the words لَا تَرْوَانْدَة and the words are so foreign to the style of the author that they must be regarded as an interpolation. The Editor of the text supplies them from one copy. See footnote to Text.

⁵ There is a difference here. The printed text reads مُسْرَّتَهَا دَرَانْ نَمُود شُرُوع دران نمود Shewed great alacrity therein, but MS. (A) reads simply شُرُوع دَرَانْ نَمُود set about it. This seems the preferable reading.

⁶ Badru-d-Dīn Chāchī, "was a native of Chāch in Turkestan. He was a man of great repute as a scholar who passed a large portion of his life in

meantime¹ 'Ubaid Rākātī² the poet, a turbulent fellow, the notorious³ opponent of Mir Khusrū (on whom be mercy) who rascal that he was wrote the following famous verses :

223. Khusrū's own verse was very raw, so by mistake he took Nizāmi's⁴ saucepan by mistake, his flummery⁵ to cook.

(Mir Khusrū in many of his compositions complains bitterly against him and Sa'd Falsafi) joining with Shaikhzāda Dimishqī on the occasion of the late arrival of the stage from Dihlī, spread a false report that the Sultān Tughlaq was no more, whereupon great dismay spread through the Muslims. 'Ubaid also terrified the Amīrs by his account of Ulugh Khān, and infidels springing up put to death many of the soldiers of the army;⁶ Malik Tigīn and other revolutionary Amīrs planned an insurrection against Ulugh Khān who with fifty sowārs came by rapid marches to the metropolis, whereupon the Amīrs took themselves off, each to his own district; and Malik Tigīn who had gone to the country between Multān and Jaisalmir⁷ was taken prisoner with his family, and Tāju-d-Dīn Tālaqānī, the son-in-law of Malik Tigīn who had escaped from prison, was captured⁸ on the banks of the river Sarū, and Ubaid (the poet)⁹ also was captured in the same way in a wretched

¹ MS. (A) reads میان درین.

² 'Ubaid. MS. (A) adds راکاتی Rākātī. See Beale, O. B. D., p. 275.

³ MS. (A) reads مشهور معارض.

⁴ Shaikh Nizāmī Ganjawī whose full name is Abū Muḥammad Nizāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad Iliās ibn Abī Yūsuf ibn Muṣrāyyidal Muṭarrazı, a celebrated poet, author of the Sikandar-Nāma, also of other well-known works. His *Khamsa* (pentad) consists of *Khusrū* and *Shirīn*, *Haft Paikar Lailī-o-Majnūn*, *Makhzanu-l-Asrār* and *Sikandar Nāma*.

His death is said by Beale to have occurred in 597 A. H. but according to the *Majma'ul Fusahā* (I. 637) he died in the reign of Ṭughrul ibn Arslān the Saljūq, 576 A. H.

⁵ سکبیا is a dish made of wheat flour, meat and vinegar. The word 'flummery' suggests itself from its etymological signification of raw, crude, harsh, *W. llymruwd*, (so named from its sourness). (*vide* Skeat. s. v.)

⁶ We should here read موردم لشکر MS. (A).

⁷ MS. (A) Lat. 26°. 55' N. Long. 70°. 57' E. in Rājputāna, C. I.

⁸ MS. (A) گرفتار گشت.

⁹ MS. (A) omits شاعر. Barnī says that he was impaled alive. Firighta says that he was buried alive. (See Elliott, III, 231-233).

plight All this party with their families and friends, they cast under the feet of elephants, and those who escaped this fate met their death wherever they went

And in the year 723 A H (1323 A D) Ulugh Khan for the second time marched towards Tilang , and Rāi Ladar Mahadeo again shut himself up in the fort.

Ulugh Khan gained possession of both the outer and inner citadels¹ by force of arms, and took the Rai prisoner together with his family and followers, and leaving commissioners there drew off his army to Jājnagar² and Bidar,³ and having taken as spoil many elephants and other property with jewels and valuables without number [sent them] to Dihli [and despatched Rae Ladhar also to the capital and having given to Arankal the name of Sultanpur] returned to Dihli⁴

And in the year 724 A H (1324 A D), Sultān Ghīyāṣ d-
Dīn Tughlaq Shah, upon the occasion of the tyranny of the
governors of Bengal, left Ulugh Khan as his viceroy in the
capital Tughlaqabad which had been built in the space of three
years and a fraction, entrusting to his sound judgment the whole
civil administration, and left for Lakhnauti with a firm intention
of setting things straight, Sultān Nasiru d Dīn the ruler of
Lakhnauti, with the notable princes of those districts hastened to
meet the Sultan and placed their necks under his yoke, Sultan
Tughlaq Shah conferred upon Sultan Nasiru d Dīn the canopy
and staff of office and all other insignia of royalty, entrusted
Lakhnauti once more to his control and sent a despatch announc-
ing his success to Dihli , then he sent on in advance Tatar Khān
his adopted son, the Governor of Zafarabad who brought Bahadur
Shah otherwise known as Tuda (? Nuda) the Governor of Sunar
Ganw who was boasting his independence, with a chain around

¹ MS (A) حصار درویی و نادری

² Or Jajpur the former capital of Orissa (See Hunter's Gazetteer, Vol VII and Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol XVIII for a full account of this place)

³ Bidar (or Bedar) Town in the Nizam's dominions Haiderabad Deccan, 75 miles N W of Haiderabad town Lat 17° 53' N Long 77° 34' E (See Hunter's Gazetteer, Vol II, 419)

⁴ The words enclosed in square brackets are by a copyist's error omitted in MS (A) the word Dihli occurring twice has misled the copyist The printed text is correct

his neck, and accompanied by all his elephants into the royal presence at the Court.

Sultān Tughlaq Shāh taking Bahādur Shāh with him, victorious and triumphant returned to Dihlī, and proceeding by double stages made forced marches. Ulugh Khān upon hearing this news gave immediate orders for the erection of a lofty and noble palace near Asghānpur which is at a distance of three krohs from Tughlaqābād. It was completed in three days, so that Sultān Tughlaq Shāh might alight there,¹ and having passed the night in it and having rested might depart thence at an auspicious moment and alight at Tughlaqābād.

The Sultān arrived there and Ulugh Khān having gone out to meet him with all the nobles and grandees, spread a banquet of welcome. The Sultān gave orders for the elephants which he had brought with him from Bengal to be raced, and as the foundation of the New Palace was new and unsettled the palace began to shake and totter with the tramp of the elephants. When the people became aware that the Sultān was mounting with all haste, they hurriedly came out from the palace, without even washing their hands. The Sultān Tughlaq Shāh was engaged in washing his hands² and so did not come out. In consequence he washed his hands of life and the palace fell in upon him.³

We should not lose sight of the fact that from having built a palace such as this, which was quite unnecessary, there is a suspicion that Ulugh Khān may have built the palace⁴ without

¹ These words are repeated twice in MS. (A).

² The text has بقیریب دست ناشستن bnt MS. (A) reads نشستن the latter is correct. MS. (A) also omits the words ایک اڑا (line 2 of the printed text).

³ Barnī gives a different version, attributing the fall of the palace to a thunderbolt which descended from the sky. (Elliott, III. 235). Firishta gives a somewhat similar account to Badāoni; without specifically stating the cause, he alludes to the suspicion which attached to Ulugh Khān of being designedly close by the author of the catastrophe, but discredits it. He further tells us that according to Ṣadr Jahān Gujarātī, Ulugh Khān had raised the palace by magic, and the magical art being withdrawn it fell; he proceeds "Hājī Muḥammad Qandahārī says that it was struck by lightning and this does not seem at all improbable" (Firishta Briggs, I. 408].

⁴ MS. (A) قصر را qasr rā. The text has قصداً qasdān purposely.

foundations¹ as was currently rumoured, but the author of the *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī* makes no mention of this although this may possibly be due to a desire to flatter Firoz Shāh and out of regard for him.

This event took place in the year 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) and the duration of the reign of Sultān Ghīzān d Dīn Tughlāq Shāh was four years and some months.

Verse

If thou placest the world beneath thy feet
Thou wilt not sleep at last in thine own place

It is currently reported among the people of India that Sultān Ghīzān d Dīn Tughlāq, on account of the ill will he bore to Sultān I Māshāikh, sent a message to the Shaikh while on the way to Lakhnauti to this effect, "After my arrival at Dihli, either the Shaikh will be (ruler) there or I"². The Shaikh replied, "Dihli is still some way off"³. This saying became proverbial from that day and gained currency.

The *Tughlāq Nāma* of Mir Khusrū which was the latest of his works, was written in verse in honour of the Sultān and in obedience to his order.

The death of the Sultān I Māshāikh and also of Mir Khusrū occurred in the same year as has already been stated.

SULTAN MUHAMMAD 'ĀDIL IBN TUGHLAQ SHAH

That is to say Ulugh Khan, by the agreement of the Amirs and

¹ میتوں literally means 'hollow' but in its grammatical sense implies weakness due to want of proper support of فعل احیو 'Follow' verb a verb of which the middle letter is weak.

² In accordance with the proverb در گلیمی سبیدد *du darish dar gilim nakhushai*. Two dervishes cannot sleep in one blanket; or again the proverb دوشمشندر درک نام نکشید *du shamghir dar yak nayam negunjand*. Two swords will not go into one scabbard, as we say. There cannot be two kings in Brontford.

³ This is a well known proverb and has come from the Persian into common use in Urdu used to express the futility of an incompetent person attempting any task or on an occasion of unnecessary waste. 'It's a far cry to Loch Awe' Roebuck in his collection of Oriental proverbs does not give this as a Persian but as an Urdu proverb. Its origin is clear from our author's statement.

officers of the Court ascended the royal throne in the year 725
 226. A.H. (1325 A.D.),¹ and after performing the ceremonial mourning for the space of forty days,² went to the treasure house of the kings of former ages, and gave largesse such as exceeds all bounds of description, and having distributed appointments and offices among the Amirs, he made Malik Firoz his uncle's son (who is the same person as Sultān Firoz) *Nāibu-l-Mulk*, and advanced the dignity of his near relations in the same manner. Hamid Lawiki, too, was raised to an exalted position and Malik Sarbez obtained the title of *Tmādu-l-Mulk*, Malik Khurram that of *Zahīru-l-Juyūsh* (Inspector of the Forces) Malik Pindār *Khiljī* was given the title of Qadr *Khān*, and Malik Izzu-d-Din Yahyā that of *Āzamu-l-Mulk*, the district of Satgānw being also confirmed to him.

And in the year 727 A.H. (1326-1327 A.D.) the Sultān having formed the design of proceeding to Deogir, posted a chain of *dhāwa*,³ that is to say *pāiks*, or runners, as guards at distances of one *kroh* along the whole road⁴ from Dihlī to Deogir, built a palace and a monastery at each stage and appointed⁵ a *Shaikh* to each. They used to keep in constant readiness food and drink, betel-leaf⁶ and all provisions for hospitality; and in

¹ According to *Firishta* on the third day after the funeral obsequies of his father.

² The period here mentioned of forty days is the same as that enjoined in olden times to the Israelites: thus we find in Genesis 1. 3, speaking of the death of Jacob "the physicians embalmed Israel and forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of these which are embalmed; and the Egyptians mourned for him three score and ten days. But in Numbers xx. 29, we find that the congregation mourned for Aaron thirty days."

The period of three days only is enjoined on Muḥammadans, except in the case of widows who must perform the special ceremony of mourning called *Iḥdād* for four months and ten days. Among Hindūs the period of mourning is thirty days. (See Matthew, *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābih* I. 389).

³ The word دھاد here spelt پايد is a Sanskrit word धावकः rt. धाव् to run. پايد pāyik its Persian equivalent has a more usual form پايك paik.

⁴ MS. A omits در.

⁵ MS. (A) نصب فرمود.

⁶ The leaf of *Chavica betle* (Miq.) N.O. *Piperaceæ* is used in conjunction with lime for mastication as a stomachic. The leaves containing a portion of the nut of *Areca catechu*, known as *Supārī*, some lime (*chūna*) catechu (*kath*) and various aromatics, such as cinnamon, cloves, &c., and rolled together

both¹ (palaces and monasteries) guides were stationed who were ordered to see that travellers suffered no annoyance. The traces of these (rest-houses) remained for many years. He gave Deogir the name of Daulatābād² and considering it as the centre of his dominions³ made it the metropolis, and conveyed Makhdu*m-i-Jahān* his mother, with all his family and relations, the Amirs and Maliks, the notables of the city, his servants and dependents, and all his treasure to Daulatābād; all the *Saiyyids* and *Shaikhs* and 'Ulamā⁴ also proceeded thither in the following of Makhdu*m-i-Jahān*, and the stipends and emoluments of all of them were doubled, but in accordance with the saying "Exile is the gravest of all calamities and banishment is the sorest of all afflictions" this desolation of Dihli and its desertion was a source of great dis-

into the form of a cone and skewered with a small piece of wood and offered for sale. In this condition they are known as *khili*, *bira* كھلی or *gulzari* گلزاری. The distribution of this پان pan or betel, forms an important part on all ceremonial occasions, generally as a final act of hospitality before the guests depart. To European palates the *bira* is anything but pleasant, it has a pungent somewhat acrid taste. It is a powerful salagogae.

The medicinal virtues of the Chavica betle are supposed to be great. The leaves smeared with mustard oil and applied hot to the chest in several layers are used as poultices in pulmonary catarrhs, or in painful affections of the liver. They are said also to arrest the secretion of milk when applied to the breasts. A form of cancer known as "betle chewer's cancer" has been described by Dr Elliott of Colombo.

The plant is said to be a native of Java whence it has been introduced. It grows best in a hot moist climate such as that of Lower Bengal where it is largely cultivated (Drury, *Useful Plants of India*)

¹ MS (A) omits the word طوف

² MS (A) دام باد و See page 271, note 6, of this volume.

³ MS (A) میانہ ولایات omits حود

⁴ The word *Saiyyid* (سید) is a term used to denote the descendants of Muhammad from his daughter Fatima by 'Ali. The Sultan of Zanzibār also adopts this as his regal title.

Shaikh (شيخ) is a term of honour denoting some considerable reputation in the religious world, a doctor of religion and law, a head or chief of some religious order, a chief of a tribe or a reputed saint.

The two first *Khalifahs* Abu Bakr and 'Umar are known as الشیعیان. *Ash Shaikhan*. The two *Shaikhs*

The term 'Ulama (علماء) includes all religious teachers as Imams, Muftis, Qazis, Maulavis, (see Hughes Dictionary of Islam, also D'Herbelot.)

comfort to the inhabitants, large numbers of the feeble and widows, the helpless and indigent perished by the way, while even those who arrived in safety, could not settle there; and towards the end of the above-mentioned year Malik Bahādur Gurshasp 227. the Inspector-General of the Forces, raised a rebellion in Dihli,¹ and Malik Aiyāz, who held the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, fought with Bahādur and defeated him. Bahādur was taken prisoner and brought before the Sultān and met his punishment. After that, Malik Bahrām Iba the adopted brother of Sultān Tughlaq raised a rebellion in Multān,² and put to death 'Ali Khaṭāṭī who had been sent from Dihli to summon him thither. The Sultān, in order to put down this rebellion, left Daulatābād for Dihli and thence by uninterrupted marches reached Multān. Bahrām having come out³ against him fought with him, but was defeated and eventually put to death, his head was brought to the Sultān who intended to set the blood of the Multānis flowing like rivers on account of his crime, but when the Shaikh-l-Islām Qutbu-l-'Ālam Shaikh Ruknu-l-Haqq wau-d-Din Quraishi,⁴ may God sanctify his holy resting place, having bared his venerable head presented himself at the Court of the Sultān and made intercession, the Sultān pardoned the offences of the people.

Verse.

From the earliest times of Adam till the days of the king.
Great men have shewn mercy⁵ mean men have committed faults.

And the Sultān having bestowed Multān upon Qiwāmu-l-Mulk Maqbūl retraced his steps, but after some little time⁶ having turned

¹ Barnī makes no mention of this occurrence. Firishta gives an account of it, but calls the rebel Bahāu-d-din and states that he was governor of Sāgur. The year assigned by him to this revolt in which Bahāu-d-din Gurshasp was defeated is 739 A.H. twelve years later than Badāoni's date, according to Briggs (I. 418). A reference to the original text, however, shews that the date given by Firishta is the same as Badāoni's date. *Firishta* Bo. Text I. 241.

² MS. (A) باغی شد.

³ MS. (A) بمقابلہ آدم و مقابلہ نمودہ.

⁴ Āīn-i-Akbārī (Jarrett), III. 365.

⁵ MS. (A) عفو بود و.

⁶ MS. (A) چند گاہی.

against him despatched Behrād to replace him, but Shāhū Lodi the Afghān¹ killed Behrād and broke out into open rebellion. The Sultan on his arrival at Dījalpur found that Shāhū had fled into the hill country,² so he turned back.

And in the year 729 A H (1329 A D.) Nāṣir Shāh the Mughal³ the brother of Qutbūl Khwāja the Mughal King of Khurasan who had formerly invaded Hindūstān, having entered the Dīhlī territory⁴ with an enormous army, reduced the majority of the forts and proceeded slaughering and taking captives from Lalor and Samāna and Indarī to the borders of Bādāon, and when the victorious troops of Islām came up with him, he retreated as they advanced, the Sultān pursued him⁵ as far as the frontier of Kālanor and defeated him, and leaving the destruction of that fort in the hands of Mujuhrud Dīn Abīrūjī returned in the direction of Dīhlī. At this time the Sultan formed the opinion that in consequence of the refractory conduct of his subjects in the Doab it was advisable to double the taxes levied on that country, he also instituted numbering their cattle and a house census, and other vexations and oppressive measures, which were the cause of the complete ruin and desolation of the country,⁶ the weak were utterly destroyed and the strong laid the foundations of rebellion. The Sultan gave orders for the remainder of the inhabitants of Dīhlī and the adjoining towns to start for Daulatabad, caravan by caravan, the houses were to be purchased from their owners, and the price of them to be paid in cash out of the public treasury, in addition to which large rewards were to be offered. By these means Daulatabad was populated, and Dīhlī

¹ MS (A) مغلی The text reads مغلی

² The printed text has در کوچک but MS (A) has در گوچک The text is correct

³ MS (A) مغلی The spelling مغلی adopted throughout the printed text is incorrect but is preserved as it is the commonly accepted form. Mr Ney Elias in his introduction to the translation of the *Tārikh-i Rāghidi* (p 73 note 1) says that it takes a sharp ear to distinguish the exact pronunciation of the word as spoken by a true Mongol. It sounds as often Mo ghol or Mo ol as Mongol. It has he says always the vowel sound of e and never that of ε which is a foreign introduction.

⁴ MS (A) مغلی

⁵ MS (A) تعاقد او بیود و

⁶ MS (A) omits ای

became so deserted that there was not left even a dog or a cat in the city. The following verse describes its condition :—

Verse.

There where the heart-ravishing one used to toy with her friends in the garden,
The wolf and the fox had their home, and the rhinoceros and vulture their abode.

This state of affairs also led to a diminution of the public funds. Among other sources of loss to the treasury was this that the Sultān enacted that the *muhar*¹ of copper should become current on an equal footing with the *muhar* of silver, and any one who shewed reluctance to receive it used to be instantly punished severely. This enactment led to many corrupt practices in the kingdom as a matter of course, and unscrupulous and

229. contumacious rascals used everywhere in their own houses to set up mints and stamp coins,² and taking them into the cities used to purchase with them silver and horses, weapons and fine things, and thus rose to great wealth and dignity. But inasmuch as copper had no value as a currency in places at a distance and one *tanka* of gold rose to the value of fifty or sixty copper coins, the Sultān perceived the worthlessness of the copper coinage, and issued an edict to the effect that every one who had in his house a copper *tanka* should, if he brought them to the public treasury, receive for them golden *tankas* in equal value.³ The people

¹ Firish̄ta does not use the word *muhar* مہر and it would appear here to have the meaning of "coin" in its general sense. The round muhur in Akbar's time was of the weight of eleven māshas and was worth nine rupees. (*Ain-i-Akbari*; I. 30). Barnī uses it in the same way as Badāoni. See Barnī. Calcutta text, p. 475, line 10 et seqq.

² MS. (A) omits the word مہر but it seems probable that this illicit coining was mainly confined to copper. Barnī states that the Hindus of every province coined krors and laks of copper coins, so also Firish̄ta.

³ The Persian text is: تندکھای زر برابر آن بیره. This can hardly mean that for every copper *tanka* a golden *tanka* would be given, and yet the wording of the preceding line gives colour to this view. It runs as follows "هر کوڑا تندکھا مس در خانہ باشد" "Every one who has in his house a copper *tanka*." Barnī's account is much the same, Firish̄ta's is more explicit, but it is not clear whether the coins were exchanged at their relative metal value or their face value. It however is most probable that the copper *tanka* having

profited greatly by this arrangement, till at last copper became copper and silver silver, and those copper tankas were lying in heaps in Tughlaqābād as late as the time of Sultān Mubārak Shāh according to the author of the *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, and had no more value than stones. God knows the truth.

And in the year¹ 738 A H (1337 A.D.) he despatched a force of eighty thousand² cavalry under eminent commanders to capture the mountain of Himāchal³ which stands between the country of Chin and Hindustān, and which they also call Qirāchal⁴ with orders to leave garrisons in each successive place so that the line of communications for transport and supplies might remain open and the road of return might be easy. After the entry of this army into this country, by reason of the peculiar features of that mountain, on which heavy clouds form and rain pours in torrents at the sound of men's voices and their shouts and the neighing of horses, in consequence also of the narrowness of the

been artificially pronounced equal in value to the silver tanka, was repurchased by the treasury at that same value so that the dislocation of the currency and its consequent disasters are easily intelligible. See Elliott III 240, Brigg's *Firishta* I 415.

Although Brigg's translation leaves us in doubt as to this, the text of *Firishta* is perfectly clear on the subject and we see that these copper tankas were issued as tokens with an artificial value, and it was when the Sultān found that the copper currency was distrusted by his people who found it was not received in foreign countries that he hit upon the expedient of offering to exchange the copper tankas for silver or gold tankas hoping thereby, as *Firishta* says, to rehabilitate the copper tanka, but the people were too wise for this and threw the whole stock genuine and counterfeit alike upon the Treasury which was thus drained of gold and silver *Firishta* (Bo Ed p 239).

For a full account of this forced currency See Thomas Pathan Kings pp 239 et seqq.

¹ MS (A) *دو*

² Omit , *Firishta* says 100 000

³ Himāchal Snowy mountain. The Calcutta Text of Barns calls this mountain *جراہل* misprint probably for *جراہل* p 477 l no 16, &c

⁴ Rāsh du d Dīn in the *Jamī' al-Tawārīkh* (Elliott, I 46) states Besides these mountains there are others called Kalarchal (called also by the same author in another passage Lārjal). The editor notes 'The mountains of Sirinor' Reinhard reads the name 'Kelardjek'. Ibn Baṭūṭa calls them 'Kātāchil' (Vol III 32o). The latter part of the name is probably the Sanskrit *śāḥ* mountain. The first part may be the Turk word *بَرْكَة* signifying black; from the intense cold of such a snowy range.

paths and the scarcity of fodder, the patrols were not able to stand to their posts, and the hill tribes getting the upper hand drove back the army, and falling upon the rear of the force killed many of them with poisoned arrows and stone showers, and sending the most of them to the eternal world enabled them to attain martyrdom, taking the rest prisoners.¹ For a long time they wandered helplessly among the mountains, and those who escaped after countless hardships the Sultān visited with condign punishment.² And after this calamity so great an army never gathered round

230. the Sultān and all that money expended in their pay was thrown away.

And in the year 739 A.H. (1338 A.D.) Bahrām Khān Governor of Sunargānw died, and Malik Fakhru-d-Din Silāhdār became rebellious and assumed the title of Sultān, and having fought with Qadr Khān the ruler of Lakhnautī in conjunction with Malik Husamu-d-Din Abūrijā the Mustaufī, and 'Izzu-d-Din Yahyā A'zamu-l-Mulk, was defeated, and all his sources of grandeur, his treasure and his retainers fell into the hands of Qadr Khān; and when the rainy season had arrived the horses belonging to Qadr Khān died, and he had collected much money³ and had stored it up in heaps in his own house with the object of presenting it to the Sultān. In spite of all that Husamu-d-Din Aburjā could do to dissuade him from amassing wealth and inducing men to covet it and thus leading to disorder, Qadr Khān would not listen, till eventually the very result predicted by Husamu-d-Din ensued; Malik Fakhru-d-Din returned, and the soldiery of Husāmu-d-Din joined him and killed their own master, and all the money fell to the lot of Fakhru-d-Din. The absolute control of Sunārgānw was given him; he appointed one Mukhlis a servant of his, to Lakhnautī, and 'Ali Mubārak Inspector of Troops; Qadr Khān put Mukhlis to death and aspired at independence, writing diplomatic letters to the court of the Sultān. The Sultān appointed Malik Yūsuf, but he died by the way, and the Sultān, having other affairs to attend to, omitted to send any one else to that district.⁴

¹ Barnī states that the Hindūs of Qarājal seized the passes behind the advancing force, and that of all the force only ten sowars returned. (p. 478). See also Elliott, III. 242.

² According to Firīghta all those who escaped were put to death by order of the Sultān.

³ MS. (A) omits و مال.

⁴ MS. (A) کسی دیگر بان جانب.

At this juncture 'Ali Mubarak by reason of the enmity he bore to Fal

ru d Dīn, displayed the insignia of royalty, and assumed the title of Sultān 'Alāu d-Dīn, and Malik Ilyās Hājī who was a man of family and retinue, after a few days put 'Alau-d-Dīn to death with the assistance of some of the Amīrs and Maliks of Lakhnātī, and himself assumed the title of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn

231.

And in the year 741 A.H. (1340 A.D.) Sultān Muḥammad having left with the object of reducing Sunugānū, seized Fal

ru-d-Dīn and brought him prisoner to Lakhnātī, where he put him to death and returned Shamsu d-Dīn became absolute monarch of that region, and the kingly power and authority over that country descended for a lengthened period in the hands of his sons,¹ and never again returned to the possession of Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil.

And in the year 742 A.H. (1341 A.D.) Sayyid Ḥasan Kāthlāni the father of Malik Ibriāhīm a scion of the Sultān, who was generally known as Hasan Kūngū, and who eventually obtained the sovereignty of the Deccan with the title of 'Alāu d Dīn Bahman Shāh, fermented a revolt in Ma'bār on the grounds of the severity of the Sultān's governors, and the innovations introduced in the laws, and the number of executions,² and gained over to his own party nearly all the great men of Dīhlī who had been appointed to that district. He put to death the leaders of the opposite party. The Sultān proceeded from Lakhnātī to Deogir for the purpose of quelling that disturbance and on his arrival at Tilang was taken ill, and was forced to return by uninterrupted marches to Dīhlī. He left Qatloḡ Khān in Daulatabād, thus the rebellion in Ma'bār remained unchecked and Hasan's influence increased rapidly.

And in the year 743 (1342 A.D.) they put to death by treachery Malik Halājan and Kul Chander Khālhar and Malik Tātāl Khānd, the Governor of Līhore,³ and when Khwājā-i Jahān came up against them,⁴ they came out to do battle with him, but the scoundrels suffered a severe defeat and were sorely punished.

¹ مدنی صدرا در عهد فردوس او دوہ

² MS (A) has not the word عام simply قتل او

³ MS (A) has کل چادر کشتہ and کشتہ کشند which seems preferable

⁴ MS (A) omits نامزد شد and reads رفت

And in the year 744 A.H. (1343 A.D.) the Sultān passing through Sanām and Sāmūna gave orders to the Saiyyids and all 232. the Muslims in opposition to the advice of Hasan Kānkū, for a general massacre, but he kept the chief men of those districts in their posts, conveyed them to the suburbs of the city, and conferred upon them villages and districts, and bestowing many rich robes of honour, and purses of gold gave them a place of abode there; and when a general famine arose he issued an edict that any one who wished should proceed to the eastern part of Hindustān and spend the days of dearness and scarcity there, without let or hindrance, and in the same way if any person wishing to give up living in Daulatābād should return to Dihlī, no one would molest him. Moreover in that year so many people arrived in Hindustān from the countries of Khurāsān and 'Irāq and Samarqand, in the hope of receiving the bounty of the Sultān, that hardly any other races were to be seen in that country.

And in this year Hāji Sa'id Ṣarsarī¹ arrived from Egypt bearing the diploma of the Khalifah² with a banner and a robe of honour, conferring upon the Sultān the title of Nāṣir-i-Amīru-l-Mū'minū from the Khalifah of the Abbāsides who were still extant. The Sultān ordered decorations and illuminations in the city, and proceeded with all the Shaikhs and Saiyyids and his retainers to give him an honourable reception, then, dismounting, he kissed the feet of Hāji Sa'id and joined his retinue. He then re-established the Friday prayers and the 'Id, which all this time he had kept in abeyance waiting for the orders and sanction of the Khalifah, he read the *Khuṭbah* in the name of the Khalifah, and struck out the names of those kings who had not received authority from the Dār-ul-Khilāfah, with the exception of Sultān Maḥmūd. He then gave *largesse*³ of money and valuables to such an extent that his treasury became exhausted, he also des-

¹ The printed text reads مصري, but MS. (A) has صوري. So has also Barnī, Cal. text p. 492, l. 10, and 13. (See also Elliott, III. 249).

Barnī gives a good account of the events preceding this mark of favour from the Khalifah, a course of fulsome adulation seems to have been then, as in more modern times, the royal road to favour.

² Al Hākim bi Amr Illāhi Abūl 'Abbās Alīmad ibn ul Mustakfi billāhi, who was proclaimed in 741 A. H. For an account of these Egyptian Khalifahs, see Thomas' Pathan Kings, pp. 257 and seqq. Also D'Herbelot.

³ MS. (A) طے.

pitched to Egypt a precious jewel, the like of which he had not in his treasury, by the hands of Haji Barq'āi, with other rarities and presents, and having become, in his own opinion the rightful Khalifah, and keeping constantly placed before him the Qui'an¹ and the honorary presents and the patent of the Khalifah, would issue commands as though he were the Khalifah, and used to say 233 "The Khalifah says" this or that He compelled the people to profess allegiance to the Khalifah, and went to Sarkdawāri which is in the vicinity of Shamsābād, and on two or three occasions² in Barūj and Kanbhāyat also³ he received patents from the Khalifah, and a second time the Muḥdūmrada-i-Baghdādi⁴ came to visit him, and the Sultān went on foot to Pālam to receive him, and when he saw him from afar off he advanced to meet him, and seated him upon the throne beside himself and made over to him without reservation, the city of Kili⁵ with the garden and the palace and all the buildings

And in the year 745 A H (1344 A.D) Maṭlūb Nizāmu-l-Mulk¹ governor of Karra, raised a rebellion, Shahr-u-līlāh the brother of 'Ainu l Mulk brought up an army against him from Oudh and took him prisoner, but the rebellion was quelled Then Shihābu d dīn Sultan waxed riotous in Bidar, and Qatluḡ Khān was despatched against him, and Shihābu d-dīn coming out with his son to do battle was besieged in the fortress, and Qatluḡ Khān inducing him to come out by promises of quarter, sent him to the royal presence

And in the year 746 A H (1345 A D) 'Alī Sher sister's son to Zafar Khān 'Alā'i gained possession of Gulbarga⁶ in strong force, having put to death the ruler of Bidar, and taking much spoil,

¹ MS (A) reads مصطفى مشارق All MSS read مشارق which has no intelligible meaning We must read here مشارف in the sense of 'honours,' i.e., the banner and robe of honour sent by the Khalifah to him

² MS (A) omits دیگر بیز

³ MS (A) بیز Broach and Cambay Hunter Imp Gaz, III 101

⁴ Ghissu d dīn Muḥammad a son of a great grandson of the Khalif of Baghdad Al Mustanṣir billāh (Thomas P K D 257 note 1)

⁵ A full account of this is given by Ibn Batuta (Paris Edn in 258 and seqq) who writes و اعطاه جميع مدینة سیری لکھا⁶ He gave him in fief the city of Siri Barni (Calentta text p 496) says و کوشک سری و نعما⁷ میسری حصار سیری مخصوصاً درون حصار سیری

⁶ MS (A) See Imp Gaz, VIII 332

fought with Qutlugh Khān, but was defeated and obliged to retreat to the fortress of Bidar where he shut himself up. Qutlugh Khān however took him also prisoner, and sent him to Sarkdawārī which was the camp of the Sultān's army. The Sultān in the first instance sent the captives to Ghaznī in exile, but afterwards recalled them thence and put them all to death.

And in the year 747 A.H. (1346 A.D.) at the time when the 234. Sultān had made Sarkdawārī his camp, 'Ainu-l-Mulk arrived at the Court, bringing from Zafarābād and Oudh much property and rarities of great value as presents; then the Sultān came to the conclusion that it was advisable to recall Qutlugh Khān from the Dakkan, and send 'Ainu-l-Mulk to replace him. 'Ainu-l-Mulk got some idea into his head, and fled by night from Sarkdawārī and crossing the river Ganges made for Oudh, and his brother Shahru llāh laid hands upon certain of the elephants and horses¹ belonging to the king, which had been left behind to graze, and carried them off. The Sultān went in pursuit of them as far as Qanauj, and 'Ainu-l-Mulk, at the instigation of his brothers and a party of the followers of Malik Firoz Nāib Barbak, who had been placed in charge of the elephants and horses, crossed the river Ganges and coming over to this side² attacked the army of the Sultān, and like the thieves and *Gawārs* (of India)³ took to the woods and fought on foot, but not being able to stand against the elephants and archers of the king took to flight,⁴ and Shahru llāh and his other brother together with the majority of the sirdārs of 'Ainu-l-Mulk were drowned, and the remainder fell by the swords of the soldiers, and the fugitives were taken prisoners by the *Gawārs*, who having found 'Ainu-l-Mulk alive took him on their shoulders⁵ and brought him bareheaded⁶ to the court and gave him a few days respite,⁷ and the Sultān in consideration of his excellent

¹ MS. (A) omits ب.

² MS. (A) طرف.

³ MS. (A) omits ده.

⁴ MS. (A) نمودند.

⁵ The text reads بَرْدَاشْتَه بُرْلَاشْتَه and so does also MS. (A). It seems probable however that this is an erroneous reading due to the repetition of بُرْدَاشْتَه in the original copy.

⁶ MS. (A) reads بِنَاهْ naked.

⁷ Barnī entirely omits all reference to the events here recorded. The *Gawārs* are a race of gypsies in India according to Steingass. I can find no mention of them in Sherring's *Hindu Castes*, nor in Elliott's *Tribes of the N. W.*

services gave him his freedom, and in accordance with his former custom treated him well, and giving him a district sent him back to Dihli, then he recalled Qutlugh Khan from the Dakkan, but inasmuch as Qutlugh Khan had reduced that country to excellent order and had gained the good will of the people, his recall was the cause of great discontent (and disaffection)¹ and 'Aziz Khumār² who was one of the *canaille*, proceeding to Mälwa put to death many centurions (or Amirs of a hundred) which is the meaning of the word *Yüzbaşılı*³ in accordance with the Sultān's orders, and thence arose many insurrections

And in the year 748 A.H (1347 A.D) the captains of hundreds, stirred up rebellion and sedition in Gujrāt against Muqbil the servant of Khwaja i Jahan who was *nāib vezir* of Gujrāt, and was bringing treasure to the Court, and attacked him by night, getting possession of the treasure and horses and property belonging to the king The Sultān arrived at Gujrāt with the object of quelling this rebellion, and sent some of the trustworthy Amirs as for instance Malik 'Ali Sarjāndar, and Ahmad Lāchin to Daulatabād to bind the Amirs of hundreds who were there and bring them to Court As soon as Malik Ahmad Lāchin arrived at the pass of Manikganj, the Amirs of hundreds in their alarm⁴ came to a common understanding, and put Malik Ahmad Lāchin to death, Aziz Khan who had gone from Gujrāt to oppose the Amirs of hundreds of Dabho'i⁵ and Baioda, on coming face to face with the insurgents lost his head,⁶ fell from his horse and was taken prisoner This news had reached the Sultan and had augmented his wrath considerably And after the defeat of Muqbil and the murder of 'Aziz, the Amirs of hundreds waxed bold, and sent for their families and relations from all directions, and with one consent turned against the Sultan⁷ and having captured the fortress of Daulatabād from the governors of Malik 'Alam took possession of it, and raising

¹ MS (A) omits و قصور عزير حمار ر Aziz Hmar

² MS (A) omits بور باشليخ Commandant de cent hommes (Pavet de Courteille)

³ MS (A) omits the words حاں حویش

⁴ MS (A) The text is wrong here Dabhoi See Tieff I 372 also map, Vol III see also Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* IV 76, and Bayley, *History of Gujrāt*

⁵ MS (A) دست و پا گم کرده (Lit.) Had lost his hands and feet

⁶ MS (A) reads طلسه سلطان The printed text reads از سلطان which is meaningless and this seems the correct reading

the rebel, after the arrival of the Sultān at Gujrāt ventured a second time to fight with him and was again defeated, and giving himself up to brigandage roamed about from place to place, the Sultān however continued to pursue him and followed him wherever he went. And in this expedition the Sultān having sent for Malik Firoz from Dihli attached him to his Court, and in this year Malik Gir the son of Malik Qibāl Khālfati, to whom the Sultān had delegated the control of all his important affairs, and on whose behalf he had written a letter expressing submission to the Egyptian Khalifah and had sent it by the hand of Hājl Barqā'i, died, and Ahmad Aiyaz, who is also called Khwāja-i-Jahān, and Malik Qibāl Qiwāmu-l-Mulk were carrying on the government in Dihli. Towards the end of the reign of Muhammad, dissection and rebellion, mischief and sedition became increasingly evident day by day,³ so that if he turned his attention to eradicating one evil, another was not wanting to supply its place,⁴ and matters were past all remedy,⁵ and the glory⁶ of the kingdom, and prosperity⁶ of the country was entirely subverted. Tyranny supplanted equity, and infidelity flourished in place of Islam. There were many reasons for this, which by their co-operation led to ruin and dissension, and the decline of the kingdom. These causes are given in detail in the original history⁷ the *Firozshāhi*, and also in the *Mubārakshāhi*. The results are here given in brief arranged under seven heads. Firstly — the greater part of the people and inhabitants of the towns and districts were

¹ MS (A) پیوست و

² MS (A) omits چندان

³ This is the reading of MS (A) درگری از دست نمیرفت

⁴ The printed text has ح ملک MS (A) reads correctly ملک

⁵ MS (A) اراضی ایام و Omit MS (A)

⁶ There are two histories known as *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhi* one by Zain d Din Barni (Biblioth Indica 1862) and the other by Shams-i-Siraj 'Afīf (Biblioth Indica 1901) (Elliott III 269)

⁷ MS (A) reads (as does the printed text) در تاریخ اصل but the better reading seems to be that given without reference to the authority, in the footnote to the printed text در اصل تاریخ This would distinguish the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhi* of Barni as the original history of that name. The *Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* is that of Yāhiya ibn Ahmad (See Elliott IV, pp 6 and seqq)

ruined by the rapine of Tarma Shirin, and never again recovered their prosperity. *Secondly*.—The tribute to be paid by the inhabitants of the Doāb, which district comprises some of the chief towns of Hindustān, was increased from ten per cent. to twenty per cent., besides which there was the numbering of the cattle, and the house-census, and other taxes¹ over and above these, and² in this way the more needy portion of the people left their property and cattle and attached themselves³ to the richer folk, while the wealthier subjects plotted rebellion and sedition and took to highway robbery, and pillaged the country in all directions⁴ so that from all these causes the revenue of the country began to dwindle.⁵ *Thirdly*.—An universal famine, and (consequent) dearness of grain, for it so happened that for seven whole years not a single drop of rain fell from heaven. It should be remembered that this statement has been copied as it stands from the *Mubārakshāhī*, but I cannot say whether the author of that work has been guilty of exaggeration or if in reality the facts were as stated.⁶

238. *Fourthly*.—the desertion of Dihlī, and the population of Daulatābād, because after Dihlī was laid waste they brought people from the towns and other places into that city and populated it, and then again removed them thence to Daulatābād; so that all their hereditary estates and family holdings, and all the property and effects⁷ they possessed were wasted and dissipated, so that they never saw anything more of them. *Fifthly*.—The massacre of the eighty thousand cavalry in a body in the hills of Himāchal, and the consequent desolation of their families. *Sixthly*.—The daily occurrence of rebellion and mutiny in every place where people were in dread of their lives, some of them fell in battle but the greater number were put to death with their families upon false charges, so that in every way that wretched country was being ruined. *Seventhly*.—The blood thirsti-

1 The word اخراجات is apparently used here in this unusual sense.

2 MS. (A) و بابن طریق (A). 3 MS. (A) می پیوستند (A).

4 تشریب ولایات می کردند و MS. (A).

5 بہر حال مستحول ولایت کم شدن گرفت و خراب شد 6 MS. (A) inserts میان دواب ولایت and omits

6 The question of exaggeration admits of no doubt. Barnī a contemporary author lends no countenance to such a statement.

7 MS. (A) reads اشیا.

ness of the Sultān, and his system of Government of his people, which made Saiyyids, 'Ulamā, Shaikhs, ragamulsins and scoundrels, artisans,¹ peasants,² and soldiers, all alike in his eyes. Moreover there was constantly in front of his royal pavilion and his Civil Court a mound of dead bodies and a heap of corpses, while the sweepers and executioners were wearied out with their work of dragging (the wretched victims) and putting them to death in crowds. So that³ the people were never tired of rebelling nor the king of punishing (the rebels).⁴ At last the Sultān was at his wit's end what to do, but for all this he did not keep his foot out of the stirrup, nor did his sword rest from punishment, but all to no purpose, till the flood of sedition waxed violent, and the nobles of the kingdom by degrees⁵ grew⁶ feeble, at length disease overcame him, and the Sultān was freed from his people and the people from their Sultān.

Verse.

Of all the people of the world, although most of them
Are gone astray, and few of them are in the right path,
Do thou so live that when thou diest thou mayest escape
(punishment),
Not so that when thou diest the people may escape (thy
tyranny).

239.

They relate an extraordinary story of one of the irregular acts of the Sultān which was that he kept such strict watch over all matters involving punishment, that he used to keep four Muftis⁶ to whom he allotted quarters in the precincts of his own palace, and used to see that they kept to their appointed places,⁷ so that when anyone who was arrested upon any charge, he might in the first place argue with the Muftis about his due punishment, so far as he was

¹ Whether we read مُحْتَرَفَةٌ or مُحْتَرَفَةً this word is used in a very unusual sense. Its proper meaning is a tax levied upon artisans, but here it must mean the (أهْل حِرْنَةٍ) artisans themselves.

² This again is not correctly used. It must be read مُنْزَارَعٌ but should be plural.

³ MS. (A) وَنَهْ خَلْقٍ لِزَفَنَةٍ

⁴ MS. (A) مَسْ كَرْدَنَه

⁵ MS. (A) خَلَاعُ يَافَتٍ

⁶ مُفْتَنِي Mufti. The officer who assists the Qāzi or judge by supplying him with *fatwas* or decisions.

⁷ We should read here بَوْدَ دَادَه در مُبَارَل مُعَيْنَ نَكَه دَاشْتَه جَاهَ MS. (A).

able,¹ and had said, Be very careful that you do not fail in the slightest degree by defect in speaking that which you consider right, because if any one should be put to death wrongfully and the oversight should have been on your side, the blood of that man will be upon your head. Then is after long discussion they convicted (the prisoner), even though it were midnight,² he would pass orders for his execution,³ and if he himself found for conviction⁴ he would refer it to another meeting, and would endeavour to find a means of upsetting their arguments,⁵ and would come and make a speech, and when the Muftis were at a loss for a further argument, he would put (the prisoner) to death on the instant or else release him on the spot.

They say⁶ that one day Sultān⁷ Muhammad wearing his shoes went on foot into the Court of Justice⁸ of Qāzī Kamālu-d-Din Ṣadr-i-Jahān and said, The Shaikhzāda-i-Jāwī has called me a tyrant, send for him that he may substantiate his charge of tyranny against me, or, if he fails, that you may pronounce⁹ against him the sentence of such punishment according to law as the case may require. When the Shaikhzāda was summoned he confessed (to having said it) and the Sultān enquired (what his grounds were). He replied, every one whom you punish (with death) lawfully or unlawfully, that is your prerogative, but that you should hand over his wife 240. and children to the executioners as you do, to do what they will with them, in what religion and under what sacred law do you find this? The Sultān was silent and rose up from the Court,¹⁰ and ordered that the Shaikhzāda should be bound; this order was carried out and he was put into an iron cage; then he had him carried in that very way on the journey to Daulatābād on the back of an elephant. When he returned and arrived at Dihli, he brought him before the same Court,¹¹ and bringing him out of the cage gave orders in obedience to which the poor wretch was cut in two in his presence. From this it is clear that the Sultān was a mixture of opposites, and¹² for this reason his name has been handed

¹ MS. (A) حسب مقدور.

² MS. (A) میبود.

³ MS. (A) omits آن متهم.

⁴ MS. (A) يافت و اگر خود الزام می بافت.

⁵ MS. (A) omits می اندیشید و.

⁶ MS. (A) حکایت.

⁷ MS. (A) omits محمد.

⁷ MS. (A) مسکونه قضا.

⁹ MS. (A) نمائید.

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits قاضی.

¹¹ MS. (A) omits قضا.

¹² MS. (A) و.

down in tradition, nay and even in some books also as "the Bloody" not as "the Just." There are many stories bearing upon this which I have heard, but to write or speak of them would lead me too far afield. So "Take example from it so that are endowed with sight"¹ In short² after great havoc had been wrought in the affairs of the state by the excessive tyranny and oppression of the Sultān, which he however regarded as the essence of justice, and great breaches had been which the wise and learned were powerless to repair,³ by reason of his various tools and his evil designs, the disease of Phthisis⁴ found its way to his constitution; notwithstanding this he set himself to follow up Taghī, and in the

¹ Qur'ān, LIX 2 ² MS (A) ماحزه مع الماء ³ MS (A)

⁴ دماري دی This name was given to any kind of hectic fever, most usually that arising from phthisical disease of the lung. The following definition is from the *Bahr al-Jauzah*

حمى دقي هي من تشتت الحرارة الحارحة عن الطبع بالاعفاء إذ صلبة خصوصا
القلب تعني رطوبات اللب و اقليل هي حرارة عريضة تحدث للبدن بواسطه حدو
تها في اعماقية .

The fever called "Diqq" is when the heat which arises from the constitution seizes upon the chief essential organs, especially the heart, and the moisture of the body disappears. Another opinion is that this is an extraneous fever which attacks the body by means of its generation in some of its members.

The *Burhan-i-Qutb* states that it is called دقي because it emaciates the body.

Sadidi's account is as follows. The fever حمى الدقي is usually fatal, . . . It is either simple or complicated with putrid fever. The signs of this complication are persistence of the fever, with an exacerbation on the day of the paroxysm of the putrid fever, shivering is also present. The worst complication of all is (he says) when "diqq" is complicated with one of the fevers which require treatment by purges, because the treatment of "diqq" is the opposite to this.

The pulse in uncomplicated "diqq" is hard, frequent, and slender. The surface of the body is not very hot at the first feel, but after a few moments it feels scorching, hottest of all over the arteries, the heat increases especially in the face and upper parts of the body.

Food should be nourishing. Some unskillful physicians withhold food and kill the patient speedily. Food should be moist and cooling. If the fever passes on to the degree called دبور gabal the pulse increases in hardness and tenuity, the eyes change and become covered with sordes, the cartilages of all the bones are prominent, the temples sink in, the skin of the forehead tightens, the skin loses its lustre, and has a dusky appearance; the eyelids become heavy, all this is the result of rapid dissolution, and the abundance of dryness and disappearance of the natural moisture. There

hope of exterminating him set out for the kingdom of Thatha where¹ Taghi had fled for safety; and² in that expedition Qarghan Nāib of the king of Khurāsān sent Altūn Bahādur with five thousand cavalry to assist the Sultān. The Sultān's illness was at that time slightly less urgent³ and when he arrived at Thatha he fasted on the day of the 'Āshūra,⁴ which was in the very middle of the hot season, and after breaking his fast he ate some fish, whereupon his illness returned, and on the twenty-first of Muḥarram in the year 752 H. (1351 A.D.) he took his way to the next world,⁵ the duration of his reign having been twenty-seven years.

also appears in the urinary excretion, oiliness and a scaly deposit; the nose becomes sharp, the hair grows long, and lice are of frequent occurrence on the body because of the excessive amount of exhalation. The abdomen falls in till it touches the backbone, the skin of the chest is also retracted, and the nails become long (بَدْ بِ الظَّفَارِ) then the diarrhoea recurs, the hair falls out and death occurs.

It will be observed that there is no mention here of any of the lung symptoms of Phthisis, all that we have described is a continued fever of remittent type running a moderately long course as is shewn by the symptoms described. No mention is made of any eruption, nor is diarrhoea apparently more than an intercurrent symptom appearing late in the disease.

This was probably one of the fevers so common in India for which for want of a better name "typho-malarial" has been suggested.

Probably the complication of "diqq" with "putrid fever" of which Sadīdī speaks was more comparable to the "enteric fever" of modern science. Sadīdī speaks elsewhere of three degrees of severity of this fever. The first is called "diqq" the second more severe is called zabūl and the most severe of all is called "hashf."

I have only been able to epitomise Sadīdī's account which will be found at pages 427-428 of his work. (*Al Mughnī fi Sharḥ il Mūjaz*).

اندک روی بست نہاد بود (بے انجام) ۱ MS. (A). ۲ MS. (A) و. ۳ MS. (A)

⁴ "The 'Āshūra," is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muḥarram. It is the only day of Muḥarram observed by the Sunni Muslims, being the day on which it is said God created Adam and Eve heaven and hell, the tablet of decree, the pen, life and death. It is kept by the Sunnis as a fast." (Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, 25).

⁵ On the banks of the Indus at fourteen *kos* from Thatha according to Barnī (Elliott, III. 265), but Badāoni states he had arrived at Thatha. Barnī states that he was taken ill thirty *kos* from Thatha where he had arrived on the 'ashurā, thence he was carried ill as he was "for the second and third day until he came to within fourteen *kos* of Thatha." There he remained according to Barnī gradually growing worse and died on the 21st of Muḥarram.

When the Empire of justice arose with ease, like the sun.
The land of Hindustan came under his sway like that of 241

Khurāsān;

A fortress like that of the Haft Khwān¹ he built of Haft Jāsh² which in loftiness

Would need the Nasr-i-Tūr³ to fly to its pinnacle inaccessible
as Harūmān.⁴

So strong that it registered a vow to last till the Resurrection-day, but by reason of the vicissitudes of time, it became destroyed in many places like the web of a spider.

You will find nothing upon the top of its walls but the voice of the owl.

In its topmost garden you will see nothing by the ill-omened raven.

It befits the duration and pride of Empire that its condition should become in accordance with the words "God most High is far above all that the tyrants of men say of Him."⁵

And among the celebrated poets of the time of Sultān Muham-mad is Badar Shāhi⁶ who wrote a Shāhnāma in his honour, of some thousand verses⁷ and for the very reason that it is a history in poetry it is a valuable acquisition.

SULTĀN FIROZ SHĀH IBN MALIK RAJĀH

Who was the brother's son of Sultān Ghīyāṣ-d-Dīn Tughlaq and uncle's son of Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil, in accordance with the

حَفْت خُورَانٌ Haft Khwān. The capture of the Brazen fortress of Daz was the final stage of the seven great labours of Isfandiyār known by the name of the Haft-Khwān. See Shāh Namah (Atkinson), pp. 407 to 426, also Burhān-i-Qāfi' s. v.

حَفْت جَوَشٍ Haft Jāsh. These are seven metals which are melted together to form an alloy of special value; the seven are, iron, zinc (antimony, Steinberg) lead, gold, tin, copper, and silver. Burhān-i-Qāfi'. According to the Ghīyāṣ-l-Tughāt, it also contains quicksilver and brass.

نَسْر طَافِرٍ Nasr-i-Tūr. The constellation called also بَلْقَس 'Uqāb. The Eagle.

¹ حَرَمَانٌ Harūmān, a fortress on the frontier of Egypt. Burhān-i-Qāfi'.

² Cf. Qur'ān XXVII, 64.

³ See page 203, note 6.

⁴ قَرِيبٌ بَيْسَتْ هَزَارِيَّتْ nearly twenty thousand verses. Both MSS. however read the same as the printed text which is here followed though it is an uncommon construction.

authority appointing him the heir-apparent of Sultān Muḥammad ascended the throne of sovereignty and state, by the consent of the chiefs of the Shaikhs and the leading Amīrs and Vazīrs in the aforesaid year, in the vicinity of Thatha. It is said that the Maḥdūmzāda-i-‘Abbāsi of Baghdād, and Shaikh Naṣīru-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī *may God sanctify their sacred resting places* were¹ the cause of the allegiance thus sworn to Sultān Firoz, and it is currently reported that [Maḥdūm Shaikh Naṣīru-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-

42. Dihlī *may God sanctify his resting place*]² had secretly made Malik Firoz King during the absence of Sultān Muḥammad. Some of the Muftīs informed the Sultān of this, and his orders were that those two, master and disciple³ were to be taken in confinement from Dihlī and brought to the camp. This was carried out,⁴ and Malik Firoz in some way or other gained over the guards, and made his way, just as he was, to the neighbourhood of Hānsī to Shaikh Badru-d-Dīn who was one of the descendants of Shaikh Jamālu-d-Dīn of Hānsī⁵ *may God sanctify their resting-places*. That holy man exclaimed “Great God! a man has been made prisoner and taken off to be Sultān, and he wots not of it”! When they arrived⁶ at the camp of the Sultān in the vicinity of Thatha and the tidings of the arrival of these two holy men reached him⁷ he gave orders that they were to be put to death the instant of their arrival, and with that he lapsed into a state of intoxication. A son of his had gone on a hunting expedition, accordingly when the guards saw⁸ this state of affairs, they liberated the holy Shaikh and the Sultān;⁹ then Sultān Firoz by the consent of the nobles raised the banner of sovereignty and got the Sultān’s son out of the way by some crafty scheme, and

¹ MS. (A) reads بیعت بودند for بیعت نمودند (Text).

² The words between square brackets are omitted from MS. (A).

³ The reading here is uncertain. The printed text has پیر و مرید را while MS. (A) has مرید و پرورد را. The latter has the more genuine ring though it is an uncommon expression.

⁴ MS. (A). بیارو زند (Text).

⁵ که یکی از اولاد شیخ جمال الدین هانسوي قدس الله سرهما بود.

⁶ MS. (A). خبر این دو عزیز باو رسیده.

⁷ MS. (A). اند.

⁸ MS. (A). دیده اند.

⁹ MS. (A). گذاشته اند. By Sultān, Firoz Shāh must be here meant.

after that¹ he had returned to Dihli he made the pargana of Chaurasi in the district of Hānsi a present to the monastery and rest house of Shaikh Bādrū-d-Dīn, whom I have mentioned. This is what I have heard—God alone knows the real truth They also say that Sultān Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq Shah took the reverend Shaikh under his protection, till one day the Shaikh, may God sanctify his resting place, tied a knot upon one of the Sultan's robes and said " Nasiru d-Dīn fastens and God opens " and that very day the Sultān died

Verse

The only kingdom which sorrows not for the affliction of its decline.

Hear my words freely spoken, is the kingdom of the darvesh 243

However this may be, the Sultān Firoz at the outset of his reign issued this order that the *Mughuls* who had obtained influence over the soldiery should be brought apart from the camp, and inasmuch as their mutinous conduct had passed all bounds, the Sultān himself saw to their safe custody, and punishing these *Mughuls* effectually put a stop to their interfering with the discipline of the army.

Verse

Far better than giving a Mughul a hint to plunder
Is it that you should rejoice him with a sight of Paradise

Then he brought his army in safety into security, and proceeding by way of Sīwistān made for Dihli by continuous marches, and Ahmad Aiyaz, styled *Khuaja-i-Jahān*, who in the absence² of the Sultan had urged the claims of an obscure child³ to the

۱۳۰۷ آنکه معد

درویشت (A) MS 2

⁸ Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif gives the "true account of this transaction just as he heard it from Kishwar Khân, son of Kishlu Khad Bahram, one of the servants at the Court".

He asserts the Khwaja i Jahan who was on terms of great intimacy with Firoz Shah received false tidings that Tatar Khan and the Amir Hayib Firoz Shah were missing and either dead or prisoners. After the days of mourning were completed, the Khwaja, believing this report to be correct, placed a son of Sultan Muhammad Shah upon the throne and thus through adverse fate committed a blunder" Elliott III 279-280

throne, and had given him the title of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, appointing himself Vakīl, after considerable argument,¹ and much correspondence, by reason of his helplessness and dejection, by the mediation of Ashraful-Mulk and the other nobles and grandees, came with bared head, casting his turban on his neck, to the neighbourhood of Hānsī, and had an interview with the Sultān, who washed out the writing of his fault with the water of forgiveness, and made him over to the Kotwāl of Hānsī, and as for the party who had been his companions in this faction and opposition, he dispersed them all in different directions. At Sarsutī tidings arrived of the birth of Shāhzāda Fath Khān,² whose son eventually became Tughlaq Shāh, and the news of the death³ of Taghi Tāghī also reached him there from Gujrāt; and on the second of Rajab in the aforesaid year, he graced the throne of Dihlī by his accession and made a fresh distribution of appointments.

4. And in the year 753 H. (1352 A.D.) he went to the Sirmūr hills for the purpose of relaxation and sport, and returned thence, and in the month of Rajab of this year Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, was born.

And in the year 754 H. (1353 A.D.) he returned from Kalānor whither he had gone on a hunting expedition, and built a lofty building on the banks of the river Sarsutī and [gave it to Shaikh Ṣadru-d-Dīn Multāī, may God sanctify his resting place, the Shaikhū-l-Islām] and Malik Qubūl⁴ Nāib Vazīr he made Khān-i-Jahān,⁵ and at the close of this year he went to Lakhnautī with the intention of putting down the rebellion of Hājī Ilyās who had assumed the title of Shamsu-d-Dīn. He accordingly took refuge in the fort of Ikdāla,⁶ which is the strongest of the forts

¹ Cf. Elliott, III. 285.

² MS. (A) پسرش آخر تغلق شاہ بود. Sirāj 'Afīf tells us that he founded a town here and called it Fathābād in honour of this event. Elliott, III. 283.

³ MS. (A) قتل طغی.

⁴ See note 6, page 254.

⁵ In MS. (A) this sentence precedes the one in square brackets.

⁶ Ikdāla. Regarding this fortress, see J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 244. See Elliott, III. 294. It was afterwards called Azādpur by Firoz Shāh. (Elliott, III. 297).

of Bangala, and after a desultory¹ defence fought for a very short time, and threw his elephants and his material of war, with his servants and retainers to the winds, and all of them fell into the hands of the Sultān who, having made peace with him because of the rainy season,² retraced his steps.

And in the year 755 H (1354 A D) having crossed by the ford of Manukpur he arrived at Dihli and built Firozabad³ on the banks of the Jumna And in the year 756 H (1355 A D) he

¹ This appears to be the meaning MS (A) omits سلطنت and has دریافت also Thomas Pathan Kings, p 294 and note

² بیشکال bugħkāl in M Pavet de Courteilles Turk Dictionary this word is given پیشکال pugħkal or پیشکال pugħkal Sa son des pluies He gives three instances of its use from the Bibernamah

³ Firozbad This must not be confounded with the Firozabad which arose from the change of name of Panduah, see Elliott, III 295, and Panduah, Imp Gaz Vol XI

This Firozabad (see J A S B, 1870) was situated five Los (ten miles) from Dihli, and included according to Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif eighteen places, the qasba (townships) of Indarpat and others a list of which will be found in Elliott, III 303 At page 298 will also be found an account of the founding of the city of Hissar (Hisar Firozah) and of the construction of two canals leading to it one from the Sutlej and the other from the Jumna The modern representation of the latter canal which was called Rajiwā is found in the Western Jumna Canal passing through Karnal (see Hunter's Imp Gaz, Vol VII 258 for an account of this canal) The canal leading from the Sutlej was called Ulugh Khāni (Ulugh Khāni) In modern maps there is a trace of this canal but it is called the Jureah canal which is probably the word Rajiwā converted and applied in error to this canal Rennell's map (Tieff Vol III) shews the supposed canal of Firoz Shah, and it is evident from our author's statement that this canal was commenced not from the Hisar end but from Dipalpur which lay at the junction of the Bias and Sutlej on the banks of the Bias and passed south east near Fatehabad if not actually through it to join the river Jahjar, which in Rennell's map is called the Jidjer its nearest point measured from Dipalpur being exactly 100 miles (forty eight kroh) on this map, whereas the town of Jahjar Lat 28° 16' N Long 77° 42 15" E is 200 miles (Hunter's Imp Gaz, Vol VII 195) (The river Jahjar flowed south-east through Fatehpur joining the Jumna near Etawah) For this reason it appears likely that the canal was led not to Jahjar but into the river Jahjar as above stated (See Bo Firishtā Text I 263)

Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif makes no mention of Dipalpur in connection with any canal and there is one difficulty in his account as he says that both the canals, the Rajiwā and Ulugh Khāni, were conducted through the vicinity of

went to Dipālpūr and bringing a canal from the river Satlaj,¹ led it as far as the Jahjar which is forty-eight kroh from there.

In the year 757 A.H. (1356 A.D.) he conducted a stream from the river Jamna from the vicinity of Mandūī (Mandili) and 245. Sarūr,² and having led seven other canals into it took it to Hānsī

Karnāl. If this was so the "supposed canal of Firoz Shāh" in Rennell's map cannot be the Ulugh Khāni. His words are as follows:—

دھانڈ این ہردو جوی از اتصال کرنال بیرون آورده میدان ہشتاد کروڑ کروڑ
در شہر حصار فیروزہ بودا -

Dahāna-i ī har do jū az ittisāl i karnāl bīrūn āwarda mīyān i haṣhtād kroh kroh dar shahr i Hisar Firūza burda.

It is not to be supposed that Firoz Shāh would take his canal from Dīpālpūr to Karnāl when his objective was Hissār; we have also Badāoni's clear statement that a canal was brought from the Sutlej and led as far as the Jahjar, this canal would coincide with the line of that shewn in Rennell's map, but not with that of Shams-i-Sirāj.

The canal mentioned in the next paragraph is evidently the one to which Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif refers (Elliott, III. 299-300), although it is not very evident what the exact course of this canal was: I can find no trace of any places named Mandūī (Mandili) or Surūr anywhere in the maps, while Rās mentioned here by Badāoni must be what 'Afif calls Great Larās, as he states that it was in the neighbourhood of Great Larās that Sultān Firoz built the city of Hisār Firoza. (Elliott, p. 299). Rennell (memoir p. 72, quoting from Dow I. 327 has Beraisen, which is a mistaken reading of bi Rāsain in the original, that is to say the two Rāses, Great Larās and Little Larās.

It would seem that there were in all three canals to Hisār Firoza, one from Dīpālpūr to Hissār and on to the Jajhar, this was brought from the Sutlej. A second from the Jumna as far as Karnāl (Rajiwah). A third from the Sutlej as far as Karnāl (Ulugh Khāni). At Karnāl according to 'Afif's account these two last joined. The only way this can have been possible is by the courses of the Sutlej and Jumna being very different from their present courses or even from the beds of these rivers in 1782 when Rennell made his map.

By bringing the Sutlej further south-east near to the course of the Ghaggar say near to Thanesar, we should have a point from which we can understand that it would have been advantageous to bring water from both the Sutlej and Jumna viā Karnāl.

See Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal, 1833, p. 105 and 1840, p. 688.

See also Thomas' Pathān Kings, 294 and notes.

¹ MS. (A) ستلہ.

² I cannot identify these places. Firishta (Bo. Text I. 262) says Mandawī and Sirmūr, MS. (A) reads Mandili and Sardar.

and thence to Rīs¹ where he built a fortress which he called Hisar Firoza, and dug² a spacious reservoir beneath the palace which was in that fortress, and filled it with water from the canal, he also led another stream from the canal of the Ghaghār underneath the fortress of Sarsuti, and from thence to Birni Khera,³ and in the space between them he built a fortress⁴ and named it Firozābad⁵ At the end of this year on the occasion of the 'Īdū z Zahā a robe of honour arrived for the Sultān from the Khalifah Al-Hakim b. amrillāhī Abū Fath Abū Bakr ibn Abil Rabi' Suleimān⁶ from the Darul Khilafat of Egypt, with a patent conferring upon him the whole of Hindustān and⁷ in this same year messengers from Hāji Ilyas the ruler of Lakhnautī, having arrived bearing splendid presents and offerings, were distinguished with countless favours and kindnesses, after which they returned, and it was ordered that in return for these presents (handsome) elephants⁸ should be sent The whole of Hindustān was now in possession of Sultan Firoz with the exception of Lakhnautī which was held by Hāji Ilyas,⁹ who had come to terms with the Sultan,¹⁰ and with the exception also of the Deccan, which, after the death of Sultan Muhammad, had come into the possession of Hasau Kangu

¹ See page 326 continuation of page 325, note 3 Briggs Firishta calls it Raisen I should be Rasain, the two Rases, i.e. Great Larās and Little Laras, Elliott, III 298

² MS (A) كافته

³ MS (A) the text reads شری کھرا Sarsuti is shown in Rennell's map (Tieff III) as lying southeast of Karnal Birni Khera I cannot trace Firishta Bo Text I p 263 reads نہر سر کھڑا ta nahr + Sarkhatra Compare Rennell's memoir, pp 72 73

⁴ MS (A) بنا فرموده

⁵ قدریز آباد نام کرد At the village of Gawin on the banks of the Jumna, Elliott, III 302

⁶ According to the list of Egyptian Khalifahs given in Thomas' *Pathan Kings of Delhi* the Khalifah in 757 A H was Abul Fath Al Mu tazidbillāhī Abū Bakr ibn ul Mustakfi billāhī He was the sixth of the Egyptian Khalifahs Al Mustakfi billāhī Abul Rabi' Suleimān ibn ul Hakim bi amrillāhī was the third of this line

⁷ MS (A) adds و

⁸ MS (A) omits خوب

⁹ MS (A) reads حاتی ایاس داشت

¹⁰ MS (A) کرد

- And in the year 759 H. (1358 A.D.) having gone to Samān, he appointed Malik Qabūl *Sarbadalār*¹ to proceed against² the Mughuls who had arrived on the frontier of Dīpālpur. The Mughuls upon hearing particulars of the Sultān's army turned back
246. and went to their own country, and the Sultān returned to Dihli;³ and in this year the Sultān despatched some Arabian horses and foreign fruits⁴ with all kinds of choice presents by the hands of the messengers of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn of Lakhnauti who had arrived at his Court bearing many presents,⁵ and at Bihār they heard that the Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn had died, and Sultān Sikandar his son had ascended the throne in the room of his father, so they sent the horses in accordance with orders to the Court at Bihār and conducted the messengers back to Kāja.
 And in the year 760 H., the Sultān having formed the design of attacking Lakhnauti with a vast army, left Khān-i-Jahān in Dehli, and after deputing Tātār Khān, that is to say Malik Tātār, to proceed from Ghaznī to Multān, set out and passed the rainy season in Zafarābād, and at this place, A'zam Malik Shukhzāda-i-Bustāmī⁶ who had become intimate during his absence with Malik Ahmad Aiyāz, and by the orders of the Sultān had been banished, brought from the Dārul Khilāfat of Egypt a robe of honour for the Sultān and received the title of A'zam Khān. Saiyyid Rusūldār was sent with the messengers of Lakhnauti⁸ to the Sultān Sikandar at Lakhnauti, and Sikandar despatched five fine elephants with other costly presents and offerings to the Court. The Sultān when the rains were over leaving Zafarābād shaped his course for Lakhnauti, and while on the way set apart the requirements of kingship, and elephants and a store of rubies which at that time were held in great estimation, for the Shāhzāda Fātih Khān, they
247. also struck coins in his name. When they arrived at the confines

¹ MS. (A) Sirāj 'Afīf calls him Torābānd. Elliott, III. 311.

² MS. (A) برسو مغل

⁸ MS. (A) مراجعت نمود

⁴ MS. (A) صیوۃ

⁵ MS. (A) اعده

⁶ The events preceding this are related by 'Afīf, showing how friendship was established between Sultān Fīroz and Sultān Sikandar. Bīdāoni's account gives no idea of the circumstances. (See Elliott, III. 305-312.)

⁷ MS. (A) omits &5.

⁸ A footnote to the text states that in two MSS. the words يانقة بود follow the word لکھنوتی.

of Pandūh, Sultān Sikandar shut himself up in the castle of Ikdala¹ whither his father had been in the habit of going for refuge, and after the Sultan had laid siege to that fortress Sultān Sikandar asked for quarter, and sent thirty-seven elephants with other costly presents as his humble service.

And in the year 761 H (1359 60 A D) the Sultan proceeded by continuous marches by way of Pandūh² to Jaunpur where he spent the rains, and at the close of this year he marched with a lightly equipped force³ by way of Behār towards Jājnagar, and sent his elephants and baggage to Karrā, and by uninterrupted marches arrived at Satgīr⁴ the Rai of which place⁵ withdrew, and thence he came to Baranasi⁶ which was the abode of the Chief Rāi, and crossed the river Mahendrāti,⁷ and the Rāi of Baranasi having taken to flight made with all haste for Tilang. The Sultan pursued him part of the way turned back to hunt,⁸ and arrived at the country of Rai Parīhān Dev⁹ who sent a present of thirty-two¹⁰ elephants and other costly offerings. From thence the Sultan coming to Padmawati and Param Falāo¹¹ which was the haunt of elephants of enormous size, engaged in hunting them and killed two [and they took the other three alive]¹² and Malik Ziaū l-Mulk¹³ wrote a quatrain upon this

¹ See 'Afif's account of this (Elliott III 309) Siraj 'Afif calls this place 'the islands of Ikdala see note 6 page 324

² 'Afif says by way of ' Qinau and Oudh"—Jaunpur was so called by Sultan Firoz Shah after Sultan Muhammad Shah son of Tuglaq Shah, whose name was Jaunān, so he called the place Jannan pur He stayed there six months during which period the city was built on the banks of the Kowah (Gumti)

³ 'Afif says حضرت شاہ نے گا در کر کر گدشت the Shah left his heavy baggage in Karrā Text p 163 (Calc Edn Bibl Ind) see Elliott, III 312, note 2

⁴ MS (A) سیفیں

⁵ Named Adeesār (Afif) or Rao Sidhan (Firishta)

⁶ 'Afif says Banaras: the ancient residence of the independent Raies of Jajnagar

⁷ MS (A) مہندروی

⁸ 'Afif tells us (Text pp 166 67) that the Sultan turned aside from the pursuit to hunt some wild elephants (see Elliott III 312 313)

⁹ The Raja of Beerbhoom (Briggs Firishta)

¹⁰ MS (A) reads & three

¹¹ MS (A)

¹² Not in MS (A)

¹³ MS (A) صیاد الدین

Verse.

The Shāh who of right¹ assumed a lasting kingdom
Seized the ends of the earth like the glorious Sun
To hunt elephants he came to Jājnagar,
Two he killed and thirty-three² he took alive.

And thence by way of Karra he returned with all possible haste.³

248. And in the year 762 H. (1360-61 A.D.) victorious and triumphant he came to Dehli, and after a short time he gave orders for an expedition to the river Salīma,⁴ which is a river issuing from a large mound of sand and falling into the river Sutlej which they also call Satlaz.⁵ The Salīma is also called the Sarsuti,⁶ and this river consists of two large streams which are always flowing, and situated between these two streams there is a high mound or dyke, and if this were dug through the water of the Sarsuti would flow into this stream, and it flows through Sihrind and Mansūrpūr and Sāmāna.⁷

The Sultān gave orders for fifty thousand men with spades to be collected and to occupy themselves in digging through that barrier. Out of it they obtained many bones of elephants and human beings. Every bone belonging to the arm of a man was three *gaz*⁸ (in length). They were partly converted into

¹ MS. (A) بحق.

² There is a footnote in the text which says that "in one MS. this same number occurs and it is probably correct," but on the other hand there is 'Afīf's statement that there were only eight elephants, seven males and one female to begin with (Text, p. 167.) However 'Afīf, Text 172, says he took with him 73 elephants alive.

³ MS. (A) بسوت تمام.

نهر سلیمان نام.

ستله.

⁴ Compare with this Firishta's account, with which Badāoni's is almost identical. *Firishta*, Bomb. Edn. p. 265.

⁵ Firishta says لیما see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* XII. 261, for the Sarsutī or Saraswati. See also J. R. A. S. Jan. 1893, pp. 49-76. The Salīma seems to answer in position to the Markanda which runs near Shāhābād S. of Ambālā.

⁶ *Gaz.* See *Aīn Akbari* (Jarrett), II. 58 *et seq.* Throughout Hindustān there were three kinds of *gaz*—long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts each of which was called *fassūj*.

Presumably it is the short *gaz* which is here meant but even this would be about 26 inches, and taking the author's meaning to be the bones of the forearm, an ulna measuring 26 inches is hardly likely to have been human.

stone and had partly remained bone just as they were That stream however could not be diverted,¹ and² in the meantime he made Sirhind and for ten krohs beyond into one district, which he put under the control of Maul Mulk Shamsu d Din Abu Rija, and ordered them to build a fort there and called it Firuzpur which is in fact Sirhind,³ and the Sultan from thence, went to Nagarkot whose Raja after a siege and some fighting came in and submitted and met with royal treatment⁴ The Sultan gave to Nagarkot the name of Muhammadabad after the deceased Sultan Muhammad, and when they brought the Sultan ice on that mountain fort he said,⁵ "when Sultan Muhammad who is now dead and whom I regarded as a god, arrived in this place they brought him a sharbat mixed with ice, but he had⁶ no inclination for that beverage because I was not with him" Accordingly they made an iced sharbat with several elephant and camel loads of cane sugar which was carried with Sultan Firuz, and he ordered them to read the whole of the Qur'an for the soul of Sultan Muhammad and distribute the sharbat among the entire army Under these circumstances they informed the Sultan⁷ that from the time when Sultan Sikandar Zul Qarnain arrived at this place the people of that city have preserved an image of Noshaba⁸ and keep it in a room, where they worship it There are one thousand three hundred books of the Brahmins of olden time in that idol temple which is commonly known as Jawalamukhi,⁹ a flame of fire rises from it towards heaven and is not to be extinguished, No, not by thousands of mashks¹⁰ of water The Sultan having sum

¹ I take this to be the meaning The Persian is کندخ شد

² MS (A) inserts و

³ See Imp Gaz (Sirhind) XII 552, and Kengra VII 411

⁴ See Elliot III 318 319

⁵ MS (A) 85

⁶ MS (A) اراب

⁷ MS (A) adds the word سلطان

⁸ Firuzta's words are صورت نوشاد را مساجد

⁹ Firuzta say Jalamukhi حلا مکوی

¹⁰ MS مشک The goatskin bag for carrying water

Briggs in his translation adds the words 'the wife of Alexander the Great' but upon what authority does not appear The wives of Alexander were Roxana the daughter of Oxyartes whom he married in 327 B C and

moneed the Brahmins, ordered some of his translators to translate some of those books¹ into Persian. Among those translators Izzu-d-Din Khâlîd Khâni,² who was one of the poets and *mûnshîs* of the time of Firuz wrote in verse a translation of a book on the risings and settings of the seven planets, and their good and evil import, and of auguries and omens. Its name is called up to the present day³ *Dalâ'il-i-Firuzî*, and the author of this *Muntakhab* read it in Lâhor in the year 1000 H. (1591-92 A.D.) from beginning to end. It is moderately good, neither free from beauties nor defects; and I saw some other books before that also which were translated in the name of Sultân Firuz, some of them on the Science of "Pingal"⁴ that is to say on Music, and the kinds of *Akhâra*⁵ which they call *Pâtur bâzi*, and some on other subjects. I found most of them to be profligate, and their paucity of interest is for the most part due to the triviality of their subject matter, and the difficulty of explaining it, as is evident.

The Sultân leaving there proceeded to Thatha, and the Jâm,⁶ by which title the ruler of Thatha is called, entrenched himself so that the Sultân was induced by the vehemence of the rainy season, and the amount of water which was out, as well as by the dearness of

(2ndly) at Susa, 324 B.C., Barsine or Stateira the eldest daughter of Darius III, while according to some accounts (Arrian) he also took as his wife Parysatis the daughter of Ochus, at Susa, B.C. 325. Arrian is the only author who mentions this last wife. (Smith, D. G. R. Biography).

It نوشہرو represents in reality either of the wives of Alexander it must be the first named whose name might have been written نوشہرو *Rushâna* and by copyist errors perverted to نوشہبا *Nûshâba*.

Firighta's original however gives no countenance to the statement in Briggs' translation.

¹ MS. (A) omits بعضی but writes بعض.

² MS. (A) reads خالی Beale (O. B. D.) calls him 'Izzu-d-Dîn Khâlid Khâni' and mentions him as the author of the *Dalâ'il-i-Fîroz Shâhî*, probably on the authority of this passage.

³ MS. A خدیل.

⁴ So called from Pingala or Pingalanâga, the inventor of the art of prosody. See Albirûnî, India I. 137, also Colebrooke Essays, II. 57.

⁵ The *Akhâra* is an entertainment held at night and consists of singing and dancing by females. See Āin-i-Akbari (Jarrett), III. 258. The word *Pâtur* signifies in Hindî a prostitute or dancing-girl.

⁶ 'Afîf tells us that Jâm the brother of Râî Unar, and Bânbâna (بانبند) his brother's son wore in possession of Thatha.

grun, to abandon the siege and make with all haste for Gujrāt,¹ which country he placed under the control of Zafar Khān, then having deposed Nizāmu'l Mulk² and appointed him Naib Wazir of Dihli, he returned to Thathā, and on this occasion the Jām asking for quarter³ had an interview with the Sultan, and with all the Zamīndārs accompanied him to Dihli, and from there took his leave after being kindly treated and confirmed on his former footing as ruler of Thathā.⁴ In the year 772 H (1370 A.D.) Khan-i-jahān the Vazir, died, and his son Jūna Shah obtained that title,⁵ and the book Chandaban⁶ which is a *Masnavi* in the Hindi language relating the loves of Luiik and Chandā, a lover and his mistress, a very graphic wail, was put into verse in his honour by Maulānā Da'ud. There is no need for me to praise it because of its great fame in that country, and Maḥdūm Shukh⁷ Taqī dīn Ya'īz Rabbāni used to read some occasional poems of his from the pulpit,⁸ and the people used to be strangely influenced by hearing them, and⁹ when certain learned men of that time asked the Shālikh¹⁰ saying, what is the reason for this Hindi *Masnavi* being selected? he answered, the whole of it is divine truth and pleasing in subject, worthy of the ecstatic contemplation of devout lovers, and conformable to the interpretation of some of the Ayats of the Qur'ān, and the sweet singers of Hindustan. Moreover by its public recitation human hearts are taken captive.

In the year 773 H (1371-72 A.D.) Zafar Khān died and the control of that province was confirmed to his son¹¹

¹ Encountering great difficulties on the march, so much so that for some months the impression in Dihli was that the army had been lost ('Afif Text, p 211)

² Amir Husain son of the late Amir Miran (Elliott III 326)

³ Famine appeared and his troops were starved out (Elliott III 334)

⁴ 'Afif says the son of the Jām and Tamachi brother of Bānhbana were appointed to rule over Thathā.

⁵ See Elliott III 371

⁶ MS (A) reads حدایت *Hadayan* without dots, and also reads حداہ *Handa*. I have failed to obtain any information regarding this work.

⁷ MS (A) omits شیخ

⁸ MS (A) در سر مهدو

⁹ MS (A) reads و مردم را از استماع آن حلاج عربده دری میداد و

¹⁰ MS (A) پرسیده اند

¹¹ According to Firīghtā, Zafar Khan died in 775 H and was succeeded by his elder son Darya Khan

Rais and Governors and Commissioners, arrived at the capital summoning Maliku sharq Marwān i Danīl, who held the son of Nusrat Khan,¹ from the district of Karīa and Mahobī, pointed him to the Multan district,² with a view to close the son to Mughul intrigues he then confirmed Karīa and³ Mahobī together with all their dependencies upon the son of Maliku shāfiq⁴ Saleimān the son of Malik Marwan, whose adopted son was Sayyid Khizr Khān, the grandfather of Sultan 'Alau d Din Badaoni who eventually succeeded to the kingdom of Dihlī.

And in the year 782 H (1380 A.D.) he raised the standard for an expedition with the intention of taking vengeance on the Khukhrāi Chief of Kāithar⁵, who had invited and put to death by treachery both Sayyid Muhammad and Sayyid 'Alau d Din his other,⁶ who were Governors of Badaon. The rebellious Khukhrāi⁷ advanced towards the hills of Kumaon, accordingly after laying waste and plundering the whole of his country, he left Malik Khitab the Afghān in the country of Sambhal⁸ to deal with the rebellion of Khukhrāi, and turned back after having made over Badāon to Malik Jabul, Qibulpura which at present is a quarter of Badaon lying outside the fort is called after his name, also he used to come every year for the purpose of sport and lay utterly waste the Kāithar⁹ country.

And in the year 787 H he built a fortified town in a place called Babuli¹⁰ which is seven krohs from Badaon and is better

¹ MS (A)

طرف *

² MS (A)

⁴ Firishta calls him ملک شمس الدن سلیمان Malik Shamsu d Din Saleiman

⁵ MS (A) reads رای کھو کھر مقدم کنہور Firishta reads رای کھر مقدم کنہور The chief of Kāithar called Kharku

⁶ Firishta says Sayyid Muhammad governor of Badaon with his brothers Sayyid 'Alau d Din and Sayyid Mahmud

کھر کو 7 Kharku (Firishta)

⁸ Firishta calls him مسٹل MS (A) Firishta calls him Malik Da ud Afghān

⁹ MS (A) کنہور Kāithar Firishta states he had given Malik Da ud orders to ravage the country year by year

¹⁰ Possibly from the abundance there of the Acacia Arabica known as Babul or Khar However Firishta calls it سوچی Basuli

side¹ the Firūzī Amirs and the mass of the people, in the month of Rajab 789 H (1387 A D) he started with a strong force to attack Khān-i-Jahān, and having wounded him plundered his house and family. Khān-i-Jahān fled² with a few followers towards Miwāt, and took refuge therewith one Kūkā a Zamīndār,³ and the Shāhzāda destroyed certain of the Amirs who had been well disposed to Khān-i-Jahān. Subsequently to this the Shāhzāda became Vazir with full uncontrolled powers, and the Sultān having given him all the apparatus of royalty, elephants and horses, servants and insignia, and conferring upon him the title of Nāṣiru d Dīn wa-ud Dūnyā Muḥammad Shāh, in the month of Sha'bān of the above mentioned year raised him to the throne, and betook himself to devotion and worship of the Most High, so that in the Friday Khutbah the names of both kings used to be mentioned,⁴ Sultān Muḥammad ordered upon a new scale the appointments and salaries of the Amirs, and confirmed the distribution of districts, and having given Malik Ya'qūb the title⁵ of Sikandar Khān appointed him to attack Khān-i-Jahān in Miwāt; Kūkā Chāhān a Zamīndār of Miwāt⁶ bound Khān-i-Jahān and sent him to Sikandar Khān, who put him to death,⁷ and having sent his head as a present to the Court of Muḥammad Shāh set out⁸ for Gujerat.

And in the year 790 H (1388 A D) Muḥammad Shāh arrived on a hunting expedition at the Sirmur hills, and Malik Mufarrīh who was in Gujerat, in unison with the Amirs of hundreds put Sikandar Khān to death, and the whole of his army being utterly despoiled

¹ MS (A) متفق گردیده

² Having first put to death Zafar Khān (Firūzīta)

³ Firūzīta calls him Kukā Chāhān

⁴ See Thomas' Pathan Kings, pp 297 and 305

⁵ The word طلب must be inserted here though no copy has it

⁶ MS (A) omits the words صیوندار میورات

⁷ MS (A) بغل رسایدہ The first Khān-i-Jahān was according to 'Afīf originally a Hindu. He was a native of Telengana and a man of high position in favour with the Rājā of that country. His name was Katlu, but on becoming a Muslim he was named Maqbul. 'Afīf states that he died in 707 A H and when he died all Dihlī went into mourning. This Khān-i-Jahān was his son Junan Khan

⁸ MS (A) آئے آج

came with the *Sipahsūlār* to Dihli; Muhammad Shāh, returning from the hill country, with the great carelessness which characterises youth took no thought for avenging Sikandar Khān, but spent his time in enjoyment and luxury, so that the affairs of the kingdom fell into great disorder; and the Sultān's soldiery by reason of their enmity and jealousy against Samān-d-Din and Kamālu-d-Din, who were the *protégés* of Muhammad Shāh, set themselves up in opposition to them, and assembled in a spacious plain, and stoned and wounded Malik Zahiru-d-Din Lāhorī whom the Shāhzāda had sent to admonish them. He came in that state before Muhammad Shāh and informed him of what had happened, whereupon the Shāhzāda having collected forces set out to do battle with that party. The army of the Shāhzāda was victorious at first, and bore back the army of the Sultān, so that they took refuge with the Sultān Firuz. The battle raged fiercely for two days and when the Sultān's body servants found themselves in straits, they bore the Sultān, who was little more than a puppet, to the field of battle and displayed him there, and when the troops of Muhammad Shāh and his elephant drivers set eyes upon Sultān Firuz they left fighting and came over to the Sultān. Muhammad Shāh with the small following which remained to him, went towards the Sirmur hills, and the army of the Sultān, which was near a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry, fell upon the camp of Muhammad Shāh, and entering his private apartments sacked them and swept them away. The Sultān at the instigation of some interested persons, unwillingly deposed Muhammad Shāh

255. from his position as heir apparent, and conferring upon Tughlaq Khān¹ the son of Fath Khān, his grandson, the title of Tughlaq Shāh raised him to the position of heir-apparent. Tughlaq Shāh beheaded Mir Hasan the son-in-law of the Sultān, who was a special favourite of Muhammad Shāh, and having exiled Ghālib Khān the governor of Sāmāna, sent him to the country of Bihār. On the sixteenth of Ramazān in the year 790 H. Sultān Firuz attained deliverance from the tortures of existence, and hastened to the world of permanence, and was buried on the borders of the

¹ So *Firishta*. Briggs says here, p. 461, "placed his grandson Gheias-ood-Deen upon the throne." The text is تغلق شاه ولد شاهزاده فتح خان. Tughlaq Shāh the son of the Shāhzāda Fath Khān. This was Ghālsu-d-Din Tughlaq Shāh II.

Hanz-i-Khāṣṣ, over his tomb a lofty dome was erected which is well known. They devised two chronograms for the date of his death *Wafat-i-Firuz* and *Naql-i-Fuzuz Shāh*, the second of these is deficient by one unit¹. The duration of his reign was thirty-eight years and some months².

All good fortune is till death and no longer,
 In the dust one man is no better than another
 When a drop is thrown into the river
 It cannot again be recognized
 The nature of the Heavens is to overthrow,
 It is of no use to oppose the decree of Fate
 Who knows with the blood of what hearts
 This stirred up dust has been mixed³?
 Every road, if the wise man is not blinded,
 Is the hide of the elk, and shagreen from the wild ass⁴

Among the poets of the reign of Fuzuz Shāh and his boon companions, is Malik Ahmad, the son of Amir Khusrū, may God have mercy upon him, and although there is no famous anthology of his, still there are some imitations of the writings of the earlier poets which are entered in the writings of some of the learned men, and are well-known. Among them is an imitation of this poem of Zahir⁵

زهی روده زرفعت کلاه گوشة تو
 کلاه گوشة گردون زروی عباری⁶

Hail! thou whose cap of empire snatched in its exaltation the cap of empire of the heaven, by craftiness.

And it is said that in the first hemistich we should read

زهی طباقچه قهر تو از طرق نهاد

Hail to thee¹ the blow of whose wrath, in thy supreme power

¹ *Wafat-i-Firuz* وفات فیروز and *Naql-i-Fuzuz Shāh* نقل فیروز شاه give 790

² Firuzta says nearly forty years p 271, Bo text

³ That is to say, it is not really dust but the remains of living animals

⁴ Zahir al-Din Tahir ibn Muhammad, a contemporary of Jamal al-Din Isfahani and Hakim Khaqani Shirwani was a native of Faryāb

He died in the year 598 H and is buried at Surkhāb of Tabriz which has been called 'the Sepulchre of the Poets'. His poetry was held in great estimation (*Majnūn Fuzuz* I 830) see also Beale O B D, p 286

⁵ MS (A) reads حماری for عباری see also footnote to text.

and in place of گوود (snatched) in the last hemistich we should read فَنْدَه (thrown)] ;¹ and another is this verse

این سهل سهل بود که گوگرد میرخ خواست
گر نان خواجه خواستی آن را چه کرد می

This was extremely easy, that he asked for red sulphur :²

If he had asked bread from the Khwāja, what could I have done ?

which was thus written,

این سهل سهل بود که آب حیات خواست

This would have been very easy had he asked for the water of life.

Another is in this verse,

گومشک خواند خاک درت را فلک مرنج
نرخ گهر بطعن خریدار نشکند

If the sky calls the dust of your door musk, do not grieve,
For the jewel's worth is not affected by the abuse of the pur-chaser.

The poet had written,

گر لعل خواند سنک درت مشتری مرنج

If Jupiter calls the gravel at your door rubies, do not grieve.

And some of his poems also I have seen, but I remember none of them, and since Malik Aḥmad was the real son of Amir Khusrū, and reminded them of his father, the King and his companions and the learned men of the age were greatly pleased with these imitations and thought them very valuable.

¹ The portion between brackets is not found in MS. (A).

The verse would then read as follows :

زهی طپانچه قهر تو از طريق نفاذ کلاه گوشة گودون فَنْدَه ز عیاری

گوگرد احمد ² *Gügird-i-Aḥmar* (Sulphur). The red Gügird is said to be a mineral of exceeding rarity which is only found in a mine in the Valley of the Ants; the ants of that region are the size of goats. It is said that at night a light is emitted from the mine which may be seen for many leagues, but when the mineral is taken out of the mine it does not possess this luminous property. It is an important ingredient in *Al-Iksīr* (Elixir of life) and just as Quicksilver is called *Abūl-arwāḥ* (Father of spirits), they call this *Abūl-ajsād* (Father of bodies).

It has various beneficial qualities (*Burhān-i-qāfi'*.)

Another poet was Maulānā Mazhar Karra,¹ whose descendants are still living in the city of Lakhnautī and have been highly thought of and respected from generations back. There is an anthology of his consisting of fifteen or sixteen thousand verses, but inasmuch as he was more of a Mulla than a poet, his poetry is not so highly esteemed by the learned, although were they to search, they would bring to light many a good thing in the way of rarity (of expression).

Another (poet) is Qāzī 'Ābid² who wrote this poem—

My friends say, 'Ābid with this fine nature of yours
How is it that you have not written more poems and odes ?
To whom shall I address poems and odes, since in our time
No suitable lover and no generous patron has arisen.

This is a translation of the following poem in Arabic—

They say, thou hast given up writing poems, I reply, yes !
perforce ;
The door of claims and causes is closed.
The land is empty—there is no benefactor from whom to
hope for favours, nor is there any beauty to love.
And the strange thing is that though no one will buy poetry
Still in spite of this they appropriate and steal it.

SULTĀN TUGHLAQ SHĀH IBN FATH KHĀN IBN SULTĀN FIRŪZ

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and power by the consent of the Amirs in the year 790 A.H. (1388 A.D.) in accordance with the will of his grandfather, assuming the title of Ghiyāṣ-d-Din Taghlaq Shāh, and despatched several famous Amirs to oppose Muḥammad Shāh towards the foot of the hills (of Sirmūr). Muḥammad Shāh after fighting for a little betook himself to Nagar Kot, and the army of Tughlaq Shāh on account of the difficulty³ of the way turned back (to Dihli) and Abu Bakr Khān son of Zafar Khān and grandson of Fath Khān, who was his brother's son, being panic-stricken and terrified, went to his father,⁴ and Malik Ruknu-

¹ In the *Majma'ul Fuṣḥā* he is called *Mazhar-i-Hindī* Qāzī of Agra (? Karra) the panegyrist of Firūz Shāh, but no particulars are given. The *Atash Kada-i-Azur* merely mentions his name as *Mazhari*.

² Neither the *Majma' ul Fuṣḥā* nor *Atash Kada-i-Azur* mention this poet.

³ MS. (A) معَب.

⁴ MS. (A) بِجانبِي پدر رفت و.

d-Dīn Chanda Wazīr, in concert with other Amīrs, made friends with Abu Bakr Khān, and killed Malik (Muḥārak) Kabīr¹ in Firūzābād at the door of the rest house of Tughlaq Shāh, and having pursued Tughlaq Shāh and Khān-i-Jahān the Wazīr² when they fled, put them to death and hung up their heads³ over the gate of the city; this event occurred in the month of Ṣafar⁴ in the year 791 II. (1389 A.D.); the duration of the reign of Tughlaq Shāh, was five months and eighteen days.⁵

Verse.

[He laid low in the dust that rose of kingdom which the garden
of the king
Had cherished in its breast with endless care.]⁶

ABU BAKR SHĀH IBN ZAFAR KHĀN [IBN FATH KHĀN⁷]
IBN FIRŪZ SHĀH.

After the martyrdom of Tughlaq Shāh, by the ill-judged agreement of the Amīrs assumed the Government under the above title, and at the commencement of his reign distributed appointments among the Amīrs, and raised Ruknu-d-Dīn Chanda to the dignity of Vazīr, and eventually, when he heard that Ruknu-d-Dīn in concert with certain of the Amīrs, was plotting sedition,
259. and entertained ambitious designs upon the kingdom, got rid of him together with his following, taking possession of his elephants and treasure, obtained complete hold over Dihlī and increased in power daily. In the meantime the Amīrs of hundreds of Sāmāna cut to pieces Malīk Sultān Shāh Khushdil, the Amīr of Sāmāna, who had been sent against the Sultān Muḥammad Shāh to the country at the foot of the hills, at the head of the reservoir of Sāmāna and sacked his house, and sending his head to the Shāhzāda Muḥammad Shāh at Nagarkot invited him to come; Muḥammad Shāh accordingly left Nagarkot, and came to Sāmāna by way of Jalandhar by continuous marches, and having gathered together the

1 MS. (A) omits مبارک. Firishta calls him Amīru-l-Umaīā.

2 Firishta tells us that this was Malīk Firūz 'Ali son of Malīk Tāju-d-Dīn.

3 MS. (A) inserts ل.

4 MS. (A) دو صفر سی و دی. Firishta says 21st of Ṣafar.

5 MS. (A) writes پنج ماہ بود و هزاره روز.

6 Not in MS. (A).

7 The words in square brackets are not in MS. (A).

paraphernalia of royal magnificence for the second time raised the standard of royalty in the month of Rabiul Awwal in the year 791 H (1389 A D) and in the following month of Rabiul Ulūh of the same year, set out to capture Dihli with a force of 70000 and alighted at the palace of Jahan Numā where he bestowed upon the Amirs suitable appointments among others¹ he conferred upon the Governor of Multan the title of Khizi Khan and Abu Bakr Shah having raised an army for the assistance of Bahadur Nuhun Khan Zida of Miwat, on the (2nd) of Jumadī I Awwal² of the aforesaid year engaged in battle on the plains of Izzibid with Muhammad Shah and gained the day Muhammad Shah, with two thousand cavalry, crossed the river Jamna and entered the Doab, and sent Humayun Khan his younger son to Samana and having obtained thence a great following and the requirements of sovereignty, and taking with him certain Amirs of Hindustan with fifty thousand cavalry, a second time marched his standards towards Dihli As it chanced he became engaged in battle with Abu Bakr 260 Shah and was again deserted, and Abu Bakr Shah pursued him part of the way, but considered it an excellent opportunity to return Muhammad Shah arrived at Chaptar,³ which is a town on the banks of the Ganges and giving over his following to destruction once more attempted to fight And in the month of Muḥarram of the year 792 H (1389 90 A D) Shīzada Humayun Khan having called together many Amirs from the frontier of Samana to reinforce him laid waste the country round Dihli engaged in battle in the neighbourhood⁴ of Panipat with Imadūl Mulk who had been sent by Abu Bakr (Shah)⁵ with four thousand cavalry to oppose him and being defeated retreated towards Samana And in the month of Jamadī I Awwal of the aforesaid year Abu Bakr Shah marched for Chaptar (Chitar) with a strong force with the object of opposing Muhammad Shah, and had encamped at a distance of twenty lrah from Dihli, when Muhammad Shah with

¹ MS (A) ار جے

² The text and MS (A) both read ساری حمدہ الاول

³ MS (A) چندر The text reads Chitār Fir alta says المدرس 4 Jalesar Bo text p 275

⁴ MS (A) در دواہی

⁵ MS (A) omits the word شاہ

four thousand men,¹ passing unobserved round his right flank,² reached Dihli by another route and entered the palace of Humāyūn, where the populace both great and small declared in favour of him; Abū Bakr Shāh pursued him and arrived at Dihli, and having put to death Malik Bahāu-d-Dīn Jangi whom Muḥammad Shāh had left to guard the gates, without hesitation made for the palace of Humāyūn, and Muḥammad Shāh, being taken off his guard, was not able to oppose him and leaving by way of the door of the *Hauz-i-Khāṣṣ* fled again with all haste to Chaptar (Chitar) his original abode and asylum.³ Many of his noted Amīrs and of his body servants were put to death, and although Sultān Muḥammad Shāh was no longer able to stand against Abū Bakr Shāh, still⁴ the soldiery and people were very ill-disposed towards Abū Bakr Shāh, and in the month of Ramaḍān in the aforesaid year, 261. Mubashir Chap and some of the slaves of Firūz Shāh's party who had been promoted to the rank of Amīr, and for one reason or another bore a grudge against Abū Bakr Shāh, opened a secret correspondence⁵ with Muḥammad Shāh, and invited him;⁶ Abū Bakr Shāh when he came to know of this was utterly dumbfounded, and under pretext of asking assistance from Bahādur Nāhir set his face to go to *Kotila*⁷ of Miwāt, and set out leaving Malik Shāhīn and ‘Imādu-l-Mulk and Malik Bahri and Ṣafdar Khān in Dihli; then Muḥammad Shāh in obedience to the invitation of the Amīrs entered Dihli for the third time and ascended the throne of royalty in the palace of Firūzābād with great ceremony; and Mubashir Chap,

¹ Firishta says with 4,000 chosen Cavalry.

² چپ غلط کرده. Firishta says,

و بعد از آنکه نزدیک گشت راه چپ کرد

³ MS. (A) adds here جانب دھلی ایلغار فرمود کہ مقرر و مفتر اصلیٰ او بود.

⁴ MS. (A) adds here جوں.

⁵ MS. (A) خطبائی.

⁶ MS. (A) استدعا نہو دند.

⁷ Kotila. Hindī कोटला *kotlā*, a small fortress. Bahādur Nāhir was ruler of Miwāt, see Firishta Briggs, 471. This word Kotla seems to have been made use of by Firūz Shāh to designate certain of his hunting palaces. See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 292, note 3, and references there given.

By this Kotila however, Kotila of Miwāt, we may understand probably Hardwār or a town in its vicinity, which appears in Rennell's map G. n. as "Coupale" see Elliott, III 455. n. and 458.

having received the title of Islām Khan, was promoted to the rank of Vazīr, and after some time he left Fīuzābād and went to the palace of Humāyūn, Jahan (Numā),¹ and gave orders for the slaves of the Fīuzī party who had been a source of disturbance in the days of tumult and riot to be put to death without distinction, and many of the free men also, who came from the eastern quarters of Hindustan were taken for slaves by reason of the imperfection of their pronunciation,² and were put to the sword. (Abu Bakr Shah after this misfortune could not recover himself, and remained at the Kotila (of Mīrāt) just as he was till Muhammād Shah³ by continuous marches came against him, and Bahadur Nahr Mīwātī and Abu Bīkī Shah who had taken refuge with him, after fighting for a long time begged for quarter and had an interview with Sultān Muhammād Shah Bahadur Nahr received a robe of honour and other marks of favour, but they imprisoned Abu Bakr Shah in the fort of Mīrāt. In that self-same prison he escaped from the prison house of the world. This event took place in the year 793 H (1390 91 A D)⁴ the duration of the reign of Abū Bakr Shah was a year and a half

¹ MS (A) omits م.

² This passage is not intelligible in itself but Firīshṭa's account explains it fully. He tells us that many of these slaves claimed to be natives of the country and not foreigners, whereupon Muhammād Shah imposed upon them the pronunciation of certain words, and those who failed in their pronunciation of this 'Shibboleth' were treated as foreigners and put to death. He writes, ناصرالدین محمد شاه در حکم که هر کجا از شما که هرا که هری گوید اصیل است و چون نظور یک کجا پاد شایع میخواست تلاط نمیتوانستند داد و در بار موردم پورب و نیگله ای میکردند کشته ممتدند - Firīshṭa Bo text p 267

Muhammād Shah said "whoever among you instead of Khārā says Khāri, is a native of the country," and since (as the King in fact desired) they were not able to pronounce these words but followed the pronunciation of people of the East and of Bengal they were put to death.

The word *Khāri* signified brackish as applied to water natives of Eastern Bengal however use the word *Khārā* in place of *Khāri*, using the word as if it were an adjective agreeing with the masculine word *pāni*, water.

³ مسیده شاه MS (A) not in the text.

⁴ There is an error in MS (A) here which writes, دو سده ثالث و خمسین 753 H see Thomas, *Pathan Kings*, p 303 و سعیانیہ

Verse.

He reckoned certain days and then he came to nothing
The time smiled to think that he too had passed away.

Verse.

262. This world is like a corpse upon which there are
 thousands of vultures
[One continually tears another with its talons,
The other rends it constantly with its beak]¹
At last, they all take to flight and
All that remains of them all is the corpse.

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH IBN FIROZ SHĀH.

After the death of his brother's son Abū Bakr, this monarch ascended the throne of Dihlī in the abovementioned year by the consent of the grandees and nobles of the State,² and assumed absolute power there being now no one left to oppose him in the kingdom. And in this same year Mufarriḥ Sultānī governor of Gujrāt revolted, and Zafar Khān ibn Wajihu-l-Mulk was ordered to proceed thither.

In the year 794 H. (1391-92 A.D.) the *zamīndārs* (land-holders) of the Doāb³ breaking out into rebellion attacked the town of Balārām, and Islām Khān being appointed to proceed against Harsingrāi⁴ defeated him, while the Sultān went as far as Qananj and Itāwa, and after punishing the infidels of that district and laying waste Itāwa, returned to Chitrā⁵ which was a favourite resort of his, and there built the city of Muḥammadābād.

In the year 795 H. (1392-93 A.D.) he appointed Malik Muqarrabu-l-Mulk to proceed against the mutineers in the district of

¹ Not in MS. (A.)

² MS. (A) reads:—

سلطان محمد شاه بن فیروز شاه بعد از فوت برادرزاده خود ابویکر در سنّ مذکور باتفاق اعیان دولت و ارکان سلطنت بر سربر دھلی مد
از استقلال زد.

³ MS. (A) omits مواس.

⁴ Rūjā of Itāwa.

⁵ See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, 307 n. 1.

This place appears to be the same as Jalesar judging from Firishta's account.

For Jalesar see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, VII, 103.

Itāwa, who by promises and engagements¹ induced the rebels to come in, and took them to Qinauj, where he put them to death and returned to Muhammādābād. And in the month of Shawwal in this year, the Sultān was attacked by illness, taking advantage of this Bahādur Nūh made an inroad upon some of the towns around Dihli. The Sultān notwithstanding his weakness proceeded to Kotla; Bahādur gave battle once and then fled, and the Sultan victorious and triumphant returned to Muhammādābād, and was engaged in superintending the building of the city when his illness returned.

In the year 796 H (1393-94 A.D.) he appointed Shāhzāda Humayūn Khan to oppose Shaikhā Khukhar who had rebelled and gained possession of Lihore, but the Shāhzādā was still in the city when the Sultān² took his departure from the populous city of existence to the deserted regions of annihilation, and was buried in the mansoleum of his father on the banks of the Hauz-i-Khāss.³ The duration of his reign was six years and seven months.

Masnavi

What is the world, but a wayside abode of trouble and evil?
A house of labour and toil, a mansion of pain and affliction?
Here is no truth and no faithfulness, here are no friends and
no friendship,

Hundreds of times have I seen this, and proved it by frequent
experience.⁴

SULTAN 'ALAU'D DIN SIKANDAR SHĀH IBN I-MUHAMMAD SHĀH IBN-I-
FIROZ SHĀH,

Who bore the name of Humayūn Khan, ascended the imperial throne in virtue of his being heir apparent, on the nineteenth of

¹ MS (A) قول وقرار داده

² He died according to Ibrāhīm's account on the 17th of Rabi'īn I Awwal, and was buried beside his father on the banks of the Hauz-i-Khāss. Text, p 278

³ The Hauz-i-Khāss was a reservoir constructed by Fīruz Shāh, one of his many public works. It is said in the Zafarnāma of Yazdī to be 'so large that an arrow cannot be shot from one side to the other'. It is filled by rain in the rainy season and the people of Dihli obtain water from it all the year round. The tomb of Fīruz Shāh is by its side. Elliott, III, 411-501

See also Thomas Pathāt Kings 310 note 1

⁴ MS (A) and footnote to Text read مدد و از مدد مدد

Rabi‘u-l-Awwal in the year 795 H. (1393 A.D.) and after one month and sixteen days he bid farewell to this hired rest-house, and removed his effects to the permanent mansion.¹

So long as the world has been, thus has it been, and thus will it ever be.

264. The issue of affairs will be at last the same for all.

[And during the time that he was Shāhzāda, a learned man wrote and composed in his honour an imitation of the Maqāmāti Ḥarīrī I have seen a Maqāmah from this work].²

SULTĀN MAHMŪD SHĀH IBN-I-MUHAMMAD SHĀH,

Who was his youngest son,³ ascended the throne⁴ on the twentieth of Jumādiu-l-Awwal⁵ in the aforesaid year relying upon the allegiance of the Amīrs,⁶ with the title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Mahmūd, and having bestowed upon Muqarrabu-l-Mulk the title of Muqarrab Khān, he made him his heir apparent,⁷ and confirmed to the Amīrs their appointments⁸ districts and titles; and with a view to restoring order in the important affairs of State, which had suffered in consequence of the dominance of the perverse infidels, he bestowed the title of Sultānu-sh-Shūrq⁹ upon Khwāja-i-Jahān, and transferred him from Qanauj to Bihār with full powers and uncontrolled authority, and despatched him thither. He proceeded as far as Jājnagar¹⁰ and took possession of it,

¹ And was buried beside his father and grandfather on the edge of the Hanz-i-Khāṣṣ. He reigned one month and fifteen days (Firishta).

² The portion in square brackets is not found in MS. (A).

³ Firishta also says كوچکترین پسران the youngest of his sons. Briggs translates this "a youth, the son of."

⁴ MS. (A) omits سلطنت.

⁵ Text reads جمادی الاولی.

⁶ The text reads here بور حکم تبیعت, but this is I venture to think wrong.

MS. (A) reads سمعت and taking this together with Firishta's reading, we should, I think read "بوري حکم بیعت" "relying upon the allegiance."

جمله اکابر و امرا باوی بیعت کرده سر در ریقه فرمان آوردند. Firishta reads:

⁷ Firishta says became Vakīlu-s-Salṭanāt and Amīru-l-Umarā.

⁸ MS. (A) ولايات وخطابات.

⁹ So also Firishta. Briggs however converts this into "Mullik-oos-Shark," p. 478.

¹⁰ Firishta says Jaunpūr جونپور.

acquiring a large number of elephants and much valuable property, and from that time the king of Lakhnau began to send elephants annually as presents to Dihli.

He also rebuilt¹ the greater number of the forts which the infidels had destroyed, in the districts of Karr, Qadli, Sandila, Malsira,² Bahraich and Tirkut, and despatched Sârang Khân to the district of Dibâlpur to quell the rising of Shâshâ Khukhar. And in the month of Zâ Qâdah of the same year Shâshâ Khukhar³ fought a sharp engagement with Sârang Khân, at a place called Samethâl⁴ which is twelve lehs from Lahore, but was defeated and retired to the hill country of Jamûn, Sârang Khân thereupon left Lahore in charge of his brother 'Adil Khan,⁵ and returned towards Dibâlpur.

And in the month of Shorbân of this year Sultan⁶ Mahmûd leaving Muqîrâb Khân as his Vicerey in Dihli, and taking with him Sa'âdat Khân, who was commonly known⁷ as 'Abî-n-r-Hashid Sultanî, marched in the direction of Bîrû and Gwâhâr. In obedience to the order of the Sultan a spacious chief mosque⁸ built of stone was erected in the town of Bîrûwar, and is standing at the present time, and when⁹ the Sultan arrived near Gwâhâr, Malik 'Alâu-d-Dîn Dhârîwâl, and Maloo Khân¹⁰ the brother of Sârang Khân, and Mubârak Khân son of Malik Râjâ¹¹ conspired against Sa'âdat Khân, but he, becoming aware of their design, arrested Malik 'Alâu-d-Dîn and Mubârak Khân and had them put to death.¹²

¹ MS. (A) قمعیر فرمود و

¹ MS. (A) دلمور

² MS. (A) supplies کھوکھو. Pirâshîta says "advancing from Ajodhan."

⁴ Pirâshîta does not give the name of the place.

⁶ MS. (A) reads لاہور را برازدرو خوش عادل خان وا.

⁶ MS. (A) repeats the words

محمد مغرب خان را به بیات در شهر گذاشت و سعادت خان وا که

بعد الرشید سلطانی —

⁷ MS. (A.) شترارداشت.

⁸ MS. (A) omits و

⁹ MS. (A) omits چون.

¹⁰ MS. (A) omits خان. Pirâshîta calls this man Maloo Khân.

¹¹ So also Pirâshîta.

¹² Pirâshîta writes بکشت. Bulom apparently always uses سیاست in the sense of capital punishment.

Malloo Khān fled to Muqarrab Khān in Dihlī. The Sultān having returned to the Capital, encamped at some distance from the city, and Muqarrab Khān fearing his displeasure because he had given asylum to Malloo Khān,¹ entrenched himself and prepared to fight² and remained in his fortified position three months, and war arose between Muqarrab Khān and Sa'ādat Khān.³

And in the month of Muḥarram in the year 797 H. (Nov. 1394 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd was induced by the deceitfulness of certain friends of Muqarrab Khān to leave Sa'ādat Khān, to enter the fort and come to terms with Muqarrab Khān, who thus obtained the assistance he needed. The following day Muqarrab Khān and Sa'ādat Khān met on the field of battle, and Muqarrab Khān being defeated again entered the fort. Sa'ādat Khān went to Firuzābād,⁴ and acting in concert with some of the Amīrs summoned Nuṣrat Khān son of Fath Khān and grandson of Sultān Firuz Shāh⁵ from Miwāt, and set him upon the throne in the month of Rabi'u-l-Awwal of the aforesaid year, with the title of Nāṣiru-d-Din Nuṣrat Shāh. Nuṣrat Shāh was nothing more than a puppet, for Sa'ādat Khān assumed the whole of the authority in state matters, and some slaves of the Firuzī party and some elephant drivers joined with Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh, and by some clever artifice placed him upon an elephant, and without warning fell upon Sa'ādat Khān unawares in full force; Sa'ādat Khān was paralysed and helpless, and⁶ of necessity took to flight and came

¹ MS. (A) omits كھاں.

² MS. (A) خدا.

³ This account is unsatisfactory as it throws no light upon the real course of events. Firishta writes as follows:—Muqarrab Khān came out to receive the Sultān and to pay his respects, but becoming alarmed at the splendour and array of the royal court, because of his having given asylum to Malloo Khān, fled to the city where he fortified a position and began to fight. The quarrel lasted for some three months, with frequent engagements between the besiegers and the besieged, when recognizing that this was all due to Sa'ādat Khān Bārbak, Nāṣiru-d-Din Maḥmūd Shāh at the instigation of his intimates entered the city upon a favourable opportunity in the month of Muḥarram 797 H. and came to terms with Muqarrab Khān, who on the following day started from Dihlī to fight against Sa'ādat Khān, but was defeated and forced to return to the city." (Firishta, Bo. text p. 279). Cf. Briggs, p. 480.

⁴ Being compelled by the onset of the rains to decamp (Firishta).

⁵ The text reads نصرت خان بن فتح خان بن سلطان فیروز شاہ. The above translation is to avoid the ambiguity which a literal rendering involves.

⁶ MS. (A) و.

to Dihli, where he sought the protection of Muqarrab Khān, and was treacherously¹ put to death by him then the Amirs of Nuṣrat Shah's faction such as Muḥammad Maẓaffar Vazir and Shīhāb Nāhūr and Mālik Fazlu llahi Ballāhi,² and the slaves of Firūz Shah's party one and all³ renewed their declaration of allegiance to Sultan Nuṣrat Shāh and divided the appointments afresh.

Sultan Muḥmud was known as King in Dihli, while in Firuzabad Nuṣrat Shāh enjoyed that title,⁴ and Muqarrab Khan placed the citadel of old Dihli under the command of Bahādur Nāhūr Miwāti, and bestowed upon Maloo Khan⁵ the title of Iqbāl Khan,⁶ and day by day battles were fought between these two kings,⁷ who were like the two kings in the game of chess.⁸ Sultan Nuṣrat Shāh retained possession of the country of the Doab, and Sambhal, Panipath, Rohtak, and Jahjar,⁹ while a few old ruined forts such as Dihli and Siri and the rest, remained in the hands of Sultan Muḥmud, and from that time forward this proverb became a common expression. The rule of the Lord of the world (Khudāwānd i 'Ālam) is from Dihli to Palam¹⁰ And all over Hindustan there those various parties each with its own Malik.¹¹

Verse

Say, either you rule in the city, or let me rule
For the affairs of the state go to ruin between two rulers

The affairs of the kingdom continued in this state for a space of three years, at one time the Dihli party got the better of the Firuzabad¹² party and at another time the positions were reversed.

¹ MS (A) omits بعذر

² مساعط سبلغان (Firishta)

³ MS (A) omits نعام

⁴ See Thomas Pathan Kings, 312 note 1, and 318 note 1

⁵ MS (A) omits حان

⁶ Firishta states that these two joined neither king waiting to see how affairs would turn out

⁷ For a space of three years (Firishta)

⁸ That is to say could neither win nor be removed from the encounter

⁹ Cf Thomas Pathan Kings 313, notes 1 2

¹⁰ حکم i خدیwand i 'Ālam az Dihli t̄ Palam

¹¹ See Thomas Pathan Kings p 315 n 1

¹² MS (A) ضروریاں

Verse.

267. Like the kite which is six months female and six months male.¹

And in the year 798 H. (1395 A.D.) many battles took place between the *Musnad-i-Alī*,² Khizr Khān, the Amir of Multān, and Sārang Khān the ruler of Dipālpūr, and, eventually, owing to the treachery of certain of the slaves of Malik Marwān; who was the tutor of Malik Suleimān the father of Khizr Khān, and in consequence of their throwing in their lot with Sārang Khān the governor of Dipālpūr,³ Multān passed from the possession of Khizr Khān to that of Sārang Khān, and his party began to grow weaker and weaker every day.

And in the year 799 H. (1396 A.D.) Sārang Khān having overcome⁴ Ghālib Khān the governor of Sāmāna, and Tātār Khān the Wāli of Pānipath, gained possession of the country as far as the outskirts of Diblī.⁵ Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh sent Malik Ilyās⁶ a slave of the Firuz Shāhi party with elephants and an army to reinforce Tātār Khān. He accordingly drove Sārang Khān out of Sāmāna and delivered it to Ghālib Khān.⁷

And in the month of Muḥarram 800 H. (1397 A.D.) a severe engagement took place between the two parties in the neighbourhood of the village of Kotla; Sārang Khān was defeated⁸ and fled towards Multān, and Tātār Khān proceeded to the frontier of Tilaundi, and sending Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubīn in pursuit of Sārang Khān, returned. And in the month of Rabi‘u-l-Awwal in the year already mentioned,⁹ Mirzā Pir Muḥammad, grandson¹⁰ of the

¹ The *Burhān-i-Qāfi‘*.

او شش ماه نرو شش ماه میباشد و بعضی گویند یکسال نرو یکسال ماده است

It is a male for six months and a female for six months, some say one year male and one year female

The *Haiyātu-l-Haiwān* says nothing about this (art. ١٥٢ and عقاب,) but mentions a statement that the عقاب *uqāb* oagle or kite has no male, but the females are impregnated by the fox. See also I. K. (Slane) iii, 305.

² See Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, p. 329, n. 1.

³ MS. (A) omits the words حاکم دیپالپور.

⁴ MS. (A) omits و.

⁵ MS. (A) omits و.

⁶ MS. (A) also *Firishta*.

⁷ In the beginning of Muḥarram 800 H. (*Firishta*).

⁸ MS. (A) reads سمت ملکان افتداد و.

⁹ MS. (A) reads مذکور دن.

¹⁰ MS. (A) نبیلہ فریشتا writes نبیلہ.

great Amīr Timūr Gūrgān¹ King of Khūsān and Māwirā an-Nahr, had crossed the river Indus,² and was besieging the fortress of Uchh³ 'Alī Maḥī, Sārang Khān's lieutenant fought and held the fort for a month, and when Maḥī d-Dīn Bakhtyār arrived at the fort of Uchh with a thousand cavalry given him by Sārang Khan, Mirzā Pīr Muḥammad left Uchh, and taking Maḥī d-Dīn Bakhtyār and his thousand sowārs⁴ unawares in their position on the banks of the river Biāh, attacked them. The greater number of Maḥī d-Dīn's force fell by the sword, while those who escaped the sword were drowned in the floods of destruction,⁵ and Mirzā Pīr Muḥammad⁶ after gaining this victory pursued them with all speed,⁷ and invested the fortress of Multān.⁸ Sārang Khan held out against him for six months engaging him frequently, but at last begged for quarter, and had an interview with the Mirza,⁹ who took up his station in Multān pending the arrival of the great Timur.

¹ MS (A) گورگانی. *Gurgān*: The exact meaning of this title has been much discussed, the most recent opinion is that of Dr Erdmann, according to whom "Kurkan or Gurgan stands for 'son in law' or for a prince who is allied by marriage with some 'mighty monarch'". In this way, its Mongol sense, it is used he tells us by Rashīdī d-Dīn. He also tells us that Kurkan or Gurgan represents the Chinese expression *Fu ma* and that the Amīr Timur was called *Timur Fu ma* by the Chinese, because he married the daughter of Chūn ti, the ninth and last Emperor of the Mongol dynasty. *Fu ma* in fact means "son in law" in Chinese, when applied to princes, and thus is a translation of the Mongol word."

For fuller particulars see note, page 278 of the *Tarīkh-i-Rashīdī* by Elias and Ross, from which the above is extracted. In M. Pavet de Courteille's Turki Dictionary we find "گورگان" prince de la race de Timour qui épouse une fille de la race de Djenguis Khan prince de race royale qui épouse une fille de roi prince né de parents issus de Khans qui épouse la fille d'un Khan surnom de Timour, savant, beau, poli" see also Āin-i-Akbari (B) I 464 n

² By a bridge of boats (*Firīshṭa*)

³ ارچہ (Firīshṭa)

⁴ MS (A) omits the words سکنیا رہوار سوار

⁵ Firīshṭa says

چنانچہ انکثر آں صوردم در وقت گورن بقتل رسیدند و بعضی درآں عرق گشند
Most of them were put to death as they fled, and some were drowned in the river

⁶ MS (A) omits پیر محمد

⁷ MS (A) omits تهام

⁸ Firīshṭa tells us that Maḥī d-Dīn escaped with a few men and fled to Multān

⁹ Being compelled by famine (Firīshṭa)

And in the month of Shawwāl in the aforesaid year Iqbāl Khān, who is better known as Maloo, swore many oaths of allegiance to Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh, whom he deported to the fortress of Jahānumā,¹ taking him away with elephants and an armed force ; and Sultān Maḥmūd and Muqarrab Khān and Bahādur Nāhir shut themselves up in old Dihlī. On the third day from this Iqbāl Khān made a sudden attack in strong force upon Nuṣrat Shāh hoping to take him by surprise ; Nuṣrat Shāh fled from Jahānumā and came to Firuzābād,² and leaving there crossed the Jamna and went to join Tātār Khān his Vazīr at Pānipath. The whole³ of the army and elephants of Nuṣrat Shāh fell into the hands of the astute Iqbāl Khān, and for two whole months daily battles were fought between Muqarrab Khān and Iqbāl Khān, until by the intervention of certain Amīrs peace was established between these two leaders ; but after a few days⁴ Iqbāl Khān proceeded against Muqarrab Khān,⁵ and without warning suddenly surrounded him and besieged him ; and after giving him assurances of safety raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and getting Sultān Maḥmūd into his power made a puppet of him and took the management of the state into his own hands. Then in the month 269. of Zū Qa'dah of the aforesaid⁶ year Iqbāl Khān wrested Pānipath by force from the followers of Tātār Khān, and seized all his baggage and his elephants and army. Tātār Khān previously to this expedition of Iqbāl Khān, had left Pānipath with the intention of attempting to reduce Dihlī but found himself quite unequal to the task, and throwing his country⁷ to the winds left Dihlī and went to Gujrāt with a large following to join his father.⁸ Iqbāl Khān coming to Dihlī bestowed upon Malik Naṣīru-l-Mulk, a relation of Tātār Khān who had joined him, the title of 'Ādil Khān, and placed under his control the district of the Doāb.

And in the month of Šafar of the year 801 H. (1398 A.D.) Amīr

¹ MS. (A) reads بُنَانْ جَهَانْ but Firishta reads نَمَا جَهَانْ as in the text.

² MS. (A) وَ مَدْنَى. ³ MS. (A) تَهَامِي. ⁴ MS. (A) رَوْزَ.

⁵ Firishta says "from motives of worldly wisdom broke his faith."

⁶ MS. (A) سَنْدَكْ كُور.

⁷ اولکا Aulaka or اولکا aulakā. A Turkī word signifying "province, ville, pays, fief" according to M. Pavet de Courteille.

⁸ His father Zafar Khān (Firishta).

Timur the Great attacked the town of Tulumba,¹ and taking Multan, put to the sword² the whole of the prisoners of the army of Sāring Khān whom Mīrza Pir Muhammad had kept in confinement, proceeding thence by continuous marches he also took the fort of Bhat,³ and having taken prisoner Rāi Jaijīn⁴ Bhatti put him to death together with the garrison and inhabitants of the fort.

Leaving there⁵ and taking Sāmāna, he put to death crowds of fugitives from Dipalpur and Ajudhan and Saranti,⁶ who were helplessly fleeing in all directions in terror of their lives, and taking large numbers of them prisoners he took them along with him, and covering great distances he crossed the river Jamu, and entered the Doāb,⁷ and sweeping the greater part of the country

¹ Text میں MS (A) میں فریشٹا میں تلumba (see Hunter Imp Gaz, XIII 163) is shown in Rennell's map at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenab, Langana being at the junction of the Chenab and Ravi (see III)

Frishta says "Arrived at a place where the river of Jamu and the Chenab meet where there was a strong fortress called Lalnabbha" Briggs says "to the conflux of the Chenab with the Ravi"

From Tulumba Frishta tells us Timur marched to Shahnawaz where they took all the grain they required and burned the round and from thence he went to Ajdhān and Bhatnir. Shahnawaz is shown in Rennell's map on the Eastern bank of the Ravi, Long 72° 1' Lat 30° 5' N. Ajdhān is Pak Pattin, and is about 80 miles S.W. of Shahnawaz. Here is the tomb of Shaikh Farid Dīn Ganji Shakkar which was visited by Timur. From Ajdhān to Bhatnir is about 90 miles. Frishta says from Khalikol to Bhatnir is fifty Krah. See Elliott III 416 et seqq for the description of this campaign translated from the Malfuzat-i-Timuri. Timur calls Khalikol, Khalik Kotah, and says it is ten kos from Ajdhān and fifty from Bhatnir.

² MS (A) گورایہ

³ MS (A) بھت پر بھت پر Blatpar This should be بھت بھت Bhatnir see note 1 above. Frishta says that Timur's forces accomplished the distance between Ajdhān (Khalikol) and Bhatnir in one day. This is a long march but as they were cavalry it is perhaps possible.

⁴ The Bombay text of Frishta has راؤ خلصی Rao Khilji see also Briggs Frishta p 488 footnote. Both MSS agree with the text in giving Rai Jaijin as the name of the governor of the fort. The Malfuzat-i-Timuri calls him Rao Dul Chain, see Elliott III 422 123

⁵ On the 3rd of Rabīn I Awwal

⁶ 5th of Rabīn I Awwal, see Elliott III 426-428

⁷ MS (A) ۲۵۰ دو آن در گردہ گردہ عیان

with the bitter whirlwind of rapine and pillage, camped on the banks of the river Jamna opposite the town of Lūnī¹ not far from Dihlī;² and at this camp he put to the sword about fifty thousand prisoners who had fallen³ into the hands of his soldiery before reaching the river Ganges; and some of the ecclesiastical dignitaries of his army also, who had not the slightest acquaintance with the sword, taking all these Hindustānī Muslims for Hindūs, in their desire for the reward of holy war⁴ sent many of them with their own hands into the next world.

270. Then in the month of Jamaidu-l-Awwal 801 H. the great Timūr crossed the Jamna and encamped at Firuzābād⁵ and the next day encamped above the Hauz-i-Khāss. Iqbāl Khān having got ready a force of men and elephants, came out against him and engaged his troops, but was defeated in the first engagement, and in spite of all their efforts they were not able to withdraw even a portion of the elephants into the city,⁶ so complete was the rout. And in this defeat⁷ many were killed, and when the glittering soldiers of the army of the night had routed the troops of the day, Iqbāl Khān and Sultān Maḥmūd leaving their families and friends

¹ Lūnī, seven miles N. N.-W. of Dihlī. Tieff. I. 136. Lounī ville autre fois peuplée et munie d'un fort. Timūr arrived there on the 27th Rabī'u-l-Awwal. Lūnī was situated on a Doāb between the Jamna and the Halin.

² MS. (A) ندیکی.

³ MS. (A) بود اوقناده.

⁴ The reward of the غازی “Ghāzī” or one who fights in the cause of Islām is thus defined “God is sponsor for him who goes forth to fight in the road of God, for his satisfaction and for that of his Prophet.” He shall if he be not killed, return to his home with plunder and rewards. And if he die, his reward is Paradise (*Mishkāt*, XVII, 1).

The $\Delta\zeta\zeta$ *jihād* or holy war is a duty enjoined in several passages in the Qur'ān and the Traditions, and its rewards are those of Paradise. (See Hughes Dict. of Islām, Art. *Jihād*).

⁵ Firishta states that he dug a deep trench and fastened a number of cows and buffaloes together with raw hide, stationing sharpshooters behind them, and when Iqbāl Khān came out against him with his troops and 120 elephants defeated him with great slaughter and advanced to the Hauz-i-Khāss; and see Elliott, III, 438, *et seqq.*

The date given by Badāoni is apparently wrong, as the *Malfūzāt-i-Timūri* says that Timūr crossed the Jamua on the 5th Rabī'u-l-Āakhir. See Elliott, III. 443 and note 1.

⁶ MS. (A) omits دوون and writes بشهر.

⁷ Not in MS. (A) which reads عظیم خلقی.

in the bonds of shame and disgrace, took flight¹ Sultān Maḥmūd fled straight to Gujāt, and Iqbāl Khān crossing the Jamna escaped to the town of Baran. On the following day the Great Timūr gave quarter to the inhabitants of Dihli, receiving from them much valuable property and many presents as the price of quarter. In the meantime however, the people of the city killed some of the soldiers, accordingly on the fourth day he ordered all the inhabitants to be made prisoners,² and took them all off towards Transoxiāna, eventually Shaikh Ahmad Kathū³ whose tomb is well known at Sar Khez⁴ in Gujarat near to Ahmadābad, went along with the army and had an interview with the Great Timūr, and made apparent to him his condition as a Darvesh, and his surpassing knowledge, moreover he argued with and confuted over and over again⁵ the learned doctors who were with the

¹ On the 7th Rabi'u 1 Akhir

² فیصلہ حکم سارے واسر اعلیٰ دہلی فرمود See Elliott, III 447

³ MS (A) کتو

Shaikh Ahmad Khatū was born at Dihli A H 737 (A D 1336) of a noble family of that city. His name was Nasru'd Dīn. He was a disciple of Baba Ishq Maghribi and came to Gujarat in the reign of Sultan Ahmad Gujarāti (A D 1411-13). He was buried in Sarkhej near Ahmadābad, (Āin-i Akbari [Jarrett] III 371)

Shaikh Ahmad Khaṭū surnamed Ganjbakhsh was surnamed from Khaṭū a village near Nagor, the residence of his spiritual guide Baba Ishq Maghribi. After his return from a pilgrimage to the holy places he came back to Gujarat and settled first at Sarkhej and afterwards at Ahmadābad, in the building of which he was associated with Sultan Ahmad A H 813-20

He died at Sarkhej in 849 A H, aged 111 years and his mansoleum with the buildings attached are said to have been begun by Muhammad Shah I, the son of Ahmad Shah, and to have been completed by his son and successor Qatbu'd Dīn Shah. See Bayley, History of Gujarat, pp 90 91, notes

⁴ The text reads مسکن احمد ایں اندھہ مسکن ایں آنے دے Āin-i Akbari (Blochmann), Text, II 220

The text of Badoni reads مسخیز MS (A) reads مسکن.

Tieffenthaler, I 377 speaks of it as follows — "A trois milles de Guzarate se trouve Sarkés, village où est le mausolée construit à grands frais par Gaus Ahmad Roi du Guzarate" again at page 375 we find 'Gaus Ahmad, dont le magnifique tombeau porte par des arcades voutées, a rendu fameux le village de Sarkes distant de 3 milles de la ville"

Sarkhej was three miles South East from Asawal in the vicinity of which Ahmadābad was built by Sultan Ahmad, 820 A H (1417 A D)

⁵ MS (A) کرد

Transoxiāna force, and begged for the prisoners' lives. The Great Timūr conceived such a strong liking for him that he acceded¹ to his request and liberated all the prisoners.

This signal service of the Shaikh remained ever as a debt upon the people of Hindustān ; and a full detail of this circumstance is given at length in the *Maqāmāt* of the Shaikh. A few days after 271. this victory Khizr Khān and Bahādur Nāhir Miwāti,² who had taken alarm and fled to the hill country of Miwāt, came in and, paid their respects to the Great Timūr;³ orders were issued to make all of their party prisoners, with the exception of Khizr Khān, who had apparently done some former good service which saved him. After this he raised the banner of return and seized the country at the foot of the Siwālik hills,⁴ and greatly shook that hill country as it were with an earthquake, ere he reached Lāhor.

For the date of this victory they assigned the two words رخ (Rakhā, affluence, prosperity) and خار (Khār,⁵ a thorn); and Shaikhā Khukhar⁶ also, who had formerly served the Amīr and had taken Lāhor by fraud from Sārang Khān, fell into his hands. He accordingly imprisoned him together with his wife and family, and gave orders to sack Lāhor and take the inhabitants prisoners. Then having made over Dipālpur and Multān to Khizr Khān he

١ MS. (A) فرموده قبول.

٢ On Friday the 24th of Rabī'u-l-Ākhir according to the *Malfūzāt-i-Timūri*, which gives a different account of the treatment accorded to them.

٣ Badāoni omits to mention the capture of Mīrat (29th Rabī'u-l-Ākhir) and the victories on the Ganges (Jumādīu-l-Awwal 1st to 15th).

٤ According to the account in the *Malfūzāt-i-Timūri* this was in response to an embassy sent to Bahādur Nāhir by Timūr at Kūtila.

٥ Both of these words give the date. رخ = 200 + 600 + 1 = 801
خار = 600 + 1 + 200 = 801.

٦ Timūr captured seven forts in the Siwālik hills, fighting twenty battles in thirty-two days with invariable success. The eighth fort belonged to Shaikhā Khukhar and was taken about the 15th of Jumādīu-l-Awwal (Elliott III. 467). Malik Shaikhā Khukhar was brother of Nuṣrat Khukhar who was formerly governor of Lāhor on behalf of Sultān Maḥmūd of Dihlī. He was taken prisoner by Prince Pīr Muḥammad and Rustam and Amīr Jahān Shāh, who had been sent by Timūr with an army to Lāhor for that purpose and to levy a ransom from the city of Lāhor. The *Malfūzāt-i-Timūri* states that Timūr proceeded straight to Jammū whence his route was by Jabhān, Sambast, Barūja to Attock where he crossed the Indus. This was during the days between the 24th of Jumādīu-l-Ākher and the 3rd of Rajab. See Elliott III. 474-477; see also *Zafar Nāma* of Yazdī, Elliott III. 520-52.

said to him 'I have taken Dihli and have made a present of it to you' Leaving Lohor he proceeded by uninterrupted marches by way of Kabul to his capital Samarqand while Khizr Khan went to his own territory (*Jagir*)

At this time such a famine and pestilence fell upon Dihli that the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Dihli In this interval Sultān Nusrat Shah, who after his defeat by Iqbal Khan had gone into the Doab, seeing that he had an open field, went first to Mirith and thence to Firuzabād, and fortified the city of Dihli 'Adil Khan and the other folk who had escaped from the hands of the Mughuls coming out of the various holes and corners where they had been hiding, gathered round him, when he had got together this company he nominated Shihab Khan to proceed to Baran against Iqbal Khan Whilst he was on the way, a body of Hindus attacked Shihab Khan suddenly by night, and raised him to the dignity of martyrdom Iqbal Khan with great energy and promptitude obtained possession of his elephants and army, so that from day to day his power increased, while the affairs of Nusrat Shah became more and more entangled Iqbal Khan leaving Baran started in the direction of Dihli, and Nusrat Shah leaving Guzalad made for Miwat where he died, and the four quarters of Hindustan came under the dominion of Maliks of the various tribes²

Then in the year 802 H (1399 A.D.) Iqbal Khan marched against Shams Khan Anhdī³ the ruler of Buana, and the hostile forces met in the vicinity of Nuh and Patal, fortune favoured Iqbal Khan and Shams Khan proceeded to Buana Iqbal Khan led his army towards Kaithar and exacted contributions of money and services from Rai Harsingh⁴ And in this same year Khwajah Jahan was received into the mercy of God in Jaunpur

¹ MS (A) reads here حوالہ سو ڈا نوریان صدیق

² Firishta tells us the names of these various independent rulers See Briggs I 408

³ According to Firishta this was in 803 H

⁴ MS (A) رائے هر سندھ Rai Harsingh was Rai of Itawa By Kaithar or Kitehar is meant Rohilkhan I See Thomas Pathan Kings p 325 note 2

Quatrain.

How long wilt thou say "Who has drunk the cup of pleasure?"
 How long wilt thou say "Who has gained the palm of fortune?"
 What avail all these idle tales, for we must depart,
 What profit in all these empty stories, since death must come.

And Malik Mubārak Qaranqal,¹ having assumed the title of Mubārak Shāh, took his place.

And in Jamaidu-l-Awwal² in the year 803 H. (1400 A.D.) Shams Khān of Baiāna and Mubārak Khān son of Bahādur Nāhir had an interview with Iqbāl Khān, who taking them with him fought a battle near Baitālī on the banks of the Blackwater, which is known as the Kālāpānī, with Rāī Sir³ the ruler of that district, and overcame him, and pursued the infidels as far as the confines of Itāwa; and on his arrival at Qanauj, Sultānu-sh-Shārq Mubārak Shāh came up from Jaunpūr and sat down over against him on the other bank of the river Ganges, but inasmuch as neither of them could effect a crossing, they each returned⁴ to their own

273. country without doing anything. As he returned, Iqbāl Khān treacherously put to death Shams Khān and Mubārak Khān.⁵ In this same year Turkbacha Sultānī, the son-in-law of Ghālib Khān of Sāmāna, collected a large army, and on the ninth of Rajab of this year fought a battle with Khizr Khān near Ajūdhan, and being defeated went to the town of Bhūhar, where Ghālib Khān in concert with the other Amirs put him to death.

¹ His adopted son Malik Wāsil.

² All MSS. write this constantly جمادی الاول instead of جمید الاول.

³ Firishta (Bo. text) says.

و چون بقصبہ بیتالی کہ کنار نہر گنگ است رسید رائی سنیر بمقابلہ ۴۰۰

Whence he arrived at the township of Baitālī on the banks of the Ganges Rāī Sanīr ... came out to oppose him.

Briggs says:—"When he reached the village of Puttyaly on the Ganges the Ray of Serinagar ... opposed him."

The Kālāpānī is the Kālī Naddī or Kālinī (*see* Hunter *Imp. Gazett.* VII. 327) lying between the Jumna and Ganges. Timūr calls it the Karāsū (Black water), Elliott, III. 452.

⁴ The text here is wrong ; for باز کشیده باز گشتند MS. (A).

⁵ MS (A) only says Shams Khān, but Firishta's account includes Mubārak Khān so that the text is probably correct.

And in the year 804 H (1401 A D) Sultān Muhammād ibn Muhammād Shāh arrived at Dihlī from Dhar, and although Iqbāl Khān went out to receive him, and caused him to alight at the Jahan Numā¹ palace with all expressions of service and manifestations of respect, still, since Iqbāl Khān was in possession of all the paraphernalia of royalty, Sultān Mahmud became very jealous of him and took him with him towards Qānauj. And in this year Mūlikā sh̄ Sharq Mubarak Shāh died, and his younger brother Sultān Ibrāhīm succeeded him, and came out to fight with Sultān Mahmud and Iqbāl Khān. Sultan Mahmud before engaging in conflict left the army of Iqbāl Khān under pretence of a hunting expedition, and had an interview with Sultān Ibrāhīm who treated him with scant ceremony. Sultān Mahmud accordingly removed Shāhzada Fath Khān of Heiāt, who was holding Qānauj on behalf of Mubarak Shāh, and took that fortress under his own control. The populace of Qānauj both people and soldiery, joined Sultan Mahmud, and Sultān Ibrāhīm returned to Jānnpur, while Iqbāl Khān retraced his steps towards Dihlī, so that Sultan Mahmud was left in undisputed and contented possession of Qānauj.

And in the year 805 H (1402 A D) Iqbāl Khān made an attack upon the country round the fortress of Gwāliār, which Rai Harsingh² had taken by treachery from the Muslims during the invasion of Timur, and wresting it from the possession of Bairūm Dev the son of Harsingh,³ took it into his own control.

And in the year 806 H (1403 A D) Tatar Khān the son of Zifir Khān, forgetting his filial duty took his father prisoner by treachery and sent him to Asawal, assuming to himself the title of Sultan Nāṣirū d Dīn Muhammād Shāh, and set out at the head of a large army with the intention of attempting to reduce Dihlī. While he was on the way his uncle Shams Khān administered poison to him and removed him, then he released Zafar Khān and the whole army joined him.

¹ MS (A) reads جہاں نما Jahanpanah. This was the name given to the central portion of the triple citadel of Dihlī connecting old Dihlī with Siri. It was situated in the midst of the inhabited city and all thirteen gates of the other two Siri had seven gates and old Dihlī ten gates. See Elliott III 418. The palace was called Jahan Numa as in the text.

² First *ta* calls him شہزادہ Harsingh

³ Both MSS and text read شہزادہ Harsingh

Verse.

A parricide is not fitted to be a king,
And even if he is fitted he will not last for more than six months.

And in the year 807 H. (1404 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched towards Gwāliār and Itāwa, the Rāis of which districts all took refuge within the fortress of Itāwa, and stood siege for four months; at last they made overtures for peace, sending four elephants and other presents of suitable nature. Iqbāl Khān leaving there came to Qanaunj, and fought with Sultān Mahmūd, but was unable to effect his purpose owing to the strength of the fortifications, so returned to Dihli without accomplishing his object.

And in the Muḥarram of the year 808 H. (1405 A.D.) he marched for Sāmāna, and from thence came to Rūpar;¹ and by stratagem laid hands upon Babrām Khān Turkbacha, who had been an antagonist of Sārang Khān, and slayed his head. Leaving Rūpar he proceeded towards Multān, intending to fight with Khizr Khān, and at Talaundi taking with him Rāi Kanālu-d-Din Mubīn and the other Zamīndārs, on the nineteenth of the month of Jumādiū-l-Awwal in the abovementioned year, he engaged in battle with Khizr Khān in the neighbourhood of Ajūdhan,² on the banks of a tributary (of the Satlaj);³ and since

¹ In the Umballa district, 43 miles North of Ambāla city, Lat. 20° 57' N. Long. 76° 33' E. on the south bank of the Sutlej, (Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, XII. 82).

² Ajūdhan the ancient name of Pākpatian. Lat. 30° 20' 40" N. Long. 73° 25' 50" E. It is known as Pākpatian, or Ferry of the Pure, from Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj Shakkar who is buried thereto. The saint was called Ganj Shakkar as he was reputed to have the miraculous power of turning into sugar whatever he put into his mouth, even earth and stones. Pilgrims from all parts of India, Afghānistān, and Central Asia flock to this shrine, and during the Muḥarram festival as many as 60,000 persons have been present. During the afternoon and night of the last day the crowds vie with one another in attempting to gain access to a narrow opening in a wall near the shrine known as the "Gate of Paradise." Whoever can force his way through this opening during the prescribed hours is assured of an entrance into Paradise. For this reason the crush is excessive and many are injured.

See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* X. 532-533, also Cunningham (A. G. I.) 214-219.

³ In the text and MSS. we read در کنار دهندہ اجوڈھن. *Ajūdhan dar kinār-i-dihinda*, which at first sight seems difficult to understand, until the old maps are consulted. We see in Rennell's map (A.D. 1782) that Ajūdhan was situated (G. g) upon an island surrounded by the Satlaj to the north, and a

ill fortune attended Iqbal Khān,¹ he was defeated in the very first engagement, and his horse being wounded could not bear him off the field, so that the soldiers of Khizr Khān pursued him, and cutting off his head sent it to Fathipur, one of the dependencies of Maltān. And in the month of Jumāda-l-Ākhir of this year Sultān Mahmūd came from Qānauj at the invitation of the Amirs of Dihli, and once more sat upon the throne of Dihli, and conferred appointments upon the Amirs, and sent the family of Mubārak Khān to Kol. And in the month of Jumāda l Awwal of the year 809 H (1406 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd marched with a force towards Qānauj, and Sultan Ibrahim came out thence and crossed the Ganges, but they both turned back without fighting.²

Sultān Ibrahim went towards Jaunpur, and Sultan Mahmūd towards Dihli, but seeing that the Amirs of Sultān Mahmūd's army one after the other left for their own districts as they came to them in the march, Sultān Ibrahim turned back and besieged Qānauj, Malik Mahmūd Tarmati, who was holding Qānauj for Sultan Mahmūd, kept Sultān Ibrahim engaged in fighting for four months, but when he saw that no reinforcements were arriving from any quarter he was forced to sue for peace, and surrendered Qānauj to Sultan Ibrahim.³ Sultan Ibrahim passed the rainy season at Qānauj, and then having made over that district to Ikhtiyār Khān the grandson of Malik Daulat Yar of Kanpuri, started to reduce Dihli.

tributary stream which left the main river to the eastward of Ajudhan, and flowing south west joined it again some 35 miles lower down. This explains Balaoni's statement. The town of Ajudhan is generally said to have stood upon the bank of the Satlaj itself. Cunningham (1 G of India 214) says "The ancient town of Ajudhan is situated on the high bank of the old Sutlej 28 miles to the south west of Depalpur and 10 miles from the present course of the river" (1871 A.D.) But from Balaoni's statement it is clear that Ajudhan stood, not on the banks of the Satlaj itself, but on a southern loop or tributary stream. It is the modern Pakpattan *see note 2*.

¹ There is a play on the words *جذب* Iqbal good fortune and *لذب* Idber, bad fortune.

² According to *Firdausi* Ibrahim Shah was induced to return to Jaunpur by the intelligence that Muraffar Shah of Gujarat had taken prisoner Alp Khan commonly called Sultan Noshair and was now marching on Jaunpur.

³ MS (A)

The text has the words *سکری* *کو* which seem to be superfluous. They are not in MS (A).

And in the year 810 H. (1407 A.D.) Nusrat Khān Karkandāz,¹ and Tātār Khān the son of Sārang Khān, and Malik Marhabā the slave of Iqbāl Khān, turned against Sultān Mahmūd and joined Sultān Ibrāhīm, and Asad Khān Lodi fortified himself in Sambhal. The following day Sultān Ibrāhīm reduced the fortress of Sambhal and gave it to Tātār Khān: then crossing the Ganges he encamped on the banks of the Jamnā near the fort of Kicha in the vicinity of Dihlī, where he learned that Zafar Khān had taken the district of Dhār² and was making his way to Jaunpūr;³ accordingly leaving Malik Marhabā in Baran, he reached Jaunpūr by continuous marches; Sultān Mahmūd pursued him and having killed Malik Marhabā in battle, and taking Sambhal⁴ without a fight, left thero Bāsad Khān after his usual custom. Tātār Khān marched to Qanauj and the Sultān came to Dihlī. And in this year Khizr Khān came with a large force and drove Daulat Khān out of Sāmāna.⁵ The Amirs of that district all sought an interview with him, and the whole country as far as to the outskirts of Dihli fell into his hands; only Rohtak and the Doāb remained in the possession of Sultān Mahmūd.

And in the year 811 H. (1408 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd proceeding to Hissār Firūz took it⁶ from Qiwām Khān to whom Khizr Khān had given it, and having taken possession of it, on arriving at the village of Rata⁷ turned back towards Dihlī: Khizr Khān then

¹ Or probably Gurgandāz "the wolf-slayer" MS. (A) reads كنجہ. (?) *kinja*, which means a huge elephant.

² In Central India. Lat. 23° 36' N. Long. 75° 4' E. see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* IV. 248.

³ In Central India, between Lat. 25° 23' 45" and 26° 12' N. Long. 82° 10' and 83° 7' 45" E.

Sultān Ibrāhīm built at Jaunpūr the Atala Masjid, using for this purpose the stones of a Hindū temple the votive offering of Jai Chand which he destroyed. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* VII 152.

⁴ In Rohilkund Lat. 28° 35' 5" N. Long. 78° 36' 45" E., 23 miles S. W. of Moradābād and four miles W. of the Sot River. See Rennell's map. Tieff. III. where he places it 45 miles N. E. of Bareilly. The Sambalaka of Ptolemy. See McCrindle's *Ancient India*, p. 133. See also Hunter XII. 187.

⁵ Tieff. I. 133, about 25 miles S. W. of Hānsī and 100 miles to the eastward of Dihlī.

⁶ MS. (A) reads اے حصار را Firishta call the fortress فیروزہ Firūza.

⁷ Or اے Rana MS. (A).

came by way of Rohtak with a large army from Fathābād to oppose Sultan Mahmūd,¹ and laid siege to Dihli, but was not able to maintain the siege by reason of the severe famine which prevailed in Dihli, then having taken possession of the Doāb he returned to Fathpūr.²

And in the year 812 H. (1409 A.D.)³ Bahrām Khān Turkbacha,⁴ who after the death of Bahrām Khān Turkbacha had become master of Sāmāna, and had been defeated in a battle with Daulat Khān, and again revolting against Khīzr Khān had had a second interview with Daulat Khān, now offered his services to Khīzr Khān, and received a confirmation of the grant of the districts formerly held by him in sief. And in the year 813 H. (1410 A.D.) Khīzr Khān besieged the fortress of Rohtak⁵ for six months, and after reducing it proceeded to Fathpūr.⁶ In this year Sultan Mahmūd made an expedition to Kaitha.⁷ At the capital Dihli.

In the year 814 H. (1411 A.D.) Khīzr Khān came to Narnūl⁸ and Miwāt⁹ and ravaged that country, and blockading Sultan

¹ MS. (A) reads here بِرَام خان سلطان رہنگ بُجناک سلطان
دھلی را محاصرہ کرد

² For some inscrutable reason Briggs passes over the events of two years here. cf. Firishta, Bo. text, p. 292, and Briggs, pp. 503-504.

³ The text says 712 H. MS. (A) gives 812 H.

The editor of the text gives a footnote to say that all three MSS. give 712 H.

⁴ MS. (A) inserts ب before بیرام خان and omits ب after دہلہ.

Firishta says that Iktīfār Khān joined Khīzr Khān seeing he was the stronger.

⁵ Held according to Firishta by Malik Idris on behalf of Mahmūd Shāh.

⁶ By way of Sāmāna (Firishta).

⁷ Which was held by Iqlīm Khān and Bahādur Khān (Firishta).

⁸ Mīrāt. For an account of this Province see Hunter Imp. Gaz. Vol. IX, pp 418 and seqq. from which the substance of this note is taken :

The Meos, a tribe which gave their name to this province were of obscure origin claiming to be Rājputs, but probably a combination from various stocks and sources and nearly allied to the Minas. The original Meos probably became converts to Islam at the time of Mahmūd of Ghaznī; their customs are a mixture of Hindū and Musulmān observances.

The province of Miwāt lay south of Dihli and in Mughal times formed part of the Subah of Agra. Its most famous towns were Narnaul, Ulwur,

Maḥmūd in the fortress of Sirī, which is part of Dihlī,¹ and Ikhtiyār Khān in Firozābād, and fighting several fierce battles, was prevented from maintaining the siege² by reason of the dearness of grain, and returned to Fatḥpūr by way of Pānipat.³

And in the year 815 H. (1412 A.D.)⁴ Sultān Maḥmūd departed from this world, and the kingdom passed from the family of Firūz Shāh. The duration of his reign, full as it was of turmoil and vicissitudes, was twenty years⁵ and two months, during which Sultān Maḥmūd had had only the name of sovereignty.

~

Verse.

Who is there in this long-enduring world
Who can say "Mine is the kingdom" says the Almighty?

~ man ma... Verse.

A head w/this year Es exalt to a lofty position
They late plāt Kl entangle its neck in a noose.

Tijāra and Rewārī. Bahādur Nāhir (who is frequently mentioned in the text) was the founder of the Khanzāda race, long the rulers of Mīwāt.

The province of Mīwāt included part of the British districts of Muttra, Gurgān, a considerable portion of Ulwur, and some of Bhartpūr.

See Tieffenthaler. Vol. III. Map. where the province is marked.

¹ In the *Malfuzat-i-Timūrī* we read that Timūr plundered "all the three cities of Dihlī, by name Sirī, Jahānpānāh and old Dihlī."

See Elliott, III. p. 447, also Thomas *Pathān Kings*, p. 313, note 3.

² MS. (A) omits قرار.

³ Pānipat. A town of great antiquity. Lat. 29° 23' N. Long. 77° 1' 10" E. 53 miles N. of Dilhī. It was the scene of decisive battles on three occasions in historical times. The famous surgeons, father and son, Shaikh Hasan and Shaikh Bīnā were natives of Pānipat, see Aīn-i-Akbari (B) I. 543, note to No. 94.

See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* XI. 44.

⁴ In the month of Zū Qu'da (Firishta). Firishta does not state the year though taken in connection with what has gone before he appears to mean 814 H. but see n 2: Badāoni however agrees, with the *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*. On this point see Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 317, note i.

⁵ MS. (A) reads here,

و مدت ملک بان هم تزلزل و انقلاب نوزده سال و دو ماه بود

Firishta has almost the same words but says بیست سال twenty years as in the text. So also the *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*.

Firishta's statement is not very clear as to the year in which Maḥmūd died, but as he goes on to say that after his death the Amīrs gave in their

Save the blood of kings there is nought in this bowl,
Save¹ the dust of lovers there is nought in this desert

Of the poets of the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd is Qāzī Zahir Dihlī² who has left a Dīwān (anthology) full of *qasīdahs* in eulogy (of Mahmud) of which this is one.

Heir to the mighty monarchy, Sultān Maḥmūd,
Who succeeded his father and grandfather in the sovereignty 278
of the world,
He removed Dībaran³ from the sky to serve as his signet,
While Taurus complained saying I have but this one eye
left⁴

By the first strain of his bow string he has wakened the Lion,
And after that he has stretched him out in sleep with the
deep piercing arrow.

The whole world boasts of full satiation at the board of thy
favour,

Save only the lute which complains that its belly is empty⁵
Oh thou whose world conquering sword flashes in the dark-
ness of infidelity like to the lightning flashing through the
darkness of night,

Although the heaven has made thine enemies intoxicated
like the eyes of the beloved idols for some time, still at last
it has overthrown them

allegiance to Daulat Khan Lodi, who struck the coinage, &c., in Muharram of 816 H it is tolerably clear that he means 7u'l Qa'da 815 H as the date of Mahmud's death, and not 814 H as Briggs would have it.

¹ Misprint in the text MS (A) reads *سے*

² Qāzī Zahir Dihlī I can find no mention of this poet

³ عذاری The Hyades one of the two clusters of stars included within the constellation Taurus the other being the Pleiades

Ancient astronomers were not agreed as to the number of stars included in the Hyades Thales reckoned two only (α and ϵ) the two eyes of the Bull (Smith Dict Greek and Rom Antiq 150 a)

⁴ The constellation Taurus is here spoken of as having lost one of his two eyes by which must be meant the two clusters of stars above mentioned, and not α and ϵ of Taurus as reckoned by Thales.

⁵ The لوت rubab or lute is a stringed instrument like a guitar but having the body shaped like a hollowed gourd somewhat resembling the body of the mandolin

It is envy of thy generous hand which throws the ocean into tumult, for if it be not so, the ocean is never so disturbed by the winds of heaven.

The following is also by the same author :

Thou art a monarch before whom the heavens bow in adoration,
Thou art a King in whose reign time itself exults.

*Qiblah*¹ of the nation, and mainstay of kingdoms and religion, Maḥmūd

Whom the assemblies of Sultān have chosen as their Imām.²

The Qāzī of the heavens³ comes out on foot to receive him

279. When the Governor of his unerring judgment sends the summons.

He keeps constant watch⁴ lest sedition should make a night assault,

Thy vigilance stands with a drawn sword in its hand while the people sleep (in safety).

In order that thy enemy may not enjoy the sweet breezes of the garden of thy favour

The heavens have afflicted him with fever and headache in addition to catarrh.⁵

¹ This line should read as in MS. (A).

قبله خلق و قیام دول و دین مسحود.

A foot-note to the Calcutta text states that the reading there given is the same in all three MSS. of Badāoni and that probably the word **مَنْدِي** has dropped out after the word دین. This is a quite unnecessary supposition. The reading above given fulfils all requirements. MS. (B) corresponds save that for درل it reads ودل an evident copyist's error.

قبله *Qiblah*. This is the direction in which Muslims are bound to turn during prayer : This is laid down in the Qur'ān, Sura II. " We see thee often turn thy face about in the heavens, but we will surely turn thee to a qiblah thou shalt like. Turn then thy face towards the sacred Mosque, wherever ye be turn your faces towards it" (v. 139). From the Hijra, Muhammad at first directed his followers to turn towards the temple at Jersalem, but in the second year of the Hijra the Ka'bah at Mekka was fixed as the qiblah. See Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, s. v. *Qiblah*.

² امام *Imām*. In this passage the word is used in the sense of Khalifah.

³ قاضی چرخ *Qāzī-i-Charkh*. The planet Jupiter.

⁴ MS. (A) reads incorrectly همیده اور پاس.

⁵ This couplet is inevitably ridiculous to English ears : the meaning is that in order to deprive him of the pleasures of the perfumed breezes, he has been afflicted with the anosmia which results from a cold in the head.

The heavens have apportioned every arrow of thine to one
of the various families,
It were not possible to allot the arrows¹ in any better way
than this

The following is also his

My love has gone outside, do thou my life also go outside,
For if thou art not outside with my love, thou wilt be outside
the pale of love

Specially that now, in order to uproot the infidels and rebels,²
The royal standards have gone out clothed in good fortune.
Shāh Mahmūd, he who when he sallied forth against the
infidels,

Thou would'st say 'Isa has come forth to slay Dūjjāl³
Thy reign has cast sedition into the bondage of annihilation.
I said to the heavens, Beware! this is a prisoner⁴ of the
Sultān, free him not!

¹ مُقْدَمَة Sīham, called also قِدَّمَة qidām. These are the arrows used by the ancient Arabs for gambling in the manner called الميسر Al māisar (forbidden in the Qurān, II 216 v 92, 93) In this game a camel was bought and slaughtered, and divided into twenty eight portions which were drawn for with ten arrows called مُكَلَّبَات arzām. The numbers after the names of the arrows indicate the value of the share drawn, مُفَازَّ fazz (1), تَوَاعِنَّ tau'ān (2), رَقِيبَّ aqib (3), نَافِسَّ nafis (4), حَلَّسَ hals (5), مُسْبَلَّ musbal (6), مَعَالِيَّ mualliq (7).

The remaining three arrows were blanks and gained no share. Their names were سَافِحَّ safih, مَانِحَّ manih, وَاغِدَّ waaghid. The name of each arrow was written upon it and they were all put into a bag called بَابَابَاه, and given into the charge of a trustworthy man known as الْمُجِيل al mujil or الْمُفَيز al muviz whose duty was to shake the arrows up and draw out one for each in turn. Whoever drew a blank had to pay the cost of the camel, while those who drew a winning arrow received a proportionate share according to the value of the arrow. See Majma'u l Bahrain, Maqamah, XIII p 99.

² The couplets are here given in the order in which they occur in both MSS (A) (B)

³ دُجَّال Dūjjāl. See page 278 n 4 "A name given in the Hadīth to certain religious impostors who shall appear in the world, a term equivalent to our use of the word Antichrist. Muhammad is related to have said there would be about thirty" Hughes' Dict of Islam 64. See also Albiruni Chronology of Ancient Nations pp 195 196

⁴ MS (A) مَدِينَة MS (B) سَافِحَّ

This is also his :

The month of Dai¹ has arrived, and the air has in consequence become so cold²

That nothing save the icy breeze can move from its place.

The earth is cold and frost bound,³ the air is even colder than the earth,

In very truth the air is chill with the weariness of age.

In the garden the fire of the tulip and Gulnār have died down,

From the cold the (graceful) trees of the garden have become mere sticks.

The water is hard frozen from the cold, and says with petulance,

I will break if anyone places his foot upon my head.

No single bud comes out from its resting place in the heart of the tree, although it wears upon its cypress-like body a cap and mantle.

The bird has ceased its song when it saw the havoc wrought by autumn,

When a general pillage is going on, lamentation is futile.

Seek not for leaves and seed-bearing fruit in the garden, for to-day

The leaves have been scattered by the wind, the seeds remain hidden beneath the earth.

The morning breeze draws every breath like a deep drawn sigh, Seeing that it has cast to the winds so beauteous a being as the rose.

So far has the rose gone that should you search the East and the West,

You will not find it save in the assembly of the King of the World.

Shāh Mahmūd from the splendour of whose assemblies, there is eternal spring in the month of Dai, and the world is like Paradise.

¹ دی The tenth month of the Persian Shamsī year when the Sun is in Capricorn, corresponding to the commencement of winter.

² MS. (A) omits آن.

³ MS. (A) reads گشت از برف in place of آئین گشت. Text and MS. (B).

He who when he draws up his array, and orders it for battle,
The lines of the enemies at the very sight of him pale with
terror.¹

His heart is the rising place of sacred knowledge,² and he has
knowledge,

Because ³ he fathoms the secrets of Fate with a glance.

Oh thou who in the rules of Government art an example to
vazirs,

The vazirs have issued no order save on the authority of thy
judgment.

If it be not the intention of the wind to write a memorial
of thy virtues⁴

Why does it scatter the leaves of the rose in the garden, 281.

The sun in comparison with thy (brilliant) judgment looks
like Suhā⁵

Although Suhā cannot be seen in the bright light of the Sun.
Thou slayest thine enemies, and Timo confesses thy excellence;
Thou art the refuge of the people, and the evil doers take
shelter under thy wing

The cupbearer of thy feast bears a cup of joy in his hand,
The herald of thy fame has the whole world beneath his feet.

The banquet of Truth cannot be spread save in praise of thee
Although the whole feast terminates with the distribution of
sweetmeats.

Hail Khusrū! even should I remain excluded from attendance
upon thee

I shall not take one moment's rest from praising and eulogising
thee

My duty is thy service, since were I to refrain from that
I have no other occupation save singing thy praises

¹ An adequate translation of these lines seems impossible. There is a
تختیس لفظی *tajnis-i-lafzī* or play upon words here which cannot be pre-
served in English. The words آمد صفراء *āmad Sufra*, have two meanings, 1st,
draws up its lines, and 2nd, grows pale, according as صفراء *Sufra* is taken as two
words or as one

² MS. (A) and (B) write دار وقوفی عیب است

³ MS. (A) write گو Text and MS. (B) &c.

⁴ MS. (A) reads incorrectly خواهم ندوشت

⁵ Suhā is the name of a dim star in Urs Major. See Lane s.v. سهی

Thou hast led thine army against thy enemies, and I follow
thee
Sending early and late the army of benediction to thy
assistance.
As long as the nights of the month of Dai are longer than
its days,
And until the season of Naūz comes round unpreceded by
winter,
May the garden of thy enjoyment blossom like the season of
spring.
May the life of thy enemies be shorter than the days of winter.

This is another of his compositions.

The scent of the rose has arisen, haste my companion to the
rose-garden,

Seek for the old wine, and re-call that old love of thine.

282. The branch of the rose, like the date-palm of 'Isā, refreshes
the soul in the garden

Because the breeze gently shakes it continually like Mariam.¹

Although the tender branch inclines with the wind, from one
side to the other

Yet a stream flows, *Praise be to God*, up to the Sirāt-i-mus-
tagīm.²

The branch is full of leaves, why does the nightingale com-
plain in its song?

How is it possible that Moses should have patience when he
has Khizr for companion?³

¹ "So she conceived him and she retired with him into a remote place. And the labour pains came upon her at the trunk of a palm-tree and she said, 'O that I had died before this, and been forgotten out of mind!' and he called to her from beneath her, 'Grieve not, for thy Lord has placed a stream beneath thy feet; and shake towards thee the trunk of the palm-tree, it will drop upon thee fresh dates fit to gather; so eat and drink and cheer thine eye.'" Qur'ān. Palmer's translation. See Qur'ān. Sura XIX. vv. 20-28.

² Sirāt-i-mustagīm. The hair-like bridge over the midst of Hell over which the righteous will pass like lightning.

Qur'ān, I. 5, Hughes *art* Sirāt. It is also interpreted to mean the religion of Islām. Qur'ān, III. 41. See also Lane, s. v.

³ This refers to the legend told by Muhammadan commentators on certain verses of the Qur'ān, that when Khizr had disappeared in search of the water of immortality, Moses was inspired to search for him and was told that he

The wind draws lines across the stream like the scribe as
he drives his pen,
The eye of the narcissus points to the sky like the eye of the
astronomer as he prepares his tables.
The parrots flaunt in green attire, the ringdove wears white
garments,
The crow is devoid of any such honourable vestments, wear-
ing as it does a black blanket.¹
You would say² that the narcissus has produced a transcript
of these people (*umam*) who sleep below the dust Look !
it has for each *alif* two *mims*³
The sumbul and narcissus are copies of the locks and eyes
of the fair ones,
Of those two, one falls prostrate stricken with blackness,
the other comes intoxicated (with love).⁴

would meet him by a rock where two seas met, and where he should lose a fish which he was directed to take with him. The companion spoken of is said to have been Joshua, and the servant who guided them (v 64) was no less than Khiṣr himself, and when Moses asked if he should follow him said, "Verily thou canst never have patience with me. How canst thou be patient in what thou comprehendest no knowledge of" Khiṣr upon being assured by Moses that he would be patient bade him to follow but not to ask about anything he might see. They embarked in a ship which Khiṣr scuttled, whereupon Moses naturally asked the reason and was rebuked. Further on they met a boy whom Khiṣr killed and again roused Moses' impatience, again they found a wall which Khiṣr prevented from falling without exacting any reward for his services, and again Moses became impatient whereupon Khiṣr said, "This is the parting between me and thee" and explained to Moses the reason for his action in each case. See Qur'an XVIII 61 and following verses.

¹ The couplets are arranged in the order in which they come in the MSS

² The text reads كُوئي with a foot note variant يلي MSS (A) (B) agree with text

³ لرگس or نرجس Nargis. The poet's narcissus Narcissus poeticus N. O. Amiryliidaceæ. This natural order has a single style with three stigmas, and six stamens of which the anthers burst inwards. The poet here likens the three divisions of the style to three *alifs* (ا) and the stamens to six *mims* (م) the anthers forming the head of the letter, and the curved filament its downward stroke. Thus the single *alif* (ا) and two *mims* (م) form he says the word *مَوْلَى* *umam* the plural of *أَوْلَى* *ummatiun* meaning the followers of a prophet, or a people of one religion, hence generically a generation of men as in the saying *مَوْلَى تَنَاهُ مَوْلَى* *gād* generations of men have passed away

⁴ سنبل Sumbul Nardostachys Jatamansi N. O. Valerianaceæ. See note 6.

The rose-bud has blossomed by the blast of the breeze of
the garden,

In truth, he who has a resigned heart rejoices even when
misfortune befalls him.

You would say that the black spot which has come in the
heart of the tulip from the cruelty of autumn

Is a Hindū who has fallen¹ into the flames of hell.

She stands there on one foot lifting upwards two eyes²

Beseeching the merciful Lord³ to grant the King eternal life.
He in comparison with whose youthful fortune the heaven is
as an old man bowed with age,⁴

And for instructing his judgment, abstract Wisdom⁵ is as an
intelligent child.

When once the power of growth⁶ has obtained sufficient
intensity from his sharp sword, it splits the fruit-stone, as
his sword does the enemy, into two halves beneath the
earth.

The star of sovereignty,⁷ which has left its orbit to seek thy
auspicious presence,

Will find its proper orbit if it becomes stationary at thy
court.

page 146: see also *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, pp. 405 *et seqq* for a paper on this,
the Indian Spikenard, from which the following is taken " the true nard or
Jatāmānsi which, by the way, has other names in the *Amaracōsh*, the smoothest
of which are *gatilā* and *lōmasā* both derived from words meaning hair." The
comparison of the narcissus to the eye is so familiar as to need no reference.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) فُرورْفَةٌ.

² The scape of the tulip is here spoken of as bearing two flowers.

³ MS. (A) ربِّ مظیم.

⁴ I read here پیر نگونست *pīr-i-nigūnast* for پیر نکوست (MSS. and text) *pīr-i-nekūst* which has no intelligible meaning. Probably the author wrote نگونست *nigūnast*.

⁵ عَقْلٌ كَلٌ *aql-i-kull*. The first or supreme intelligence, a name given to the Angel Gabriel. In the language of the Sūfis the *aql-i-kull* (called also *aql-i-awwāl*) appears to answer to the "Logos" of the Alexandrian School. See *Kashshāf-fi-Istilābu-l-funūn*, II, p. 102S.

⁶ قُوت نَامِيَّةٌ *qut-nāmiyyat*.

⁷ رجُوع كوكبٍ *Rujū'-i-kaukab*, called also ریجاتٍ *Rijāt*, is the motion of a
star in opposition to the movement in the normal direction which is known by
the term استقامَةٍ *Istiqāmat*. See *Kashshāf*, s. v. رجُوع.

And in truth after Qazī Zahr no poet arose in Hindustān whose poetry repaid the trouble of reading. After the death of Sultān Mahmud the great Amirs of Hindustān as for instance Mubāriz Khan and Malik Idris who was the ruler of Rohtak, quarrelled with Khizr Khan and were disposed to make common cause with Daulat Khan, Khizr Khan accordingly stood fast in Fathpūr and made no expeditions to any country.

In Muḥarram of the year 816 H (1414 A.D.) Daulat Khan having gone towards Kaithar on a hunting expedition and having brought the Rāis of that district into his toils, went to Brutali, and Mahabat Khan the Wah of Badūon came thither and joined him. And in this year Sultan Ibrāhīm besieged Qādir Khan the son of Mahmud Khan in Kalpi, and Daulat Khan being very short handed, ignored him, and omitted to send reinforcements to either of these places, and Khizr Khan in Zu l qada of this year came to the fortress of Firuzabad,¹ the Amirs of which district came into him, and Malik Idris was besieged in Rohtak. Khizr Khan marched by that route to Miwat and taking with him Jalal Khan Miwati the brother's son of Bahadur Nahir, conveyed him to Sanbal which place he pillaged, and in Zu Hijjah of that same year he encamped before the gates of Dihli with the intention of taking it, Daulat Khan held out for four months, but at last was compelled by the want of agreement with Malik Lonā and the other supporters of Khizr Khan to sue for peace, humbly and earnestly. He had an interview with Khizr Khan who threw him into prison, and delivered him to Qiwam Khan who conveyed him to the fortress of Firuzā and slew him. This happened in the year 816 H (1414 A.D.) on the seventeenth of Rabi'u l Awwal.²

Verse

Everyone whom the world favours, she at last³ spills his blood,
What can be the condition of that child, whose mother is
his enemy

MASNAQ I 'ALI KHIZR KHĀN IBN MALIKU SH̄ARQ⁴ IBN MALIK
SULLIMĀN,

In the year before mentioned after the conquest of Dihli having

¹ MS (A) reads حصار فیروزہ جس

² First ta adds 'The duration of his reign was one year and three months'

³ MS (A) reads عاقبتہ for آخرین

⁴ MS (A) The text reads ملک اشرف

raised the standards of monarchy, became firmly established upon the throne of sovereignty.

This Malik Suleimān had been exalted in his childhood by Malik Naṣiru-l-Mulk Marwān Firūz Shāhī to the rank of a son, and had been educated accordingly. In real truth he was a Saiyyidzāda of high family, so that on one occasion Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Saiyyidu-s-Sādāt, the fountain of dignities, Shaikh Jalālu-l-Haqq wau-s-Shara'wau-d-din al-Bukhārī *may God sanctify his soul*, came for some important purpose into the house of Malik Marwān Daulat; food was served, and Malik Suleimān brought the ewer and basin to Makhdūm intending to pour water over his august hands. Makhdūm addressing him by the title of Malik Marwān Daulat, said, This lad is a Saiyyid Zāda, and it is derogatory to him to allot him such a menial service. From that day forth, it was known that Malik Suleimān was an undoubted Saiyyid; but besides this, the signs of Saiyyidship, and good qualities and praiseworthy traits became manifestly visible in the character of Masnad-i-'Alī Saiyyid Khizr Khān.

Verse.

The Saiyyid was a man in whom were manifested
The virtues of Muḥammad, and the grace of 'Alī the accepted.

The following is an epitome of the career of Malik Marwān Daulat. He was governor of Multān in the time of Firūz Shāh, and after the death of Malik Marwān Daulat, the Government of that district devolved upon his son Malik Shaikh, shortly after whose death it was confirmed to Malik Suleimān. He also bade farewell to this world in that reign, and the country of Multān with its dependencies was conferred upon Saiyyid Khizr Khān on behalf of Sultān Firūz Shāh, up to the date when the aforesaid Saiyyid was advanced to the Sultānate by the Amīrs. He however would not assume the title of King; but received the title of Rāyāt-i-A'ala.¹

On the date mentioned he alighted at the palace of Sultān Maḥmūd, and gained over the hearts of great and small by public *largesse* and unbounded favours, distributing titles, offices, and territories among his personal attendants; in the very first year of his accession he conferred upon Malik Naḥv² (Tuḥfa) the title

¹ See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 329, and *footnote*.

² MS. (A) ~~دَلْلَى~~ Tuḥfa.

having seized the right bank of the Black water,¹ inflicted condign punishment upon the infidels of Etāwah, and then returned towards the city.

And in the year 818 H. (1415 A.D.) he gave to Saiyyid Khizr Khan the younger son² of Malik Mubarak, whose countenance betokened royal dignity, the territory of Firuzpur and Sihri, together with the whole of the districts which were in the possession of Bairam Khan Turkbacha, and subjected the supreme control and administration of that tract of country to his will and pleasure, while Malik Sadhu Nadir,³ having assumed the control of the western portion of Hindustan, was appointed to this office with the rank of Naib-i-Shahzada (*i.e.*, vicegerent of the Prince).

And in the aforesaid year the Prince hero alluded to having, in concert with Malik⁴ Sadhu Nadira and Zirak Khan the Amir of Samana and other Amirs and Maliks,⁵ set in order the important affairs of that province, and put everything upon a satisfactory footing, returned to Dihli his capital city.

And in the year 819 H. (1416 A.D.) he appointed Malik Taju-l-Mulk⁶ with a large army to carry the standards of Khizr Khan⁷ towards Baiana and Gwaliar; Malik Karim-u-l-Mulk, the brother of Shams Khan Auhad came and had an interview with him.

287. Having cleared those regions of the thorns of infidelity he returned; and in this selfsame year some of the Turkbachas of Bairam Khan's party seized by treachery Malik Sadhu Nadira, who was holding the district of Sihri as the Shahzada's deputy, raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and took possession of Sihri. Khizr Khan thereupon sent Zirak Khan to put down this rebellion, and he accordingly went thence to the foot of the hills in pursuit of those rebels, but after encountering many difficulties he returned.

¹ The Kali Nadi or Kalindī, or Kālinī, rises in the Muzaffarnagar district, and drains the whole eastern portion of the Doab. The name in the text آب سیاه ab-i-siyāh means Black water, and is a translation of the Hindustani kālī naddī.

² MS. (A) reads wrongly پسر خود for پسر خورہ.

³ MS. (A). The text reads نادرة.

⁴ MS. (A).

⁵ Omit و after ملوك.

⁶ MS. (A) reads تاج الدین Tāju-d-Dīn.

⁷ MS. (A) ریات اعلیٰ خضر حانی.

In this year also Sultan Ahmad, who was the ruler of Gujerat, laid seige to Nagor,¹ but upon hearing of the march of Khizr Khan abandoned the siego and withdrew. Khizr Khan came to Chhain,² and Alyas Khan the governor of Chhain gave in his allegiance to him. Thence he proceeded to Gwâlîr, and although he did not reduce that fortress, still he levied tribute and offerings from it, and thence came to Buiâna where Shams Khan Auhadi gave in his submission. And in the year 820 H. (1417 A D) Tughan the Ra'is with his band who had been the murderers of Malik Sadhu revolted. Zirak Khan was again appointed (to chastise them), and scattered that gathering in all directions.

And in the year 821 H. (1418 A D) Khizri Khan went up against Kaithar, and Hir Singh Dev, who has already been mentioned, laid waste the whole of Kaithar, and took to the forest of Anwâr, the circumference of which is twenty-four krohs. After several engagements he was defeated, and eventually withdrew to the hill country of Kumaon. Tajî l-Mulk crossed the river Rârib and pursued him as far as the hills, and from them came to Badaon, and taking with him Mahâbat Khan, the governor of Badaon, crossed the Ganges by the crossing of Bajlâna then having dismissed Mahâbat Khan, he himself went on to Itâwa, whence he returned to Dihli laden with spoil. In this same year, also, Khizri Khan³ again led an army against Kaithar, and proceeding by way of Kol arrived at Baitâli, where he crossed the Ganges and came to Badaon. On this occasion Mahâbat

¹ *Nagor* In Brigg's translation of *Firishta* this appears as Bagoro (I 509) It is Nagaur in Jodhpur State, Rajputana 48 miles North West of Nasirabad and 75 North East of Jodhpur city

² The text reads حیان Jhaban but MS (A) reads چھایں Chhain
In Brigg's (I 509) we find this place called Jalwnr, with a footnote "I have some doubt as to the true name it is differently written in my various MSS" In the lithographed edition of *Firishta* the name is written plainly enough حلوو Janur (Bombay Edn I 294), and it is said that without waiting for Khizri Khan to advance, Ahmad withdrew in the direction of Mâlwa, and that when Khizri Khan arrived at Janur, Alyas Khan who was governor of the new city called 'Arus i Jahan, which was one of the cities built by Alâ d Dîn Khilji, came to pay his homage. Evidently then, the city mentioned in our text and this "Arus i Jahan are the same

³ MS (A) reads here بزم و مدرسته نجفی which appears to be a copyist's error

Khān Badāoni being afraid of him, shut himself up in the fortress, and opposed Khizr Khān for a space of six months; he was on the point of being defeated, when Qiwām Khān and Iktiyār Khān, and certain of the other Mahmūd Shāhi Amīrs who had seceded from Daulat Khān and had espoused the cause of Khizr Khān, meditated treason against Khizr Khān: but Khizr Khān becoming aware of this state of things¹ abandoned (the siege of) Badāon, and returned to Dihli. And in the year 822 H. (1419 A.D.) he put those traitor Amīrs to death on the banks of the Ganges, in vengeance for the treachery of which they had been guilty. In the same year also an obscure person on the confines of Bajwāra,² falsely gave himself out to be Sārang Khān who had been killed some time before, and upon his assuming this name several adventurers flocked to him. Khizr Khān deputed Sultān Shāh Lodī³ to proceed against him. They fought a fierce battle in the neighbourhood of Sihrind, and Sārang Khān the impostor fled and took to the mountains. Sultān Shāh made Rūpar his head quarters.⁴ In this same year Khizr Khān sent Tāju-l-Mulk to Itāwa. Rāi Sipar was holding out in that fort, but sought for quarter, and consented to pay revenue to Tāju-l-Mulk.⁵ Thence he came to Chandwār, and having laid it waste and pillaged it, proceeded by way of Kaithar to Dihli. In this same year Malik Tāju-d-Din died, and the duties of his Vazīrship were entrusted to his elder son Malik Sikandar. Tūghān Raīs again raised an insurrection in Sihrind, and Malik Khairu-d-Din was appointed to oppose him, and returned after having satisfactorily quelled his rebellion.

¹ MS. (A) reads قصیدہ which is preferable to قصہ as found in the text.

² Firishta, (I. 295) says ماجیوارہ نوڈیک near Māchīwāra, and in the *Aīn-i-Akbarī* we find it stated that Māchīwārah is situated on the banks of the Sutlej (Jarrett, II. 310). In Rennell's Map (Tieff. III.) we find Māchīwārah figured between Rūpar and Lüdhiana. It lies 23 miles south of Lüdhiana, and is a very ancient city mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Bajwāra is farther north near Hoshiarpur. (See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, II. 439).

³ Firishta adds, "called Islām Khān who was the governor of Sarhind."

⁴ This appears to be the meaning of the text. Firishta tells us that Islām Khān pursued "Sārang Khān" with his own forces and those of certain other Maliks, but returned upon finding that he had hidden himself.

⁵ MS. (A) مال راجبی. Firishta calls him Rāi Samīr.

And in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.) Khizr Khan proceeded to 289.
 Mīwāt and took Kotla; thence he hastened to Gwāhār, from the
 Rāi of which place he levied considerable sums and returned to
 Itāwa. Rāi Sipār had gone to hell, and ¹ his son had tendered his
 submission. In this interval ² a severe illness attacked Khizr
 Khan which led to his return towards Dihli. Having arrived at
 that city on the seventeenth of Jumādī I-Awwal in the above
 year, he was received into the mercy of God and passed away from
 the world.

Verse

Every evening is followed by the morning.

At last there comes an end to every labour.

The duration of his reign was seven years and some months.³

SULTĀN MUBĀRĀK SHĀH IBN KHIZR KHĀN IBN MĀLIK FIRISHTĀ.

In accordance with his rights as heir-presumptive ascended the throne with the consent of the Amirs in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.)⁴ and became firmly settled in the administration of his kingdom. In this year Jasrat Khūkar⁵ the son of Shaikhā Khūkar raised a rebellion, the reason of which was that he had taken unawares Sultān 'Alī the king of Kashmīr, who had started with the intention of conquering Tatta⁶ and had defeated him in one of the mountain passes,⁷ a vast amount of plunder falling into his hands. Emboldened by this victory, he used the royal treasures which he had obtained to further an attempt to seize the kingdom of Dihli, and having crossed the rivers Biāh and Sutlej with a

¹ MS. (A) ,

² MS. (A) دوئی اٹا۔

³ Firishta adds, "He was a just and wise king, kind and true to his word, his subjects loved him with a grateful affection so that great and small, master and servant, sat and mourned for him in black raiment till the third day, when they laid aside their mourning garments, and raised his son Mubarak Shah to the throne."

⁴ MS. (A) reads correctly بار for بادا! MS. (B) has the same reading as the text.

⁵ MSS. (A) and (B) omit کھوکھر. Firishta writes کھکھر Khakar and calls him the brother of Shaikhā Khakar.

⁶ Thus the text and MS. (B). MS. (A) reads simply باغسہ باغسہ Baqasbar, Tatta, i.e., for the town of Tatta.

⁷ MS. (A) درون گزائی کوہ شکست دا The text reads کھاندی

large army, and assaulted Talaundī which was in the possession of Rāī Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubīn,¹ and Rāī Firūz fled from before him.

290. Jasrat came to Ludhiāna² and plundered and pillaged along the banks of the river Sutlej as far as the boundaries of Rūpar;³ there he crossed the river and came to Jālandhar.⁴ Zirak Khān had taken refuge in the fort of Jālandhar. Jasrat descended the bank of the river Sarsuti whereupon the question of peace arose; Jasrat by some treachery made Zirak Khān prisoner. Sultān Mubārak Shāh moved towards Sibrind, upon hearing which Jasrat Shaikhā⁵ released Zirak Khān who went to Sāmāna and offered his services to Mubārak Shāh who proceeded to Ludhiāna. Jasrat having crossed the Ludhiāna river drew up to oppose him, being in possession of the whole of the boats. The army of Mubārak Shāh was unable to cross the river, until after the rising of Canopus⁶ when the river became fordable. The Sultān then crossed the river; Jasrat fled and having

¹ We must read تلوندی کمال الدین. This is shewn to be the right reading by the collateral passage in Firishta which reads (I. p. 297), و تلوندی کہ برای کمال تعلق داشت فارت کرد “and laid waste Talaundī which belonged to Rāī Kamāl.”

² The text and both MSS. read کڈاہنہ Kudāhna, but it is evident that we should read لدھیانہ Ludhiāna. We find in Firishta (*loc. cit.*). حبرت بلود بانہ گمدہ. “Jasrat having come to Lüdiāna.” Talaundī I cannot identify, but there is a place on the North bank of the Sutlej in Rennell’s map, called Tulloom, this with the affixed genitive feminine termination (Punjābī) dī, would give Tulūndī or Tulūndī, i. e., the village of Tulūm. Tulloom lies about 20 miles S. S.-W. of Ludhiāna (see Rennell’s map, Tieff, III), on the opposite bank of the river.

³ Rūpar in Rennell’s map is placed North-East of Ludhiāna about 50 miles distant: but on modern maps it is shewn almost due East of Ludhiāna and about 35 miles from it.

⁴ A place of considerable antiquity, the original capital of the Rājpūt kingdom of Katoch. It is described by Hwen Thsang as having been a town of two miles in circuit in the 7th century A.D.

It is mentioned by Ptolemy by the name of Kulindrine or Sulindrine, see Cunningham, A. G. I., pp. 135, etc., and Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, VII. 91.

⁵ MS. (A) omits عن probably correctly as we have seen from Firishta’s account.

⁶ Firishta tells us they crossed on the 11th Shawwāl (October, 8th A.D. 1421).

crossed the river Chhinâb¹ came to Talhar² in the hill tracts. The troops of Mubârak Khân followed him and the greater part of his infantry and cavalry were killed, and all his wealth and treasure was plundered and lost. Râi Bhîm³ the chief of Jamnoo offered his services to Mubârak Shâh and guided his army.⁴ Mubârak Shâh returned thence to Lâhor.

And in the year 825 H. (A.D. 1421) he remained encamped on the bank of the river Râvi for nearly a month, rebuilt the city of Lâhor which had been laid in ruins during the late invasion, and completely repaired the citadel where it had been breached and levelled;⁵ then having left there Malik Mahmûd Hasan who bore the title of Maliku-sh-Shârq, returned to Dihli. Five months later Jasrat Khûkar again came against Lâhor with a large army and encamped at the abode of Shaikh-i-Mashâikh Shaikh Hasan Zinjâni,⁶ may God sanctify him, and every day for a month made repeated efforts to take the city by assault, but eventually failing to attain his object⁷ withdrew to Kalânor⁸ and fought a battle with Râi Bhîm, and when both sides were in the midst of the fight they agreed to make peace.

Malik Sikander Tuhfa who had been despatched from Dihli to reinforce Malik⁹ Mahmûd Hasan crossed the Râvi by the ford of Pûhi¹⁰ and encamped at Lâhor, and Jasrat feeling that he was not able to cope with the conjoint forces¹¹ crossed the Chhinâb

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¹ The Chenâb.

² In the Kashmir hill tracts.

³ Firîghta tells us that Râi Bhîm offered his services and guided the army to Bîal, the strongest of Jasrat's strongholds. Jasrat fled from there, his men were killed and he lost all his possessions.

⁴ MS. (A) reads رائی سلیم both here and some lines lower down.

⁵ شکستگی و پستگی حصار.

⁶ Firîghta says شیخ حسین زنجانی فرود آمد.

⁷ MS. (A) reads بمقصود خود فرمیده.

⁸ Seventeen miles west of Gurdâspur town. Lat. 32° 1' N. Long. 75° 11' 30" E. It was here that Akbar in later times received the news of his father's death and ascended the throne (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., VII. 323).

⁹ MS. (A) omits ملک and reads از گذر پوہی in the next line.

¹⁰ Firîghta لوئی Lû'i. See however note 1 next page.

¹¹ Firîghta says that Mahmûd Hasan was also joined by the forces of Malik Rajab, Governor of Depâlpur and of Islâm Khân Lodî, Governor of Sîhrind

river and proceeded to the hills of Talwārā,¹ and the army of Mubārak Shāh having put down that rebellion returned to Dihli.

In the year 826 H. (1422 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh proceeded to Kaithar, and Mahābat Khān of Badāon who had revolted against Khizr Khān came in and submitted himself, and was distinguished by special marks of favour. Leaving there² he crossed the Ganges and attacked the country of the Panwārs³ in the neighbourhood of Khor otherwise known as Shamsābād,⁴ and having put the majority of them to the sword ravaged the country; then having left Malik Mubāriz and Zirak Khān and Kamāl Khān with a large force in the fortress of Kanpila to quell the insurrection of the rebels he returned to Dihli.

And in this year Alp Khān Governor of Dhār⁵ came with the object of chastising the Rāī of Gwāliār and with the intention of

and that Jasrat withdrew, crossed the Chhināb and Rāvī, and took refuge in the hills.

¹ This is the reading of the text. Talwārā is possibly the same as Talhar mentioned above. Dr. Stein, whom I have consulted, considers that Talwārā in the text refers to the village Talwārā on the right bank of the Chināb just opposite to the town of Rānsī (74° 52' Long. 33° 6' Lat.). This is, he says, a common place for crossing the Chināb as the route connecting Ponī with Rānsī and Jaminu is shown on the survey map (Atlas of India, Sheet 29), as passing Talwārā. Dr. Stein cannot ascertain whether the hill range rising to the north of Talwārā is designated by that name. Pūhī in the text is probably identical with Ponī. The reading of MS. (A) is در کوتله رفت went to Kotla.

² Firishta tells us that Mahābat Khān in obedience to the orders of the Sultān crossed the Ganges and invaded the territories of the Rāthor tribe.

³ The Rāthors are a clan of the Rājpūts, and the Panwārs form another of their clans regarding whom Abul-Fazl says "In ancient times the royal dynasty of Hindūstān came from this tribe" Mārwār is mentioned by the same author as the head-quarters of the Rāthor tribe. (See Āin-i-Akbarī (Jarrett), II. 270 and III. 118).

For a full account of the Panwārs see Sherring (*Hindū Tribes and Castes*), II. p. 93, see also Elliot, (*Races of N.-W. P. of India*).

⁴ On the south bank of the Burī Gangā river, 18 miles North-West of Fatehgarh.

⁵ The text reads ملکی دھار Dihli with a foot-note variant ملکہ دھار Dhār. MS. (A) reads ملکہ دھار Dhār. Firishta says, Sultān Hoshang Wāli of Mālwā. The town of Ujjain and Dhār have at one period or another supplied a capital to the legendary Hindū dynasties of Mālwā. (See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 245, Dhār).

subduing that region, Mubarak Shāh upon receiving intelligence of this proceeded towards Gwālīār, when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Baiana, Shams Khān Auhādī¹ the son of Auhād Khan Auhādī, Governor of Baiana, who had put to death by treacherous means his uncle Mubārak Khān, became alarmed and revolted, and after laying waste Baiana entrenched himself² in the fortress, but eventually submitted.

Mubarak Shāh left that place and marched towards Gwālīār, but Alp Khan proceeding along the banks of the Chambal river³ would not permit the army of Mubārak Shāh to cross; however the soldiers of Mubarak Shāh crossed by another ford, scattered the forces of Alp Khān, and returned triumphant. Thus engagement led to a peaceful settlement, and Alp Khan sent in many presents and returned towards Dhār, while Mubarak Shāh proceeded to Dībhī.

And in the year 827 H (1423 A.D.) he again ordered an expedition towards the hills of Kūmāon and Kaithar, on returning whence he laid waste Mīwāt. In this year a severe famine occurred throughout the whole of Hindustan. In the year 829 H he again proceeded towards Mīwāt and reduced the fortresses of Indor and Alwar.

¹ MS (A) The text omits the words Shams Khan Auhādī. Firāzīta calls him Amīr Ḥasan ibn-i-Daud Khān ibn-i-Shams Khān (see Bombay Edition, p 299 last line) and says that he had entrenched himself on the heights.

² MS (A) reads منصب مُسْتَعِن. The text reads مُسْتَعِن شَدَّاد.

³ Firāzīta writes of this. And Sultan Hoshang seized the fords of the Chambal river and opposed his progress but Mubarak Shāh discovered another ford and crossed rapidly and certain of the Amirs of the advance guard of the Dībhī forces pillaged the camp of the Sultan of Malwa and took many prisoners, but inasmuch as these were Muslims Mubarak Shāh set them free.

Sultan Hoshang sued for peace sending in suitable offerings and withdrew towards Dhār. Mubarak Shāh halted on the banks of the Chambal levying taxes on the old scale from the landholders of that district and eventually arrived at Dībhī in the month of Rajab 827 H.

The Chambal or Chhanbal river is a river of Central India and one of the principal tributaries of the Jamna. It rises in Malwa about eight or nine miles south west of Mhow it is joined by the Kali and Parbati and Banis, flows past Dholpur into Etawah and joins the Jamna 40 miles below Etawah town. The Charmanwati of Sanskrit writers (See Hunter *In p Gaz* III 331)

And in the year 830 H. he took Baiān from Muhammād Khān Auḥādī, and sent the family of Auḥādī to the palace known as Jahān Numā,¹ and assigned it to them as a residence. He then gave Baiān to Malik Muqbil Khān one of his retainers, and Sikrī to Malik Khairū-d-Dīn Tuḥfā, while he himself led an army against Gwāliār receiving the submission of the Rāis of that district.

And in the year 831 H. (1427 A.D.) ambassadors arrived in Dihlī from Qādir Khān, governor of Kälpi, bringing tidings that Sharqī² was besieging him. Mubārak Shāh marched to oppose Sharqī; but in the meantime tidings arrived that Sharqī had attacked Bhūngāon³ and was encamped there, intending to proceed to Badāon.⁴ Mubārak Shāh, who had crossed the river Jamna at the ford of Nūh Patal, and had attacked Jartauli,⁵ on arrival at the township of Atrauli⁶ received intelligence that Mukhtāṣṣ Khān⁷ the brother of Sharqī had arrived on the borders of Itāwa with an army and many elephants; Mubārak Shāh detailed Maliku-sh-Sharq Mahmūd Ḥasan with ten thousand cavalry to oppose Mukhtāṣṣ Khān. Mukhtāṣṣ Khān joined hands with Sharqī who proceeded along the banks of the Black-Water, otherwise known as the Kālinī,⁸ and arrived in the vicinity of the township of Burhānābād one of the dependencies of Itāwa. Mubārak Shāh marching from Atrauli encamped at the town of

¹ This palace was in Dihlī. Firishta writes: "Sent his family and relations to Dihlī."

² Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī.

³ The text reads بھون گاؤں *Bhūn gān w* MS. (A) reads بھوکانور *Bhūkānūr*.

In Firishta we find افواج شرقیہ بھوکانور را تاختھ، The troops of Sharqī attacked Bhūngāon. Bhongāon is in the Mainpūrī District, 9½ miles east from Mainpūrī at the junction of the Agra and Grand Trunk roads. The town was founded according to tradition, by Rājā Bhim Sen who was cured of leprosy by bathing in the *jhil* or lake. (Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* II. 403.)

⁴ Badāon lies N. of Bhongāon at a distance of about fifty miles.

⁵ Firishta writes, جو تویی ر کے از مشاہدہ بائیں مواس بود تاختھ. Attacked Jartauli, one of the famous cities of Mawās. I fail to locate this place but it must have been in the Doāb. I can find no mention of it.

⁶ Atrauli, 16 miles from Aligarh town. (Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* I. 180).

⁷ Firishta calls him Mukhlīṣ Khān.

⁸ MS. (A). The text reads Kālī Pānī. This is the Kālinī, the Karā Sū of the *Malfūzāt-i-Timūrī* (see note 3 page 360).

Kotā,¹ but Sharqi declined battle and withdrew towards Rāpri,² and thence, after crossing the Jamna, proceeded to Baiāna and encamped on the bank of the river of Kaithar. Mubārak Shāh pursued him as far as Chandwār, a space of four krohs lay between the two armies so that the outposts of the forces could see each other. They remained thus confronting each other for twenty days, at last Sharqi came out in force, and from mid day till nightfall hard fighting went on between the two armies, and the event was not decided on that day, on the following day Sharqi turned back towards his own country,³ and Mubārak Shāh, considering that both sides were Muslims, no longer pursued him, but went towards Satgīna,⁴ and having conquered that country followed the bank of the Chambal river and came down to Baiāna.

Muhammad Khān Auhādi, who on account of having had an (unsatisfactory) interview with Sharqi had taken flight, and had entrenched himself in the fortress, came and sought protection in an interview with Mubārak Shāh.⁵ Mubārak Shāh thereupon retraced his steps to Dihlī.

And in the year 832 H. Malik sh Sharq Mahmud Hasan, who had been left in Baiāna by Mubārak Shāh as his Viceroy, and had put the affairs of that place in order, and had also chastised⁶ those infidels who had made common cause with Muhammad Khān and had raised disturbances, came to Court and received substantial favours, and the fortress of Tiroza was confirmed to him. In that same year Malik Rajab Nādua, governor of Multan died, and Malik Mahmud Hasan received the title of 'Imadū-l-Mulk (Pillar of the State) and proceeded to Multān.

And in the year 833 H. (1429 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh went to Gwalior by way of Baiāna, and having taken the Rāpri district from the son of Hasan Khān gave it to Malik Hamza and returned 294

¹ Firīghta writes مالی کوئی Milkota

² Took the road to Jaunpur (Firīghta)

³ Went to Gwalior by way of Halghat (Firīghta) MS (A) دکن ساتگانہ

⁴ Firīghta says "Muhammad Khan Auhādi" for the reason that he despaired of any help from Sultan Sharqi asked for quarter and tendered his submission and was freely pardoned

⁵ ملک شریعت موسی MS (A) دکن ساتگانہ Text

to the city (Dihli). On the way thither Saiyyid Sālim, who had served Khizr Khān for thirty years,¹ and held the sief of Tabarhinda, died. The title of Saiyyid Khān was conferred upon one of his sons, and that of Shujā'u-l-Mulk upon the other.² And Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, one of the servants of the aforesaid Saiyyid Sālim, raised a rebellion in Tabarhinda and took possession of the enormous wealth which had been amassed by Saiyyid Sālim. Mubārak Shāh imprisoned the sons of Saiyyid Sālim, and appointed Malik Yūsuf Sarūr and Rāi Hansū Bhālī³ to oppose him (Fūlād). Fūlād Turkbacha made a night attack upon them and scattered their forces, and much valuable booty fell into his hands. Mubārak Shāh led an army against Tabarhinda, and the Turkbacha slave was besieged there. Mubārak Shāh summoned 'Imādu-l-Mulk from Multān, and sent him with a message to the Turkbacha slave, who, after suing for quarter, came out from the fort and had an interview with 'Imādu-l-Mulk, but did not rely upon his assurances, and returned in alarm to the fort and continued to fight. Mubārak Shāh permitted 'Imādu-l-Mulk to proceed to Multān and himself returned to Dihli. The slave (Fūlād) continued to engage in battle at intervals with the troops of Mubārak Shāh during the six months during which he was absent. At last he sent considerable sums of money⁴ by way of presents to Shaikh 'Alī Mughul who was the ruler of Kābul. Shaikh 'Alī accordingly came to his assistance from Kābul with a vast army, which was reinforced by a large number of men from the borders of the Panjāb. He removed the slave

¹ Firishta writes

گویند سید السادات سید سالم صدت سی سال در حضور خضرخان از زمرہ
امراے عمدۃ بود -

"They relate that Saiyyidu-s-Sādāt Saiyyid Sālim was for a period of thirty years reckoned by Khizr Khān as one of his best Amirs."

² MS. (A) ۵۱۵ Text ۵۵۱۵. Firishta also adds that the whole of their father's privileges together with all the immense wealth he had amassed were confirmed to these two sons, but that these favours were not sufficient to secure their fidelity to Mubārak Shāh. Badāoni's account does not explain the incident related in the subsequent passage. Firishta does, he says that these two sons of Saiyyid Sālim sent Fūlād to Tabarhinda and incited him to raise a rebellion.

³ Firishta's text reads Malik Yūsuf and Rāi Habūlī. (?)

⁴ مبلغها بوجہ نمایاں MS. (A). The text reads مبلغها بوجہ

(Fūlād) together with all his family and relations from Tabir-hind¹ and taking them with himself returned, and having crossed the river Būh came to Lāhor. Malik al Sharq Malik Sikander, governor of Lāhor, who used to pay a yearly tribute to Shaikh 'Ali, discharged his obligation and induced him to turn his attentions elsewhere. Accordingly Shaikh 'Ali passing by Lāhor without seeking it² made towards Depālpur, and 'Imādu-l-Mulk came out from Multān to oppose him. Shaikh 'Ali taking the bank of the river Rāvī, proceeded to within a short distance of Tulumbī,³ and turning aside from thence came to Khutpūr.⁴ ('Imādu-l-Mulk) fought with Shaikh 'Ali but was deserted, and Malik Suleiman Shāh Lodi, who was with the advance guard of the army of 'Imādu-l-Mulk, fell in this battle,⁵ [and Shaikh 'Ali came to Khusrūābād and for a long time daily engagements were fought between him and 'Imādu-l-Mulk].⁶

And in the year 834 H (1430 A D) Mubarak Shāh sent a vast army to the assistance of 'Imādu-l-Mulk, and appointed Fath Khān ibn-i Sultān Muzaffar Khān of Gujrāt to the command of that force. Shaikh 'Ali was not able to stand against them,⁷ so changed front, and retired under cover of night into an entrenchment which he had thrown up around his position, when they surrounded his entrenchment he retreated towards Jhilam, and having crossed the river there lost the greater part of his men by drowning, some were killed and some taken prisoners.⁸ Shaikh 'Ali and Amīr Muzaffar proceeded with a certain number of men to the town of Shiwar;⁹ all their baggage and property having

¹ This appears to be the meaning of the Persian.

² Tulumba is on the left bank of the Rāvī 52 miles N E of Multan. The old fort was situated a mile to the south of the present town. It has been identified with a town of the Malli conquered by Alexander the Great during his campaign in the Panjab, and also as the place where he crossed the Rāvī. (See Hunter Imp Gaz XIII 163 also Cunningham Anc Geog of India, 221.)

³ Firishta says خطبپور Khatibpur. The text reads somewhat obscurely here. I have supplied the words in brackets to restore the sense in English.

⁴ Which took place according to Firishta at Khyrābad three stages from Multān

⁵ The words within brackets are not in MS (A)

⁶ MS (A) بیاردہ Text آورد ندوایست.

⁷ MS (A) شددہ Text گشندہ

⁸ MS (A) میلور میلور or Firishta (text).

been taken, the army of 'Imādu-l-Mulk pursued them up to that point. Amir Muzaffar remained entrenched within the fortress while Shaikh 'Ali set his face to go to Kābul. The victorious army abandoned the siege and returned to Dihli. Multān was taken away from 'Imādu-l-Mulk and given to Malik Khairu-d-Dīn Khān which led to great disturbances on the borders of Multān.

And in the year 835 H. (1431 A.D.) Malik Sikander,¹ governor of Lāhor, set out to quell the rebellion which Jasrat Khūkhar had stirred up at the foot of the hills. Jasrat took him² unawares and engaged him in battle; Sikander falling into the hands of Jasrat Khūkhar was taken prisoner near Jalandhar. Jasrat took his prisoner to Lāhor and besieged the city, and Saiyyid Najmu-d-Dīn the regent of Sikander, and Malik Khushkhabr³ the slave of Sikander, fought several battles with him. In the meantime Shaikh 'Ali collected an army and again came on to the borders of Multān,⁴ and assaulted Khūtpur,⁵ taking prisoners the greater portion of the inhabitants of Jhilam and its vicinity, and seized Tulumba, pillaging and despoiling all the inhabitants and making them prisoners; most of them he put to death, and took the rest of them, great and small, to his own country.

In the meantime Fūlād Turkbacha, who has been mentioned above, left Tabarhindā and invaded the territory of Rāi Firoz⁶ who engaged him in battle and was slain, Fūlād sending his head to Tabarhindā.

In this year also the Sultān again led an army towards Lāhor and Multān; when he arrived in the vicinity of Sāmāna, Jasrat withdrew from in front of Lāhor towards the foot of the hills, and Shaikh 'Ali also retired to his own country. Lāhor and Jalandhar were taken from Shamsu-l-Mulk and given to Nuṣrat Khān Gurgandāz, and Mubārak Shāh gave orders for the family and relations of Shamsu-l-Mulk to be removed⁷ from Lāhor to Dihli, whither he himself returned.

¹ MSS. The text reads wrongly بملک.

² MS. (A) omits اورا.

³ MS. (A) reads خوشنجر Khushanjar (?).

⁴ At the instigation of Jasrat Khūkhar, according to Firishtha.

⁵ See note 3 page 389. MS. (A) omits ل.

⁶ MS. (A) reads ، تاختہ instead of ، تختہ as in the text.

⁷ Text بوندہ MS. (A) بود.

And in the year 836 H (1433 A D) Mubārak Shāh once more hastened to Sīmīnā¹ to put down the rebellion of Jasrat, when he arrived at Pānipath he received intelligence of the death of his mother, who was called Maḥbūbān-i Jahan (Mistress of the world), and turned back with a small retinue² to Dihlī, and having remained there ten days to perform his mourning for her, again joined his army, and detailed Yūsuf Sarūrū l-Mulk to proceed to Tabarhinda to put down the insurrection of Fulid. Mubārak Shāh after taking Lāhor and Jalandhar from Naṣrāt Khān gave them to Malik Allāhdād Kālū Lodi When³ he arrived near Jalandhar, Jasrat, having crossed the river Biah, had engaged Allāhdād Kālū⁴ at Bījwārā,⁵ and had defeated him. 297. *Malik Allāhdād had fled to the hill-country*

In this year the Sultān brought an army into Miwāt against Jalal Khān, and from thence despatching a force to operate towards Gwālīār and Itāwa, returned (to Dihlī). In this same year Shaikh 'Ali coming down into the Panjab again caused disturbances there Mubārak Shāh accordingly nominated 'Imādu-l-mulk to reinforce the Amirs of that district Shaikh 'Ali invaded the country from Shūwar to the banks of the Biah, and taking great numbers prisoners and plundering, went to Lāhor Zirāk Khān and the other Amirs⁶ who were in Lāhor fortified themselves there, and fought repeated engagements with him, till, one night, the inhabitants of Lāhor were careless about their guards and sentries, and Malik Yusuf Sarūrū l-Mulk and Malik Isma'il under cover of night succeeded in joining Zirāk Khān, then sallying from the fort,⁷ gave battle and were defeated Shaikh 'Ali pursued them, some of the fugitives were put to death, and some were taken prisoners The following day Shaikh 'Ali took Lāhor and put to death great and small,⁸ and taking many prisoners

¹ MS (A) مساعده سائبان

² حربیہ Firishta says تھا he returned alone

³ Omit و MS (A)

⁴ MS (A) omits کالو Kālu ⁵ Bajwārā A village 1½ miles E. of Hoshīarpur about 25 miles N E of Jalandhar

⁶ MS (A) دیگر امراء کے

⁷ MS (A) supplies the words از حصار

⁸ MS (A) reads حاص و عام the textual reading is probably incorrect, read حاص و عام

remained there. And after some days, he came to Debālpūr, which Malik Yūsuf Surūru-l-Mulk was intending to abandon. Malik 'Imādu-l-Mulk¹ on hearing of this despatched his brother Malik Aḥmad from Tabarhinda to the fort of Debālpūr with orders to hold it. Shaikh 'Alī becoming aware of this returned from that direction : Sultān Mubārak Shāh proceeded as far as Sāmāna in order to quell these disturbances.² From Sāmāna he proceeded to Talaundi and thence to the ford of Pūhī, where he crossed the the Biāh and came to Debālpūr. Thence he marched along the banks³ of the Rāvī, and Shaikh 'Alī crossed the Jhilam and fled,⁴ Mubārak Shāh pursued him as far as the fortress of Shiwar and crossed the Rāvī near Tulumba.⁵ Amīr Muẓaffar 298. Khān, brother's son to Shaikh 'Alī, who was holding the fort with Shaikh 'Alī's troops, fought against the king for a month, and at last sued for quarter, and gave his daughter together with a large amount of money and valuables to the prince. A part of Shaikh 'Alī's forces who were besieged in Lāhor sought quarter from Shamsu-l-Mulk and evacuated the fort. As soon as Mubārak Shāh had completed the affair of Shiwar and the conquest of Lāhor, he proceeded with a small retinue to visit the holy shrines of the Shaikhs at Multān, and returning almost immediately came to Debālpūr and remained there for some days. Having regard to Shaikh 'Alī (as a source of danger), he gave the districts of Lāhor and Debālpūr to Maliku-sh-Shārq 'Imādu-l-Mulk, and taking away the districts of Baiāna from 'Imādu-l-Mulk he gave them to Shamsu-d-dīn. Marching thence in light order by forced marches, he reached Dihlī on the day of the 'Id-i-Qurbān⁶ and

¹ MS. (A) omits ملک.

² MS. (A) omits و فساد and writes ای سامانا بے for ای سامانا گے.

³ MS. (A) reads incorrectly کتاب for کنار.

⁴ The text and both MSS. (A), (B) read و رفت و شد. The و is to be omitted.

⁵ Besieging the fort Shiwar (Firishta).

⁶ The festival of Sacrifice. This is the festival held on the 10th day of Zū-l-hijjah. It is known also as the 'Idū l-aẓḥā, see Qur'ān xxii. 33—38. It commemorates the intention of Ibrāhīm to sacrifice his son Isma'īl in obedience to the command of God. It is the chief of the Muhammadan festivals and is called 'Idū-l-kabīr, the great festival, to distinguish it from the 'Idū-l-Fitr which is known as 'Idū-s-saghir which ushers in the month of Shawwāl and celebrates the termination of the fast of Ramazān. (See Hughes Dict. of Islām).

conferred the office of *vazir* upon Sarwaru-l-Mulk and gave to Malik Kamālu-l-Mulk,¹ who was the Military Secretary (*Naib-i-Lashkar*), charge of the civil administration in conjunction with Sarwaru-l-Mulk.

There was a hypocritical bond of fellowship between these two,² inasmuch as Sarwaru-l-Mulk had a grievous thorn rankling in his breast on account of the deprivation of Debālpur, and bore a grudge against Mubārak Shāh so that at such a juncture, seeing that he had less than ever to hope from him, he entered on a course of secret treachery and deceit. He entered into a conspiracy with the sons of Kāngu Khatri and Kajwi Khatri and Mirān Sadr Naib i-'Arz, (who for generations had been *protégés* of the Mubarak Shahi family, and held several high offices) and also with another party of Muslim vagabonds, to seek an opportunity of destroying Mubārak Shāh.³

And in the year 837 II (1433 A.D.)⁴ Mubārak Shāh built a city on the banks of the river Jamna,⁵ and gave it the name of Mubārakabad (City of Prosperity), though in reality it should have been called Kharābabad (City of Ruin), and was so zealous in building it that he spared no pains in its superintendence. In the meanwhile news of the capture of the fortress of Tabarhinda reached the court, accompanied by the head of the slave Fālād Turkbacha.⁶ Mubārak Shah could not contain himself for joy at this intelligence, and proceeded by forced marches to Tabarhinda⁷ and returned thence speedily to Mubārakābād. In this year 1119 tidings arrived that hostilities were going on between Sultān Ibrahim Sharqi and Alp Khān, governor of Kālpi, who had re-

¹ Firishta says كمال الدين Kamālu d din

² MS (A) omits این

³ Firishta names as the accomplices Sidrān, son of Kāngu Khatri and Sadpal, grandson of Kanju Khatri with Mirān Sadr Naib i-'Arz i Mamalik, Qazi 'Abdu 's-sadr Hajib i Khāss and others (Firishta Bombay text, I, p 309).

⁴ MS (A) چون

⁵ Briggs in his translation of Firishta (Vol I, p 629) assigns 839 II as the date of the building of this city, but a reference to the original shows that the historian gives 837 II as the date.

⁶ The text reads here پله عواد but a footnote gives a variant عواد و ملک and this reading is confirmed by MS (A) and also by Firishta

⁷ Firishta says he returned direct to Mubārakābād

ceived the title of Hoshang.¹ Mubārak Shāh accordingly sent commands in all directions for forces to be collected and held in readiness to march towards Kālpī, and that they should assemble at the Court. At this juncture Mubārak Shāh persisted in his invariable custom of visiting the site of the new city in season and out of season. One day when he had ridden out there with a body of attendants without ceremony, and was preparing to say the Friday prayers,² the infidels under Mirān Ṣadr, who had continually lain in wait for him at the instigation of Sarwaru-l-Mulk, seeking an opportunity (to slay him),³ with one accord entered the private apartment of Mubārak Shāh on some pretext or another, and Sidh Pāl,⁴ the grandson of the scoundrel Kajwi Khātri, put that auspicious monarch to a martyr's death. This event took place in the year 837 H. The days of his reign were thirteen years three months and sixteen days.

Verse.

Wonder not at the vicissitudes of time, for the heavens
Retain a recollection of thousands of such stories as this.
Set not your affections upon that which passeth away, for the
river Dajla.⁵
Will continue to pass by Baghādād, while many Khalifahs
come and go.

¹ Firīghta throughout calls him Hoshang.

² On the 9th Rajab 837 (Firīghta Bombay text 1 803).

³ MS. (A) omits وقت.

⁴ The text is followed here as it agrees closely with the account given by Firīghta. MS. (A) reads در مکان پادشاهی در گردش سده ها ساختند.....

⁵ دجلہ Dajla or Dagla, as it may also be pronounced, is the Hiddekel of the Bible (Gen. ii. 14; Dan. x. 4) תִּירְקָרְבָּנִי lit., the swift. The old Persian form is Tigrā, "swift as an arrow," whence is derived Tigris, the modern name of this river. According to Pliny (VI. 27), the river in the upper part of its course where it flowed gently was called Diglito, and lower down, where it is more rapid, on account of its velocity it is called Tigris, for the Medes call an arrow by this name. According to Gesenius, in modern Persian both the river Tigris and an arrow have the common name تیر tīr, which in the Zend becomes Tedjer. See Gesenius *Thes.*: also Smith *Dict. G. R. Geog.*

"The Tigris is navigable for light steamers up to Baghādād, but owing to the rapidity of the current, the traffic is all down stream carried on mainly by a primitive style of craft, which is broken up at Baghādād and transported by camels back to Mosul."

SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH IBN I FARID KHĀN,

The brother's son of Mubarak Shāh ibn i Khizr Khān, whom 300
 Mubārak Shah had adopted as his own son, ascended the throne in
 succession to Mubarak Shah in the year¹ 837 H (1433 A D) and Sarwaru l Mulk, whose head was filled with treacherous designs, ostensibly owned his allegiance Muhammad Shāh, in spite of the foregoing circumstances, conferred upon him the title of Khan i Jahan and bestowed a Khil'at upon him, he also ap pointed Miran Sadr Mu'min l Mulk, and for a short time winked at the doings of those infidels Maliku shi Sharq Kamālu l Mulk, who was co-partner with Sarwaru l Mulk in the vazirship, elected to reside outside the city, and gave in his allegiance to Muhammad Shah. The second day after the accession Sarwaru l Mulk made some pretext for arresting² certain of the servants of Mubarak Shah, and put them to death, and left nothing undone to secure the overthrowal of the family of Mubarak Shah, moreover, he began to divide the country among his own partisans, giving the territory of Baiāna, and Amroha, and Narnol, and Kuhrām, together with certain districts in the Doab, to Sidh Pal and Sidharan Khatrī who were the (actual) murderers of Mubarak Shāh. Ranun the Black, a slave of Sidh Pal, arrived in Baiāna with a large following and attempted to enter the fort, but in the mean time Yusuf Khan Anhadi arrived from Hindwan,³ and giving him battle defeated him, and sent the greater portion of those infidels to hell. Then women and children fell as prisoners into the hands of the Muslims, and the head of Ranun the Black was hung up over the gate of the fort. Inasmuch as Sarwaru l Mulk and his infidel hordes began to commit violence, the Amirs of Khizr Khan and Mubarak Shah, who were scattered here and there about the country, in several places showed⁴ symptoms of revolt and set on foot many insurrections. Sarwaru l Mulk had the self same object, namely to damage the kingdom 301 Malik Allahdad Kala Lodi, governor of Sambhal and Ahar,⁴

¹ 9th Rajab 837

² MS (A) و معاشر

³ The text and both MSS read حندون Firuzhta reads Hindwan
 Hindau lies about 20 miles S of Baiana it is situated in the Jeypore State

⁴ Ahar In Bulandshahr District N W P 20 miles N E of Bulandsahr

and Malik Chaman¹, governor² of Badūn, grandson of Khān-i-Juhān, and Amir 'Alī Gujrātī, together with some other Amirs, raised a large following to avenge the death of Mubārak Shāh, and started towards Dihli. Maliku-sh-Sharq, Kamālu-l-Mulk, and Saiyyid Khān, son of Saiyyid Salim, who had received the title of Khan-i-Āzam from Mubārak Shāh, were appointed by the durbār to proceed against those Amirs, and Malik Yūsuf, the son of Sarwāru-l-Mulk, together with Sidihrān and Kāngū were ordered to accompany Kamālu-l-Mulk. The Dihli army crossed by the ford of Kieha and came to Baran (Bulandgahr). Malik Allahdād and the other noted Amirs having arrived at the township of Abār desired to cross the Ganges without fighting and go where they could safely. But when they saw clearly that Malik Kamālu-l-Mulk was hotly bent upon taking vengeance upon Sarwāru-l-Mulk, they took courage and did not leave their positions. Sarwāru-l-Mulk becoming aware of this sent his lieutenant Malik Hushyār, under pretence of reinforcing Kamālu-l-Mulk, as a spy into their army. Yūsuf Khān and Malik Hushyār, and Sidihrān the infidel, entertaining suspicions regarding Kamālu-l-Mulk left the army and went to Dihli: and the Amirs of Sambhal and Badūn joined Kamālu-l-Mulk and came in great force to the ford of Kieha. Sarwāru-l-Mulk was engaged in strengthening his fort. The following day the loyal Amirs having crossed the Jamma encamped in the Bāgh-i-Jūd³ while the traitors and infidels sallied out from the fort and engaged them in battle, but suffered defeat in the very first onset and retreated to the fort, but before they could enter it a large number were put to death and most of the remainder were taken prisoners.

302. The day following this victory the Mubārak Shāhi Amirs encamped near the fort of Siri, and the greater part of the Amirs who were inside the fort, came out and joined them. Fighting went on between the two parties for three months.

At the latter part of this year Zirak Khān, Governor of Sāmāna

¹ MS. (A) writes ملک حمین Malik Hamīn; by Firishta, and in Elliott's translation of the Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi (IV. 82) he is called Malik Chaman.

² The word in the original is مُقْطَع Muqtū, i.e., holder of a قطع qit'. Firishta calls him حاکم بدارون Hākim-i-Badūn.

³ MS. (A).

died, and the country was confirmed to his son Muḥammad Khān. Muḥammad Shāh, although outwardly he held friendly relations with Sarwār-i-Mulk, still in his inmost heart was in unison with his father's Amirs. Sarwār-i-Mulk became aware of this, and accordingly began to plot treachery against him also, and was only waiting his opportunity.

On the eighth of Muharram in the year 838 H. (1434 A.D.) Sarwār-i-Mulk and the sons of the perfidious Mirān Ṣadr suddenly broke into the tent of the king with the intention of doing him a grievous injury, but at this moment Muḥammad Shāh became aware of their design; and with all despatch sent messengers to Kamāl-i-Mulk, while the attendants who were near the person of Muḥammad Shāh were on their guard, and killed the traitor Sarwār-i-Mulk, and seizing the sons of Mirān Ṣadr executed them in presence of the *darbār*. The traitorous infidels blockaded themselves in their own houses. Kamāl-i-Mulk, accompanied by all the Amirs, entered the fort by the Darwāz-i-Baghdād (Baghdād gate). The Russian Sidiq Pāl set fire to his house and property, and after performing the *jauhar*¹ which is a well-known custom expressed by that word in the Hindi language, went himself into battle and became food for the flames of the pitiless sword,² and his impure soul went to hell.³ Sidiq Rān Kāngū and the rest of the Khatri confederation, were one and all taken prisoners, and were impaled near the *hazira*⁴ (mausoleum)

¹ جوهر Jauhar or *Jāhar* जाहर is a Hindi word derived from the words जीव *jīv*, and हरा *hara* signifying taking one's own life. The custom of the Rajputs when reduced to the last extremity in warfare was in olden times to perform a rite of self-sacrifice known by this name: as for instance on the occasion of the siege and capture of Chitor by Sultan 'Ali-ud-Din: "Huge piles of timber were raised up and set on fire. The women approached in funeral procession and threw themselves into the flames. The men arrayed themselves in saffron-coloured garments and rushed out of the fortress sword in hand; most of them were cut to pieces." The evident object of the rite was to protect the persons of the women from the indignities to which they would be submitted if they were to fall alive into the hands of the enemy.

² MSS. omit بیداری.

³ The word جوهر Jauhar, here used for "Soul," has the primary meaning of "essence." It is a Persian word and is used here as a play upon the Hindi word *jauhar* used above (Note 1).

⁴ حظیرہ *Hazira*. The literal meaning of this word is an enclosure, here

of Mubārak Shāh, and Malik Hushyār and Mubārak Kotwāl were executed along with them. The following day Kamālu-l-Mulk and the other noted Amīrs renewed their fealty to Muhammād Shāh; Kamālu-l-Mulk obtained the rank of razīr and Malik Chaman of Bādāon received the title of Ghāzīn-l-Mulk, and was reinstated in his former position as governor of Bādāon, Amroha being also added to his province; Malik Allāhdūd Lodi would not accept any title, the title of Daryā Khān however he accepted for his brother. Thus after settling the important affairs, Muhammād Shāh gave durability to his rule, and conducted his Government in tranquillity.

And in the year 810 H. (1436 A.D.) he turned his attention towards Multān, and halted for some days at Mubārakpūr to give time for the Amīrs of the various districts to join him. When the Muhammād Shāh's troops were all assembled at Mubārakpūr he marched thence towards Multān, and after visiting the shrines of the holy men at that place ¹ came to Dihlī. And in the aforesaid year, marching towards Sāmāna he despatched a force to proceed against Shaikhā Khākhār.² Accordingly they laid waste his country and returned.³ In the year 841 H. (1437 A.D.) tidings arrived that the tribe of Langāhs had raised an insurrection in Multān, and in the meantime Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī obtained possession of certain divisions of Dihlī, and the Rāī of Gwāliār and the other Rāīs refused to pay the customary tribute. Muhammād Shāh affected to be indifferent to this, and disturbances sprung up in all directions, and everyone was hankering after something. The Khānzādas of Miwāt, who are the ancestors of Hasan Khān of Miwāt, invited Sultān Maḥmūd Khilji from Mālwā to assume the imperial power of Dihlī.

And in the year 844 H. (1440 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd arrived at Dihlī, and Muhammād Shāh drew up his forces and sent out his son Saiyyid ‘Alāu-d-Dīn to engage him in battle, giving the command of the force to Malik Buhlūl Lodi. Sultān Maḥmūd also

it means a tomb enclosed within walls or a palisado. Firishṭa writes "were put to death with great tortures" بعقوبٍ تهام بقتل رسيدند.

¹ MS. (A) omits آنچا.

² MS. (A). برس شیخا.

³ MS. (A) تولایت اورا خواب کردا مراجعت نہو دند.

appointed his two sons Ghīās-ud-Dīn and Qadr Khān¹ to oppose them. A fierce battle resulting they at last agreed to make peace, and Sultān Māhmud taking advantage of that, and alleging as an excuse that he had seen in a dream that the kingdom of Multān was being ruined, marched in light order under cover of night towards Mālwā. Mālik Bahlūl pursued him and seized a portion of his baggage and valuable equipment. Sultān Muhammād was so pleased at the energy displayed by Bahlūl Lodi that he called him his son,² and bestowed upon him the country of Lāhar and Dēlājār.

And in the year 815 H (1411 A.D.) he marched to Sātāna, and having despatched Bahlūl to chastise Jārat Khākbar, returned to Dihlī. Jārat concluded a peace with Mālik Bahlūl and held out to him the pleasing prospect of becoming Sultān of Dihlī,³ till at last Bahlūl began to collect Afghāns from all directions and took forcible possession of a large number of provinces, then without any assignable reason he picked a quarrel with Muhammād Shāh and revolted against him, leading an army against Dihlī. He held Sultān Muhammād for a considerable time closely besieged, but could not accomplish his purpose, and returned without effecting anything. In the meantime Muhammād Shāh was afflicted with a grievous disorder,⁴ and the Amirs who were at a distance of twenty *kro's* from Dihlī revolted against him, and sending for his son 'Alā'u-d-Dīn who held a *jazir* in Bādām, and had left there on a hunting expedition at the foot of the hills, made him⁵ heir apparent. And in the year 817 H⁶ he passed away, the duration of his reign was fourteen⁷ years and some months, or therabouts.

¹ The text reads خان ملک ملک. MS (A) reads خان ملک
Qāshā Khan Firūzta says قدر خان. So also Tabaqat-i-Albāb

² MS (A) اورا پسر خواہ. See Elliot IV 65

³ Firūzta says: Invited him to aspire to the kingdom of Dihlī. MS (A) instead of پیشہ writes پیشہ

⁴ دماغہ مبتلا ترجمت صعب ملک. Firūzta says: بیرون مبتلا ملک becoming day by day weaker

⁵ MS (A) اورا

⁶ Firūzta says that he died in 819 H which is probably correct, see n. 7

⁷ As he came to the throne in 817 he had reigned only some ten years, not fourteen as here stated. Both MSS (A) and (B) however read ۱۴۰۷

The Tabaqat-i-Albāb according to Elliot IV, 66 says ten years and some months. With regard to this see Thomas, Pathan Kings, p 336 and note 1,

Come and cast one look upon their dust, and take warning.
For the dust is the resting-place of trusted emperors.

305.

SULTĀN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN IBN I MŪHAMMAD SHĀH IBN I MUBĀRAK

SHĀH¹ IBN I KHIZR KHĀN,

In accordance with the testamentary disposition of his father succeeded to the throne, and Malik Buhlūl with the other Amirs gave in their allegiance to him, and seeing that the indolence of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn was even greater than that of his father, a still more violent ambition to secure the throne began to work upon the excited fancy of Buhlūl.

In the year 850 H. (1445 A.D.) Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn made an excursion towards Baiāna; while on the road he heard a false rumour that the King of Jaunpūr was on his way to attack Dihli, and without attempting to ascertain its truth returned in hot haste to Dihli. In the year 851 H. (1447 A.D.) he went to

where it is said that Firishta "makes a less trivial mistake in insisting upon a twelve years' reign in spite of his own expressed figures of from '839 to 849' A. H. Briggs, pp. 332—339." This is not Firishta's error but is the fault of his translator. Firishta says clearly that Muhammād succeeded to the throne on the very day on which Mubārak Shāh was assassinated (Bo. text, p. 309) that is, "on the 9th Rajab 837" (Bo. text, p. 308), so that while his date as regards the death of Muhammād Shāh may be wrong, his calculation based upon the dates he gives is correct. I am not aware of any direct evidence that Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn ascended the throne in 847 H. The *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, if Elliott's translation (Elliott, IV, p. 86) is to be trusted, says, "Upon the death of Muhammād Shāh the amirs and nobles assembled, and raised his son to the throne under the style of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn" and in a footnote on the same page referring to the conflict of testimony between Badāoni and Firishta as to the date of Muhammād Shāh's death, he says: "Firishta seems correct in making it 849," and with this opinion I am inclined to agree. The mistake appears to have arisen from accepting the date given by Briggs in his translation of Firishta, instead of confirming it from Firishta himself, who gives 17th Jamādi I 824 as the date of Khizr Khān's death and Mubārak Shāh's accession, and states (Bo. text 309) that Mubārak Shāh reigned thirteen years three months and sixteen days. This would bring us to 837 H. not to 839 H. Therefore, unless there is evidence to show that 'Alāu-d-Dīn came to the throne in 847 H. we are justified in accepting Firishta's plain and coincident statement that Muhammād Shāh reigned twelve years and some months, dying in 849 H.

¹ MS. (A) omits شاہ and writes خان فارید خان Farid Khān. See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, 335, *footnote*.

Badāon and elected to take up his abode there, and after making preparations for returning thereto¹ returned to his capital Dihlī.

And in the year 852 H (1448 A.D.) having made his two brothers in law Shahn-i-Shahr (City Constable) and Mir-i-Kuc (Superintendent of Roads) he returned to Badāon. A disturbance arose between those two brothers, and at last both were put to death by the people of Dihlī. Husain Khān who was Umdatu-l-Uṣūl (a Privy Councillor), and loyal to the Sultan, but from time to time spoke the direct truth to the Sultan in connection with the administration of State affairs, had for this very reason, fallen out of favour with the Sultan, and had been deposed from his office. Ijamid Khān, Faiz-i-mālikat, (variz of the State) who had fled to Dihlī fearing punishment at the hands of the Sultan, and dreading an attempt upon his life,² joined with Husain Khān in inviting Malik Buldūl and in raising him to the throne. He accordingly took advantage of the absence of the Sultan to proceed to Sirhind³ and having assumed to himself the title of Sultan read the Khutbah, and coming a second time with⁴ his whole army seized upon Dihlī. Leaving his viceroy thereto he proceeded towards Dibālpur, where he set about raising an army, and wrote a letter couched in hypocritical terms to Sultan 'Alāu-d-Dīn saying, "I am your obedient servant, and am undertaking all this marching backwards and forwards solely out of loyalty to your person." The Sultan in reply, wrote as follows "The deceased King, Sultan Muhammed Shah, called you by the name of Son. There is neither fruit nor profit for me in sovereignty, living in solitary contentment at Badāon I resign the empire of Dihlī⁵ to you Sultan Buldūl leaving Dibālpur ascended the throne of Dihlī⁶

¹ MS (A) ملکت قائم تریخ طرح سلطنت *The text reads* طرح سلطنت *having laid the foundations of a palace, but there seems no authority for such a statement*

² Firishta gives a full account of this and says that the Sultan was instigated to this attempt by Qutb Khān and Rāj Perisab, the latter of whom had a blood feud against Ijamid Khān (see Firishta, Bombay text I. p. 316)

³ MS (A)

⁴ His eldest son Khwāja Bayazid. At this time, according to Firishta the Khwājah used to be read in the joint names of Sultan 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Sultan Buldūl, who upon first marching against Dihlī had written to 'Alāu-d-Dīn alleging as his excuse that he was marching to oppose Ijamid Khān

⁵ MS (A) سلطنت دہلی

⁶ MS (A) حاوم سود

without fighting or opposition ; and Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn by the orders of Sultān Bahlūl was invested with the sovereignty of Badāon and the districts appertaining to it, towards the river Ganges as far as Khairābād and the foot of the hills, and used to read the Khutbah in his own name in those districts, till at last after some time, in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) he bade farewell to this world.¹ The duration of his reign was seven years and some months.

Verse.

This is the sum and total of the world's conduct.

It has never proved faithful to any man.

SULTĀN BUHLŪL [IBN I KĀLĀ]² LODI,

Who in the reign of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh had obtained the title of Khān-i-Khānān,³ in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) in concert with Ḥamid Khān Vazir (who, after the execution of Husain Khān at the hands of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, had gained possession of the family and relations of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn in Dihlī, and had brought the key of the fortress and had given it to Sultān Bahlūl)

307. ascended the throne of sovereignty, and by degrees contrived to secure the imprisonment of Ḥamid Khān,⁴ and in the same year proceeded to Multān to set that province in order.⁵

And in the year 856 H. (1452 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd Sharqī at the instigation of certain of the Amīrs of the party of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, came with a large army and laid siege to Dihlī,

¹ According to Firishta 'Alāu-d-Dīn died in Badāon in the year 883 H. (1478 A.D.) having reigned in Badāon some twenty-eight years.

Badāoni's statement is wrong in this particular. In 855 H. according to Firishta, 'Alāu-d-Dīn retired into obscurity, leaving the kingdom of Dihlī to Bahlūl Lodi, and reigned in Badāon for twenty-eight years, dying in 883 H. (Bo. text 316.) See n. 4 page 405.

² MS. (B) omits the words in brackets.

³ MS. (A) writes خطاب خانی یافتہ بود.

⁴ A long account of the way in which Ḥamid Khān was taken prisoner is given by Firishta.

⁵ Firishta gives an account of the circumstances attending the birth of Bahlūl Lodi, telling us that the mother of Bahlūl Lodi, when close upon her confinement of him, was killed by the falling of her house upon her ; she was taken out lifeless, and to save the child the mother was instantly submitted to the Cæsarean operation and the child removed ; as it shewed signs of life it was carefully tended and grew up. (Bo. text p. 317).

and after severe fighting gained possession of it,¹ and Iāth Khan Harawi² who was one of the most trusted Amirs of Sultan Mahmud was killed. Sultan Mahmud³ not being able to bear up against this went to Jaunpur, and the following year came into the same neighbourhood, proceeding from Jaunpur to Itāwa, and concluded peace upon the following terms, namely, that so much of the kingdom of Dihli as was under the sway of Mubārak Shah should belong to Sultan Bahlul, while that portion which was under the rule of Sultan Ibrāhim Sharqi should revert to Sultan Mahmud,⁴ and having promised that after the rainy season he would give Shamsabad to Sultan Bahlul⁵ which was held by Junā Khan as the deputy of Sultan Mahmud, each of them went to his own country.

Sultān Bahlul at the expiration of the appointed time marched against Shamsabad, took possession of it, and gave it to Rāi Kiran, ruler of Bhūnganw. Sultan Mahmud being displeased at this, proceeded again⁶ to the borders of Shamsabad and fought with Sultan Bahlul.⁷ In the meantime Sultan Mahmud quitted this existence for the house of eternity, and Muhammad Shah, the son of Sultan Mahmud, was nominated to the kingdom of Jaunpur in the room of his father, and having arranged peace upon the terms formerly agreed upon between Sultan Mahmud and Sultan⁸

¹ MS (A) has here a different reading (note 7) وَادِي The text seems right agreeing with MS (B)

² هرافي *Harawi* of Herat

³ MS (A) reads here وَكُشِنَه شَدَّه اَوْ سَلَطَانٍ *وَكُشِنَه شَدَّه اَوْ سَلَطَانٍ* Sultan Mahmud was not able to bear the fall of Fath Khan and is being killed

⁴ MS (A) مُهَمَّد فِرِيزْتَه Muhammad Firizta says that another term of the agreement was that Bahlul was to return the seven elephants taken in battle from Fath Khan and should receive Shamsabad in place of Junā Khan (Bo text p 322)

⁵ MS (A) omits بِهِ Firizta tells us that Junā Khan refused to quit Shamsabad when called upon to do so by Bahlul Lodi who consequently marched against him and drove him out giving Shamsabad into the charge of Rai Kiran and conquering all that country (Bo text p 322)

⁶ MS (A) دَرَجَاتٍ

⁷ In this engagement Qutb Khan Lodi was taken prisoner in consequence of his horse stumbling and throwing him and was sent by Mahmud to Jaunpur where he was imprisoned

⁸ Firizta says that Bibi Rachi the mother of Muhammad Shah Sharqi

Buhlūl proceeded to Jaunpūr, and, inasmuch as Qutb Khān, the cousin of Sultān Buhlūl had fallen a prisoner into the hands of Muḥammad Shāh,¹ Sultān Buhlūl, in defiance of the existing treaty, again brought up his army against Muḥammad Shāh, who also leaving Jaunpūr came to Shamsābād and took it from the Hindūs

308. by force,² and on the borders of Rāpri confronted Sultān Buhlūl: Muḥammad Shāh was defeated and retreated towards Qanauj: Sultān Buhlūl pursued him.³ And in the aforesaid year Sultān Ḥusain Sharqī, ibn-i-Sultān Maḥmūd revolted against his brother Muḥammad Shāh, and seized the throne of Jaunpūr with the assistance of the Amīrs, and detailed⁴ a large army to proceed against Muḥammad Shāh, whom they finally put to death on the banks of the Ganges in the vicinity of Rāj Gar. Sultān Ḥusain made peace with Sultān Buhlūl, and sending for Qutb Khān Lodi who was still in prison, from Jaunpūr, presented him with a horse and a robe of honour and sent him to Sultān Buhlūl⁵ and returned from Qanauj to Jaunpūr⁶.

intervened, and arranged peace upon these terms, that Muḥammad Shāh should retain his father's kingdom, while Buhlūl should be in undisturbed possession of all that he already held.

¹ See preceding page n. 4.

² There is a rather important difference here in the account given by Firishta (Bo. text p. 323) who writes: "When Sultān Buhlūl arrived near Dihlī Shams Khātūn, the sister of Qutb Khān Lodi sent him a message, saying, 'So long as Qutb Khān remains in the prison of Muḥammad Shāh Sharqī food and sleep is unlawful for thee O King.' Accordingly Buhlūl broke the truce, and came to Dihlī, whence he returned towards Jaunpūr. On his arrival at Shamsābād he took it out of the hands of Rāi Kiran, and gave it to Jūnān Khān who had arrived before him, and Muḥammad Shāh Sharqī also had come out to meet him, consequently the two Kings encamped near Sarsuti facing one another at close quarters, and engaged each other early and late." From this it appears that Shamsābād was taken by Buhlūl from Rāi Kiran, whereas Badāoni makes it seem as though Muḥammad's forces re-conquered it. Firishta's account is undoubtedly the correct one as subsequent events show.

³ MS. (A) کرد او تعاقب.

⁴ MS. (A) کردند.

⁵ The account of the circumstances given by Firishta shew that Ḥusain Khān started with his army under pretence of opposing Buhlūl but changed direction to Qanauj. When Buhlūl heard of this he had despatched a few of his Amīrs to meet Ḥusain Khān, and himself took prisoner Jalāl Khān, brother of Ḥusain Khān who was also coming out after his brother, and kept him as a hostage for Qutb Khān, for whom he was eventually exchanged (Bo. text, p 323).

⁶ MS. (A) جونپور بجانب از قدوچ: The text and MS. (B) are wrong here.

Sultān Bahlūl also despatched Jalāl Khān, the brother of Ḥusain Khān, whom he held in confinement as hostage for Qutb Khān, to Sultān Husain after conferring honours upon him. And after some years¹ Sultān Husain coming to the borders of Chandwār, fought a battle with Sultān Bahlūl, and having concluded a peace for three years again returned to his own country. At this juncture Ahmad Khān Jilwāni, the ruler of Baiāna read the *Khuṭbah* in the name² of Ḥusain Khān; and Sultān Husain, upon the expiration of the period for which peace had been concluded, proceeded towards Dihli with 10,000 cavalry and a thousand elephants. They met near a place called Bhatwār, and Sultān Husain having agreed to peace encamped at Itāwa. Sultān Bahlūl came to Dihli. The fact of these two kings being thus within a seven days' journey is not without its ridiculous side.

Verse.

Who has ever seen a scabbard which can contain two swords !
Who has ever seen the thrones of two Jamshids in one place !

And in this year Sultān 'Alān-d-Dīn, whose daughter [Malika-i-Jahān]³ was married to Sultān Ḥusain, passed away in Badāon,⁴ as has been already related,⁴ and left his kingdom to Sultān Bahlūl and Sultān Husain.⁵

Verse.

Even supposing that thou hast attained to that which thou desirest,

Even supposing that thou hast been all that thou shouldest be,
Has not everything which has attained perfection, suffered afterwards from loss ?

Does not the azure heaven taken away again all that it has bestowed ?

And Sultān Husain came from Itāwa to Badāon to perform the

¹ A peace had been arranged for a term of four years (*Firishta*).

² Both MSS. (A) (B) omit *μέν*.

³ The name is omitted in MS. (A).

⁴ See note 1 page 402. 'Alān-d-Dīn really died in 883 H. according to *Firishta*. In the former place our author says he died in 855 H. but here he corrects the mistake.

duties of mourning for him,¹ and having taken those districts from the sons of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din, took possession of them himself, and thence went² to Sambal, and having taken prisoner Tātār Khān,³ the Governor of that place, sent him to Sāran,⁴ and with a large army and the number of elephants already mentioned, arrived at Dihlī in the month of Zū Hijjāh, in the year 880 H.⁵ and encamped on the banks of the Jamna near the ford of Kichā.⁶ Sultān Buhlūl coming from Sihriṇd summoned⁷ Ḥusain Khān, the son of Khān-i-Jahān from the vicinity⁸ of Mirath, and despatched him to oppose Sultān Ḥusain,⁹ while he himself held Dihlī against him. And on this occasion also, owing to the exertions of Quṭb Khān, Sultān Ḥusain agreed to peace, taking into his own possession the whole of the country on the further side of the Ganges;¹⁰ then relinquishing this side of the river to Sultān Buhlūl he returned. Sultān Buhlūl¹¹ seized his opportunity, and when Sultān Ḥusain marched, crossed the river Jamna and captured some baggage and other property¹² which Sultān Ḥusain, relying upon the truce, had left on the camping-ground: a certain proportion of the treasury also which was laden on elephants and horses, fell into the hands of Sultān Buhlūl, and as many as forty¹³ noted Amīrs of Sultān Ḥusain's force, were taken prisoners, among others for instance, Qāzī Samā'u-d-Dīn, entitled Qutlugh Khān the Vazīr, who was the most learned of the doctors of his time.

¹ MS. (A) reads بتعزیت او *ba-ta'zīyat-i-ū* which agrees with the words of Firishta (Bo. text, p. 325) and is far preferable to the reading of the text and MS. (B) بتقریب او *ba-taqrib-i-ū*; i.e., on his account.

² MS. (A) رفت. ³ Firishta calls him مبارک خان *Mubārak Khān*.

⁴ Thus also both MSS. (A) and (B). The text has a footnote variant بشاران *bashārān* *ba-Shārān*.

⁵ There is a serious discrepancy here in the dates. Firishta says in 883 H. (Bo. text, p. 325) and this must be correct.

⁶ MS. (A) reads گذر گنجینہ *Guzr-i-Ganjīna*, but the text is right. Firishta reads کچھ *kachha*.

⁷ MSS. (A) and (B) omit طلبیده.

⁸ MSS. (A) and (B) read جانب for ولایت (Text).

⁹ Firishta says بضیط میرک, to take Mīrak.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads گرفته. That is to say eastward of the Ganges.

¹¹ MS. (A) omits و. ¹² MS. (A) اشیائی کم *ashiyā'i kām*. MS. (B) اشیائی را کم *ashiyā'i rā kām*.

¹³ Firishta says "thirty or forty."

Sultān Bahīl made over Qatlogh Khān in chains to Qutb Khān Lodi, and himself giving chase went as far as Shamsābād¹ in the Doāb, which was held by Sultān Husain, and seizing it, appointed commissioners² of his own over³ that country; this occurrence took place in the year 881 H. (1479 A.D.)⁴ the chronogram for that year was *Nairid-i-Kharābi* (Tidings of ruin).⁵

And Sultān Husain seeing that he was being very closely pursued, determined to make a stand at Rāpri, and once more peace was agreed to between them upon the old conditions, namely, that each should rest contented with the countries of which he was in possession, and should retire. Upon the conclusion of this peace Sultān Husain remained at Rāpri, and Sultān Bahīl at a place called Dhopūmū'; and after a time Sultān Husain again collecting an army came up against Sultān Bahīl, and a fierce engagement took place in the vicinity of Sonhār⁶ Sultān Husain again suffered defeat, a great deal of treasure and valuables beyond computation falling into the hands of the Lodi party, and was a means of increasing their influence and power. Sultān Bahīl left Dhopūmū' for Dihli to mourn⁷ for Khān-i-Jahān who had died in Dihli, [and having conferred the title of Khān-i-Jahān upon his son, again returned to attack Sultān Husain, and reaching Rāpri fought a battle in which he gained a victory],⁸ and when Sultān Husain took refuge in flight a number of his family and

¹ Firishta enumerates Khanjal (Kanpura) Baitali, Slamsabad, Sakit Marhara and Jalesar, as the townships seized on this occasion by Bahīl.

² شفیداران Shifādarān Officers appointed to collect revenue from provinces

³ دران Drān MSS (A) (B) The text reads دهان

⁴ First to includes this among the events of 883 H. See note 17

⁵ Our author here shows that he is wrong, as the total of the letters given amounts to 883 not 881 Thus ۸۰+۰+۱۰+۴+۶۰۰+۲۰۰+۱+۲+۱۰=۸۸۳

⁶ This passage is differently worded in the text In both MSS (A) and (B) it runs thus —

و بعد از ملک سلطان حسین در ایران و سلطان بہلول در موضع دهونامه قرار گرفت و بعد از مردمی سلطان حسین باز حمایت نموده در مر سلطان بہلول آمد و در مساد موضع سویبار مسحاریه سمت آفتاد

⁷ The text reads incorrectly تقریب instead of MS (A)

⁸ MS (A) omits the portion in brackets

children were drowned in the Jamna. Sultān Husain continued his march towards Gwāliār, and was still on the way when the rebel tribes of Hatkānt,¹ who are a clan of the Bhadauris, attacked his camp; Rāi Girat Singh, the Governor of Gwāliār came to the assistance of the Sultān offering his services, and having presented him with money and property, horses, camels, and elephants, with tents for himself and his troops, sent an army to accompany him, proceeding himself with the Sultān² as far as Kālpi; Sultān Buhlūl pursued him, and the two Kings³ met in the neighbourhood of Kālpi and a considerable time was spent in hostilities. In the meantime Rāi Tiluk⁴ Chand, the Governor of the country of Baksar,⁵ came and offered his services to Sultān Husain,⁶ and enabled him to cross the Ganges at a place which was fordable. Sultān Husain not being able to stand against him withdrew to Thatta,⁷ and the Rāja of Thatta came to receive him, and having presented him with several *laks* of *tankahs* in cash, and other valuables,⁸ together with several elephants, escorted him to Jaunpūr.

Sultān Buhlūl made an attempt to conquer Jaunpūr, accordingly

¹ MS. (A) omits the word متمردان leaving a hiatus, and writes هاگانت Hatkānt which is correct, see n. 2.

Hatkānth is said by Abūl Fazl to be the chief town of Bhadāwar a district S. E. of Āgra. Its inhabitants are called Bhadāriahs. They were known as daring robbers and though so near the capital managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant, when they submitted. *Ain-i-Akbari* (B) I. 488. Elliot. *Races of N. W. P.*, vol. I, p. 25.

² We should probably read here مشاعر Mushā'ir for متابعت Mutabi'at see Firishtha.

³ MS. (A) reads میان.

⁴ Both MSS. Also Firishtha who calls him Rāi Tilok Chand, Governor of Khatra (? Katehr.)

⁵ Baksar is situated on the left bank of the Ganges 34 miles S. E. of Unāo town, and has an interest in connection with the massacre of 1857 at Cawnpore (see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, I, 450) MS. (A) reads یکسر Yaksar.

⁶ Firishtha says بھلول سلطان بھلول. Offered his services to Sultān Buhlūl; from our author's subsequent words it would appear that it was Sultān Buhlūl, and not Sultān Husain.

⁷ MSS. (A) and (B) read بھٹا Bhatta instead of پنڈی Paṇa. Firishtha has بھٹھا Thatta, and this seems to be the proper reading.

⁸ MS. (A) جنس.

name of Bāyazid,¹ and having arrived at Dholpūr² levied several *mans* of gold as tribute from the Rāī of that place ; then passing by Bārī went to Ilāhpūr,³ one of the dependencies of the fortress of Rantambhūr, and having laid waste that country came to Dihli and remained there. Some time after this he hastened to Hissār Firoza, where he remained a few days and then returned to Dihli. Once more he went to Gwāliār, where Rāja Mān the Governor of Gwāliār sent an offering of eighty laks of *tankas* of that period ; accordingly Buhlūl confirmed him at Gwāliār, and proceeded to Itāwa, and was making his way back to Dihli when he was taken ill in the neighbourhood of a township of the dependencies of Sakīt.⁴ And in the year 894 H. (1488 A. D.) he died, the duration of his reign was thirty-eight years,⁵ eight months and eight days.⁶

Verse.

Whether it be Afrāsiyāb or his son Zāl,
He will meet with chastisement at the hand of Fate.

To a cup whose measure the wine-bearer has appointed

It is impossible to add a single drop, however much you may
strive.

¹ MS. (A) writes خود خواجہ پسر دیگر another son. Firishta says اعظم ہمایوں بن خواجہ بایزید *Khūjn Ā'zam Hmāyūn* son of Khwāja Bāyazid. (Bo. Text, p. 327). This is correct. Bāyazid was the eldest son of Buhlūl.

² Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit خود.

³ The text and MS. (B) read Pālhanpūr. MS. (A) reads *ba* بالنپور *Jānib-i-Ilāhpūr* : Firishta's text however reads clearly (p. 327) *ba jānib-i-Ilāhpūr*. Briggs (p. 560) says Ruttunpoor !

⁴ Text and MS. (B) have سکیت *Sakpat*. MS. (A) reads سکیب *Sakib*. In Firishta we read (Bo. text 327) that "Buhlūl took Itāwa from Sakīt Singh and set out to return to Dihli but fell ill on the way." Later on we read that "he died near Bhadāulī one of the dependencies of Sakīt." Sakīt is in the Etah District of the N.-W. Provinces, and it is here according to Hunter (*Imp. Gaz.*, XII. 146), that Buhlūl Lodī died. Abū'l Fażl states (*Aīn-i-Akbarī* text I. 532) that he died near the township of Saketh, but places Bhadāwah in the Sarkār of Sahār in the Āgra Sūbah, while he places Saketh in the Sarkār of Qanauj (see *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) (II. 809 n. 3)). Sakīt was probably the head-quarters of the Sakīt Singh whom Firishta mentions.

⁵ MS. (A) reads بود after مل.

⁶ Firishta says seven-days.

Whether it be a king or a *khas* seller¹

Fate brings to his hearing the summons of death

*The date of his death*²

In eight hundred and ninety and four

The world conquering *Khedive*, Bahlul left the world,

With his sword he seized provinces, but for all his bright
sword and burnished dagger,

He was not able to repel death³

SULTAN SIKANDAR IBN I SULTĀN BURLŪL,⁴

Who was known by the name of Nizām Khān, upon hearing the tidings of his father's decease, came in haste⁵ from Dihlī to the township of Jalahī, entered the camp⁶ and despatched the corpse of his father to Dihlī. On Friday, the seventeenth of the year above mentioned, he ascended the throne in the palace of Sultān Irfuz, which is situated on the banks of the Black water, with the concurrence of Khān-i-Jahān ibn-i-Khan-i-Jahan, and Khān-i-Khanan Fūrmali,⁷ and all the Amirs, and was addressed by the title⁸ of Sultān Sikandar. It is said that at the time of leaving Dihlī, he went to Shaikh Samā'u d Din Kanbu,⁹ the spiritual guide of Shaikh Jamali,¹⁰ who was one of the greatest among the Ulama Shaikhs of his time, on piety's sake of taking an

¹ خس درویش *Khas suri ph*. *Khas* is a fragrant grass (*Andropogon muricatum*) from which screens are made and wetted with water for the purpose of cooling rooms by the air which blows through them commonly known as 'Khas Khas' tatties in India.

² MS (A) reads وفات وریخ This is omitted in the text

Prior to his death Sultān Bahlul had made a partition of his dominions assigning Jaunpur to Shāzada Bārbak Shāh and Kara Manikpur to Shāzada 'Alam Khan Bahraich to his sister son Shaikh Mu'mmad Far malī who was known as Kala Bhār and Lakhnau and Kalpi to Azam Humayun ibn-i-Khwaja Bayaz d Khan (Firishta Bo text 327)

³ These same verses are found in Firishta

⁴ MS (A) has no further words MS (B) adds لودی Lodi The text adds علی ibn-i-Kala

⁵ Neither MS (A) nor (B) has مام as in the text

⁶ MS (B) ماردوی نوسنہ

⁷ MS (B) حاصلخان دھلی Khan-i-Khanan Dihlī it omits فرمائی Farmalī

⁸ MS (A) omits حطاب

⁹ MS (A) کندو Kānū

¹⁰ MS (A)

omen,¹ for this reason that he feared lest the Shaikh might favour the claims of the other brothers,² so making his customary daily walk a pretext, he enquired the meaning of the expression *As'aduk Allāh*³ from the Shaikh.

314. When he answered, It means *may God Most High make you fortunate*, he besought him saying, Kindly let this expression fall three several times from your auspicious lips; the Shaikh did so,⁴ then he arose and said I have gained my request, then

فَأَلْ تفَاعُلٌ *tasī'ul*. Taking a فَأَلْ *fā'l* or omen from the words of a book. Sortilege, in the manner of the *Sortes Virgilianae*, or the oracle of Proeneste. Among Muhammadans it is a not infrequent custom, before embarking upon any important undertaking, to consult the Qur'ān, or the works of Ḥāfiẓ in this way. The word *fā'l* properly means a good omen, as opposed to بُشِّرَ طَيْرَاتٍ *tayyarat* a bad omen, this distinction is however not strictly observed. The prophet Muhammad directed his followers not to put faith in a bad omen, but rather to take a good one; on being asked the meaning of a good omen he said "a good word which any of you may hear: such as if a person in search of anything be addressed thus, O Finder!" (*Mishkātu-l-Maṣabīh* Mathew ii. 381) see also Lane s. v. **جُلُّ**; also Lane's Modern Egyptians 259, where a full account of one of the methods of sortilege by the Zāirgah is given.

² MS. (B) reads بِراذر دیگر another brother. Firishta gives a detailed account of the circumstances attending the accession of Sikandar; he says that most of the Lodi Amīrs favoured Ā'zam Humāyūn, and before Bahlūl's death practically forced him to summon Sikandar from Dihlī, intending to make a prisoner of him. This plot came to the ears of 'Umr Khān Shirwānī who was a friend of Sikandar, and he consequently agreed with the mother of Sikandar, who was in the camp at the time, to warn Sikandar of his danger. Sikandar accordingly made excuses from day to day, and eventually delayed coming so long that Bahlūl died. The Amīrs then held a consultation, most of themavouring Būrbak Shāh the eldest surviving son, but some leaning to Ā'zam Humāyūn: Zebā, the mother of Sikandar, spoke from behind a curtain in favour of her son, but was rudely repulsed by one 'Isā Khān a cousin of Bahlūl, who said, "the son of a gold worker's daughter is not fit to be king." Thereupon Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī rebuked him, and words ensued which led to a quarrel. Khān-i-Khānān took his party of Amīrs with him, and removed Bahlūl's corpse to Jalālī, summoning Sikandar from Dihlī where they placed him on the throne in the palace of Sulṭān Firuz on the banks of the Biāh, as Sultān Sikandar. He then sending his father's body to Dihlī, marched against 'Isā Khān and defeated him, but pardoned him (Firishta Bo. text 338-339).

³ اللہ اسعدک *Asa'dak allāh*, i.e., May God prosper thee. MS. (A) reads صرف ہوای ساختہ معنی.

⁴ MS. (A) omits the words بار & و and reads و بعد.

he besought the Shāhī to assist him, and set out to go to the army, and after that his rule was firmly established,¹ he left Dihli, and marched towards² Rāpi and Itawa to conquer the country, and spent seven months there. He also sent Isma'il Khan Lubānī³ with overtures of peace to King Barbak Shah at⁴ Jaunpur, while he proceeded in person against⁵ 'Isā Khān Governor of Patiali,⁶ and⁷ Isā Khan confronted and fought with him and was wounded, and after tendering his submission succumbed to his wounds Rā: Ganesh,⁸ the Rāja of Patiali who was friendly to Bārbak Shāh, came in and had an interview with the Sultan who⁹ confirmed him in the Government of Patiali.¹⁰ Barbak Shah coming from Jaunpur to Qanauj, the parties met and an engagement took place between them¹¹ Mubārak Khān Lubānī,¹² who was with the army of Bārbak Shah, was taken prisoner in this battle,¹³ Bārbak Shāh fled to Bidaon, Sultan Sikandar besieged¹⁴ that fortress, and Barbak Shah being reduced to extremities sought an interview with the Sultān, who reassured and encouraged him, and took him along with him to Jaunpur, restoring him to his former position upon the throne of the Sharqi kings, except that he divided certain *parganas* of these territories¹⁵ among his own Amirs, detailing armies for each place and appointing trusted officers of his own following to assist Bar-

¹ MS (B) wrongly استھنے رکھی

² MS (B) حاصل

³ The text and MS (B) read نوھاری *Nukhanī*

⁴ MS (A) پتیالی (B) در عیسیٰ حاصل ⁵ MS (A) در حودپور

⁷ MS (A) omits و

⁸ MS (B) reads رای کلنس *Rai Kishan* MS (A) reads رای کش *Rai Ganesh* (?) The text reads رای کیلان *Rai Ganes* Firishta reads رای کلان *Rai Kilan*

⁹ MS (A) omits مقرر گشت و در وحہ او reading سلطان

¹⁰ MS (B) پتیالی Patiali

¹¹ MS (A) reads instead of طوفن را در منان طوفین

¹² Text نوھاری

¹³ Firishta (Bo text 331) says that it was Kala Bhar (Sikhi Muhammad Farman; nephew of Sultan Bahul and cousin of Sikandar and Barbak) who was taken prisoner, and in return for his kind reception by Sikandar joined him against Barbak Shāh who lost heart and fled to Badaon

¹⁴ MS (A) محاصرہ کرد

¹⁵ In Bihar (Firishta)

315.

bak Shâh.¹ Then he took Kalpi from A'zam Khân & Humâyûn the son of Khwâja Bayazid. From thence he came to Jahtara,² and from that place to Gwâliâr, sending Khwâja Muhammed Fârmâlî with a special robe of honour on an embassy to³ Râja Mân,⁴ who in turn sent his brother's son to pay his respects to the Sultân and to offer his submission. This nephew of his accordingly accompanied the Sultân as far as Baiâna. Sultân Sharq⁵ the Governor of Baiâna, the son of Sultân Ahmed Jilwâni the First, came and visited him, and was desirous of handing over the key of the fort⁶ to the agents of the Sultân; however he changed his mind, and on arrival at Baiâna strengthened the defences of the fort. The Sultân proceeded to Agra where Haibat Khân Jilwâni, a subordinate of Sultân Sharf⁷ fortified himself in the fort of Agra.⁸ The Sultân left certain of his Amirs in Agra and⁹ proceeded to Baiâna¹⁰ and in the year 897 H. (1491 A. D.) Sultân Sharq¹¹ fell into straits and sued for quarter, surrendering the fortress of Baiâna to the Sultân; that province was then conferred upon Khân-i-Khânân Fârmâlî. In the same year the tribe of Bachgotis¹² in the Jaunpûr territory had assembled to the number

¹ Firîshâ says, leaving trusted officers of his own following in his service, though Badâoni's words would convey the idea that these officers were left to control Bârbak Shâh's actions. MS. (A) omits بُر before گناشت and ب after معمد ان. and گالپی.

² MS. (A) omits خان giving it to Mahmûd Lodi (Firîshâ).

³ Briggs (p. 568) says Bhurjee, but the original text of Firîshâ says جهڑا Jahtara. I fail to locate this.

⁴ MS. (A) نزد. ⁵ Governor of Gwâliâr (Firîshâ).
Briggs has Mân Singh. Firîshâ reads Mân merely.

⁶ Firîshâ reads thus سلطان شرف. Sultân Sharf. Badâoni (text and both MSS.) reads شرق Sharq.

⁷ MS. (B) reads قلعه فتح instead of قلعه.

⁸ The text reads سلطان الشرق. Sultân-u-sh-Sharq. MSS. (A) (B) read سلطان شرق Sultân Sharq.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) متھمن شہد.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) گناشت و.

¹¹ Where he besieged Sultân Sharq who after a while capitulated (Firîshâ 331).

¹² شرق Sharq (text and MSS.).

¹³ A tribe of Râjpûts said to be descended from the Mainpûri Chauhâns

of a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry,¹ and were raising a disturbance. The Sultān proceeded thither and Barbak Shah came in and offered his allegiance. Leaving there, he proceeded to occupy himself with a hunting expedition to the borders of Awadh (Oudh), and again returned to Jaunpur, and arrived at the fortress of Janhar,² and engaged in battle with the Amirs of Sultan Husain Shurqi who held it, and having defeated them, without waiting to completely invest the fortress came to Patna,³ and having come to Āril,⁴ which is near Ilāhabās (otherwise called Prayag),⁵ laid waste that district,⁶ and proceeding by way of Karra and Mānikpur hastened to Dalman,⁷ and from thence came⁸ to Shamsābād, and remaining there six months went to Sambal [whence he again returned to Shamsabad].⁹

And after the rainy season in the year 900 H (1494 A.D.) 316 he set out with the object of chastising the rebels of Patna, and great slaughter took place and many prisoners were taken, from thence he proceeded to Jaunpur.¹⁰ In this expedition very many

notorious for their turbulence originally Mul ammadans see Elliot, Races of N W P I 47

1 MSS (A) (B) پیادہ و سوار

2 Text Janhar MS (A) reads حنھار (?) MS (B) جنھار Chinar Firishta چنار

3 Firishta says came to Kaṭauba (?) which is one of the dependencies of Patna MS (A) reads رفت

4 A footnote variant is given in the text نارکل ba Arkal

Firishta reads اریل Firishta reads اریل (or Aryal) he says حاب

Aral is mentioned by Abul Fażl (Āin-i Akbari (B) I 425) he held Jhusi and Aral (Jalalabas) as jagir

5 The text reads پیاک Payak MS (A) reads بیاک Bayak MS (B) پیاک Bapak Regarding the derivation of Prayag the ancient name of Allahabad see Cunningham (A G I 391)

6 حراب کردہ رفت MS (B)

7 Dalman lay opposite to Karra on the other side of the Ganges see Rennell's Map see also, Āin-i Akbari (J) II 167 n 2 Firishta (Bo text) reads Dalpur, p 332

8 و مدد MS (B)

9 Not in MSS (A) and (B) The text has a footnote saying that these words occur in only one copy They are however in exact accord with Firishta's statement and are probably copied from his work

10 MS (A) دویں

horses were lost, hardly one in ten remaining alive;¹ the zemindārs of Patna and others wrote and informed Sultān Ḫusain Sharqi of the loss of the horses, and of the scarcity of supplies in Sultān Sikandar's army, and invited him (to advance). Sultān Ḫusain collected an army, and marched from Behār with a hundred elephants against Sultān² Sikandar, who for his part crossed the Ganges by the ford of Kantit³ and came to Chenār⁴ and from thence to Banāras. Sultān Ḫusain had arrived within seventeen *krohs* of Banāras when Sultān Sikandar marched against him rapidly.⁵ In the midst of his march Sālbāhan the Rāja of Patna, who was a trusty zemindār, left Sultān Ḫusain and joined Sultān Sikandar.

Sultān Ḫusain drew up in line of battle, but suffered defeat and retired towards Patna.⁶ Sultān Sikandar left the camp, and pursued him⁷ with a hundred thousand light cavalry; while thus engaged he learned that Sultān Ḫusain had gone to Bihār. After nine days Sultān Sikandar arrived,⁸ and joining his camp set out for Bihār. Sultān Ḫusain, leaving his deputy⁹ in Bihār, could not remain there, but proceeded to Khul Gānw one of the dependencies of Lakhnautī, and Bihār fell into the hands of Sikandar's troops.¹⁰ Thence the Sultān proceeded to Tirhut and conquered it.

And in the year 901 H. (1495 A. D.) Khān-i-Jahān Lodi died, and Ahmad Khān his eldest son¹¹ was styled A'zam Khān Humāyūn. The Sultān returned from Tirhut, and went to pay a visit to the tomb of Qutbu-l-Mashāikhī-l-'Izām,¹² Shaikh Sharfu-d-Dīn Munīrī,¹³ may God sanctify his resting-place, and came to

¹ MS. (A) نہاند.

² MSS. (A) and (B).

³ The text and MS. (B) read مکدر گشت mukaddar gasht, i.e., became disturbed; but the proper reading is بگذر کتیت buguzr-i-Katīt. MS. (A) or بگذر کفت baguzr-i-Kantit (Firishta). Kantat is on the S. W. bank of the Ganges, in the Sarkar of Allahabad, see Āīn-i-Akbarī (Jarrett) II. 89 : 158.

⁴ Text جنہار Janhār.

⁵ Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit تمام.

⁶ MS. (A) reads پنڈ Panna. Text reads پٹا Patta. MS. (B) reads گرفت.

⁷ MS. (B) نہود و دروازہ.

⁸ MS. (B) omits ڈھنڈ.

⁹ Malik Kandhū (Firishta).

¹⁰ MS. (A) ڈھنڈ.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads بخطاب اعظم ہمایونی مخاطب شد.

¹² MSS. (A) (B) in Bihār (Firishta).

¹³ He was the son of Yahya-b-Isrā'il the head of the Chishtis, a disciple of Gauj-i-Shakkur. His burial place is in Bihār, see Āīn-i-Akbarī (J.) III. 370.

Darveshpur From thence he set out on an expedition against Sultan 'Alā' d-Dīn king of Bangūlā, and in the vicinity of Bihār, the son of Sultan 'Alā' d-Dīn, whose name was Dāmāl, in obedience to his father's orders came out to overthrow Sultan (Sikandar), and prepared to oppose him, but they retraced their steps, each one contenting himself with his own territories¹ and consenting to make peace. In this year great scarcity and dearth occurred in the camp of the Sultan, orders were promulgated² remitting the customary tribute of grain in all provinces, in fact they were entirely abolished. From thence he came to the township of Saran, and divided that district among his own followers in perpetuity,³ and came by way of Mahīgarh⁴ to Jaunpūr, and having spent six months there proceeded to Panna.⁵ And in the year 904 H. (1498 A.D.) he invaded the territory of Panna,⁶ as far as Bāndhugārī⁷ which is a famous fortress plundering and taking prisoners, but being unable to take the fortress on account of its strength, went to Jaunpūr where he remained. In the meanwhile a quarrel had arisen among some of his Amirs during a game of chāngān,⁸ and at last it ended in an open fight,⁹ and the Sultan

¹ MS (A) درویشات

² MS (A) مدارک شنیده

³ MS (B) تخصیم کرد و عور نمود MS (A) تخصیم کرد و عور نمود

⁴ Firishta reads مچھلی مچھلی Machilijah

⁵ MS (A) پانہ Panna, text and MS (B) پاتنا Patna. Firishta text پاتنا Pathna Briggs in his translation say Panna (p. 573) and thus must be correct to judge from what follows.

⁶ MS (A) reads بندھا ویلایت Panna

⁷ MS (A) reads بندھو گڑ مادھو گڑ Ma dhugār but Bandh gār is the right reading. Regarding the position of this fortress we find Abul Fazl states (*Ain-i Akbari* (J) II, 157) that Bāndhu lies south of Allalabad. The translator appends a footnote (9) in which he identifies it with Banda. Banda, however lies to the west and not to the south of Allalabad. Bāndhugārī was one of the two chief fortresses of the province of Bāndhu (which corresponds nearly to the state of Rewa) and lies south of Rewa (Rawa) distant about 60 miles and S S E from Panna, distant about 90 miles (Keith Johnson). In Rennell's Map (Tieff III,) it is very plainly marked though the distances and bearings differ slightly from the above see Rennell's Map N p. 19q. The other fortress lay south of Bandhugārī and was called Mandla Gār.

⁸ چوگان Chauhan Called in Arabic سولاجان Saulajan The modern name of this game is Polo. For a full account of the game, see *Ain-i Akbari* (B) I 297 298

⁹ Firishta gives a detailed description of the events, and states that within

becoming suspicious¹ of the Amīrs, gave orders that some armed and trusty guards² should attend him every night, which was accordingly done. The majority of the disaffected and disappointed Amīrs urged Fath_ı Khān the son of Sultān Buhlūl to seize the empire. He in his simplicity communicated³ this secret to his mother, and also to Shaikh Tāhir, and a party who were among the confidants of the Sultān, at the same time giving them⁴ a memorandum containing the names of those confederate Amīrs. The party above mentioned diverted him from that insane idea with friendly admonition. To prove their own innocence of complicity in

318. that treasonable design, they took that memorandum to Sultān Sikandar,⁵ who devised some specious pretext for scattering in different directions all those Amīrs⁶ who had shewn partiality for the Prince⁷ Fath_ı Khān.

And in the year 905 H. (1499 A.D.) he proceeded to Sambal, and resided there for four years employed in affairs of State, and used to spend his time⁸ either in luxurious living, or in hunting expeditions.

And in the year 906 H. (1500 A.D.) Aşghar the Governor of Dihlī began to commit malpractices. The Sultān accordingly sent orders from Sambal to Khawāss Khān the Governor of Māchhiwāra,⁹ to seize Aşghar and send him (into his presence); but Aşghar anticipating this had gone humbly to Sambal where he suffered imprisonment; and Khawāss Khān received the Governorship of Dihlī. In this year also¹⁰ Khān-i-Khānān Farmali the Governor of Baiāna died, and the Government of that place was for some time entrusted to Aḥmad and Suleiman the two sons (? grandsons) of Khān-i-Khānān.¹¹ After a time they

four days the fight was renewed, in consequence of which the Sultān began to believe it was due to some preconcerted plan against his own person.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) بُریشان بد مظنه شدند. ² Both MSS. (A) (B) omit اُز.

³ MSS. (A) (B). ⁴ نموده و MSS. (B).

⁵ MS. (B) omits سکندر and reads نموده. MS. (A) agrees with the text.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) reads اصرار. ⁷ MS. (B) reads پادشاه.

⁸ Both MSS. omit او. MS. (A) reads بالعيش both MSS. read بشكار و سیور.

⁹ MS. (A) reads ماجھر وارہ. Firishta writes ماجھروڑہ Māchhiwāra.

¹⁰ MS. (B) سال.

¹¹ The text here reads بِرْ عَمَاد و سُلَطَان پُسْرَان خانخانان both MSS. have با حمد و سلیمان پسراں پسرو خانخانان this same reading but Firishta reads

entered the Sultān's service at Sambal, and the Government of the fortress (of Baiāna) was made over to Khawāṣṣ Khan, while Safdar Khan¹ was appointed to the charge of Āgra, which was one of the dependencies of Baiāna. Khawāṣṣ Khan with the assistance of 'Alam Khan² Governor of Miwāt, and Khāni Khānūn Luhāni, proceeded to attempt the capture of Dholpur³. The Rāī of that place came out to oppose them, and heavy fighting ensued in which many Muslims attained martyrdom. The Sultān leaving Sambal came with all haste to Dholpur, and Rāī Manik Deo,⁴ Rāja of Dholpur, not being able to hold out, evacuated the fort and went to Gwāliār. They plundered and pillaged⁵ the district around Dholpur. The Sultān having remained a month in those parts left to reduce Gwāliār, and leaving Ādam Lodi there crossed the river Chambūl, and encamped for two months on the banks of the river Mendaki⁶.

By reason of the⁷ badness of the climate of that place sickness 319 broke out among⁸ the population and a pestilence arose. The Rāja of Gwāliār also came and made overtures of peace,⁹ and delivered up Sa'id Khan, and Bābu Khan, and Rai Ganesh,¹⁰ who had deserted from the army of the Sultān and had taken refuge in that fort, and also sent his eldest son¹¹ to do homage to the

¹ Briggs calls him Sadr Khan but the original reads Safdar Khan

² MS (A) reads حاں عالم Khan ; 'Alam

³ Native State in Rajputana. The town of Dholpur capital of the State lies 34 miles south of Agra and 37 miles north west of Gwalior, see Hunter Imp Gaz, IV 273

⁴ Firāzīta calls him دوکھی Binayak Deo

⁵ MS (B) reads بھپ for بھپ hero and in several other places

⁶ Firāzīta calls this river "the Asī otherwise known as Medaki," and says that in consequence of the badness of the water sickness broke out among the troops terminating in a pestilence. Mendaki means frog haunted

There is no river which I can definitely identify as this river but the Asun in Keith Johnson (India) E f flowing west of Gwalior would answer to the Asī in position. Rennell's Map gives no name to this river

⁷ MS (A) omits و and also زردی

⁸ MS (B) reads در میں

⁹ MS (B) reads مسلح musallat (armed) for مسلح ba sulh

¹⁰ Supply لی MS (A)

¹¹ Vikramojit (Firāzīta)

Sultān, who sent him back after bestowing upon him a horse and robe of honour, returning himself to Agra. At the time of his return he restored the fort of Dholpūr¹ also to Bināyik Deo,² and having spent³ the rainy season in Agra, after the rising of Canopus⁴ in the year 910 H. (1504 A.D.), marched to reduce the fortress of Mandrāyal,⁵ which he took without fighting from the Rāja of Mandrāyal, who sued for peace; he also destroyed all the idol-temples and churches⁶ of the place, and, as he returned, rebuilt anew the fortress of Dholpūr, then came to Agra and gave his Amīrs permission to proceed to their several *jaegīrs*.⁷ [And in this year Mir Saiyyid Muhammād of Jaunpūr,⁸ may God sanctify his holy resting place, who was one of the chief of the great *walis* and had even laid claim to be the Mahdī, in answer to the call of Him who has the true claim to us all answered, *Here am I*, while returning from Makkah the sacred city towards Hindustān, at the town of Farah⁹ where he was buried. Qāzī Husain Zargar of Qandahār, *God's mercy be on him*, whom, as well as the Mir himself I had the honour of visiting, wrote the following chronogram:

¹ MS. (B) omits سلطان and reads باز for ب.

² MS. (B) reads دھولپور قلعہ &

³ MSS. (A) (B) گذرانید و.

⁴ In the month of Ramaḍān (*Firishta*).

⁵ Mandrāyal. This is not marked in Rennel's map, but Tieffenthaler (I. 174) mentions it under the name of *Mandalayer* or *Madracl*, and says that it lies upon the side of a round hill distant two miles from the western bank of the Chambal, and twelve miles S. S. E. of Caroli (Kerauli) see Keith Johnston's Atlas, India E. F. Mandler, see also *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (J) II. 190, Mandlāer.

⁶ بدخشانها و کناییں آجیا So also *Firishta*.

⁷ The portion in square brackets is not in either MS. (A) or MS. (B).

⁸ Mir Saiyyid Muhammād was the son of Mir Saiyyid Khan of Jaunpūr, and was the first to give definite form in India to the doctrine of the advent of the Mahdī, alleged to have been promised by the prophet Muhammād. He gained many adherents after he had declared that he was the promised Mahdī, among them was Sultan Mahmūd I. at whose request it was that he proceeded on the pilgrimage to Makkah from which he was returning at the time of his death, see *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (Bl) I. Biog. p. V.

The Shī'ahs believe that the Mahdī has already appeared, the Sunnīs still look for his appearance. Hughes, *Dict of Islam*.

⁹ Farah in Biluchistan (*Aīn-i-Akbarī* (Bi) I. Biog. p. V).

He said, Go and enquire from the Shaikh!¹

Shaikh Mubārak also invented a chronogram in the words² Mazā Mahdi, The Mahdi has departed].³

On the third of the month of Ṣafar in the year 911 H. (6th July, 1505 A.D.) so violent an earthquake occurred over the whole of Hindūstān⁴ that the hills began to tremble, while strong and lofty buildings⁵ fell to atoms, and the earth in places was cleft and rents appeared,⁶ while they assert that villages and trees left their places, and men supposed that the day of resurrection had arrived.⁷ We learn from the *Waqi'at-i-Bābarī*,⁸ and other histories, that this earthquake was not confined to Hindūstān, but that on the same day in Persia also a similar earthquake occurred, and the word *Qāzi*,⁹ was invented as a chronogram to record the date of it.

Rubā'i.

In nine hundred and eleven the city of Agra became the goal of several successive earthquakes

۱ گفتا که در روز شیخ کی استفسار Gustā ke birau z Shāikh kūn istifār. The value of the letters of the word شیخ is 300 + 10 + 600 = 910.

۲ مظاہدی Mazā Mahdi These words as written in the text only total 900, but if we write more accurately, مظاہدی they will be 910

۳ A footnote to the text states that this portion (here included in square brackets) only occurs in one MS. Firāghta also has no reference to this event

۴ Firāghta only says in Agra.

۵ MS (A) چنانکہ کوڑھا رہ لرزہ در آمد و عمارتیاں عالی

۶ MS (A) reads دشواریا قدر دشواریا MS (A) reads dushvarīha Difficulties and dangers

۷ MS (B) قیامت واقع شد

۸ Regarding this work, see Elliott IV, 218. The commentaries of Baber, originally written in Turki were translated into Persian in Akbar's reign, see *Atn-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 105, and an English translation was made by Dr Leyden and Mr Erskine. At page 170 of that translation is found the account of the earthquake referred to by our author. Baber says "there were thirty-three shocks that same day, and for the space of a month the earth shook two or three times every day and night". The date is not given, but the account follows closely upon that of the death of his mother, which he states occurred in the month of Muḥarram, and we may from the account reckon about 40 days afterwards so that it must have been early in the month of Ṣafar.

۹ قاضی Qāzi 100 + 1 + 800 + 10 = 911

And whereas her buildings were excessively lofty, that which had been their highest points became the lowest.¹

From the time of Adam to the present time no such earthquake has ever been known.

And in the year 912 H. (1506 A.D.), after the rising of Canopus, he marched against the fortress of Üntgārḥ,² and laid siege to it, and many of his men joyfully embraced martyrdom, after that he took the fort and gave the infidels as food to the sword; those who escaped the sword fed the flames of the fire of *jūhar* with their wives and children. He then cast down the idol temples, and built there a lofty mosque.

In the year 913 H. (1507 A.D.), after the rising of Canopus he proceeded with the object of reducing the fortress of Narwar.³ Whilst en route he fell in with the elephants and cavalry and infantry of Jalāl Khān Lodi,⁴ whom he had sent on in advance to clear the way,⁵ and whom he had appointed to reduce Narwar. Becoming suspicious of him, he set about overthrowing him, and made some pretext for dispersing his forces, and taking him prisoner sent him to the fortress of Sakkar;⁶ he then took Narwar, the garrison having capitulated. And in the year 914 H. (1508 A.D.) he constructed other forts round Narwar to increase its strength, and bestowing

¹ Firishta gives this *rubā'i* with slight variation omitting چون *chūn* in the second line.

² Firishta reads ادیونت گر (*Udītnagar*). MS. (A) *Advantgar*. MS. (B) اونت گر *Üntgārḥ*. This fortress lay just South of Mandler (p. 420 n. 5) and is shown in the map as Deogarh, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 380 n 1. Firishta states that the Sultān regarded *Udītnagar* as the key to Gwāliār which he wished to reduce (p. 338).

³ Firishta Bo. text, p. 339, says this was after the rains of 913 H. in the year 914 H., but from the detail he gives of the various operations it is doubtful if he can be correct. Narwar was a dependency of Mālwa (Firishta). It lay about half way between Gwāliār and Dhār, see Tieff. I. 175 for a description and map of the fortress: see also *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (J.) II, 190, on the right bank of the river Sind, 44 miles south of Gwāliār city, see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* X. 227.

⁴ Who upon the death of his father Mahmūd Khān had become governor of Kālpī.

⁵ Firishta says Jalāl Khān was ordered to go on in advance and invest the fort of Narwar.

⁶ Firishta says Hanwantgār.

In this year also Suleimān, the son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, was dismissed from the service of the Sultān, on the grounds that he had been appointed¹ to perform a service at Ūntgħar,² and in the direction of Sūpar, and had refused: the *pargana* of Indri Karnāl³ was given him as *Madad-i-ma'āsh* (rent-free land), with orders to go and remain thereto.

In this year⁴ Bahjat Khān of Mālwa transferred Chanderī to Sultān Sikander on account of the weakness⁵ of Sultān

322. Mahmūd of Mālwa, and read the Khuṭbah in his name in those districts. Accordingly proclamations conveying tidings of this victory were written to all parts of the Kingdom; and Muḥammad Khān, the grandson of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Din of Mālwa,⁶ was taken prisoner, and Chanderī was (nominally)⁷ placed under his authority, but Amirs were appointed to supervise him so that they might be aware of all his movements, control his actions, and administer⁸ his *jāegīr*, then the Sultān proceeded on a hunting excursion towards Baiāna, and paid his respects to the various learned and holy men of those districts, who were at that time famous for their miracles and wonder-working,⁹ especially¹⁰ Saiyyid N'amatu-l-lāh and Shaikh 'Abdullāh Ḥusainī,¹¹ who was

¹ MS. (A) بود شد و فرموده.

² Firishta says Hanwantgār, Bo. text, p. 341, and tells us that Suleimān was summarily dismissed with permission to remove all that he could by day-break, and all of his property that remained was to be looted by the populace (غارت عام دېند).

³ Firishta says اندري و کرنال Bārērī. MS. (B) reads ماداد خان. For the meaning of *madad-i-ma'āsh* called also *sūyūrghāl*, see *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (Bl) p. 268 سویور غال *Sūyūrghāl* is a Turkī word meaning gifts (of land). (Pavet de Courteille).

⁴ MS. (B) reads چند ماں درین.

⁵ MS. (A) omits ضعف.

Firishta reads: Bahjat Khān, Governor of Chanderī, whose ancestors for generations had been the faithful subjects of the Sultāns of Mālwa, on account of the weakness of Sultān Mahmūd of Mālwa, and the decadence of his kingdom, sought an interview with Sultān Sikandar, and agreed to the Khuṭbah being read in his name in Chanderī, see Briggs, p. 583, and Bo. text, p. 341.

⁶ MS. (A) omits عالوی. MS. (B) writes مسعود خان Muḥammad Khān, as also does Firishta. The text reads مسعود خان Mahmūd Khān.

⁷ Firishta reads ظاهرا.

⁸ MS. (A) omits و. MS. (B) reads در جایگیر.

⁹ See Lane s. v. كرامة. also Hughes, Dict. of Islām art. Miracles. The full expression is خوارق العادة *Ikhwāriqū-l-'ādat*.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) خصوصا.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B).

one of those famous for revelations and miracle working,¹ with whom he used to consort frequently Shāhzāda Daulat Khan, Governor of the fortress of Rantambhūr, in the service of Sultan Mahmud of Mälwa, availing himself of the intermediary aid of 'Ali Khan of Nagor, who was in charge of the province of Siwi Siyupur,² came and had an interview with the Sultan, and agreed to give up to him the key of the fortress. It so chanced that the 'Ali Khan who has been spoken of above, once more practised his hypocrisy, and came out from the fort to oppose him. The Sultan pretended not to notice this, and treated Daulat Khan as though he were his own son, bestowing upon him a special robe of honour, with several horses and elephants, and proceeded towards the fort of Thankar,³ and from thence proceeding by way of the township of Būlī,⁴ he returned thence to Āgra. Here he was seized with an illness, and took the journey to the next world on Sunday the seventeenth⁵ of Zul Q'adah 923 H (Jan 1518 A.D.). The words *Jannātu l-Firdaus nazalā* (The gardens of Paradise came down) furnish the date⁶ of his death, the duration of his reign was twenty-eight years and five months.

Verse

Sikandar, the emperor of the seven kingdoms continued not
No one continues, seeing that Sikandar himself did not
continue

Sultan Sikandar used to associate frequently with poets and 323.
was himself also a man of taste, and would occasionally compose

¹ MSS (A) (B) read که اور اهل کشف و کرامات بود and this reading is preferable to that of the text سیوی سوبیر

² The text reads سیوی سوبیر *Su Subar* with a footnote variant سیوی سپور و میتوپر *Suvi Sipur*. Firishta reads سیوپور *Siyupur* (? Sibi) see *Ain-i Akbari* (J) II 328 n 1

³ Firishta writes تانکر *Thankar*

⁴ In the Sarkar of Agra. See *Istehf I* 166

⁵ MS (A) reads سعیت آحرت

⁶ Firishta says Sunday the seventh of Zul Qa'dah and adds that he died from suffocation, owing to the impaction of a morsel of food in the air passages, not of quinsy as Briggs translates it. See Bo text 343 and Briggs I 580

⁷ MS (B) reads بارج شد and omits مدد. The letters make up the total 923 حنات العروض

verses after the ancient Hindustānī¹ models, under the pseudonym of Gulruk̤h, accordingly he felt great pleasure in the companionship of Shaikh Jamāl.² The following verses are the product of the genius of the Sultān, and are written with the utmost regard to poetical form.

Ode.³

That cypress whose robe is the jasmine, whose body the rose,
Is a spirit incarnate whose garment the body provides.

What profits the Khatanī musk ? all the kingdoms of Chin
Are conquered, and bound in the chains of her clustering curls.

In the eye of her eyelashes' needle the thread of my soul
I'll fasten and swiftly repair every rent in her robe.
Could Gulruk̤h essay to discover the charms of her teeth,
He would say they are water-white pearls of the ocean of speech.⁴

One of the poets of the reign of Sultān Sikandar was the Brahman [Dūnkār⁵] who, they say,⁶ in spite of being an infidel, used to give instruction in books of science.⁷ The following *matla'*, (opening couplet) was spoken [and is a most auspicious *matla'*⁸] by him in the metre of Mas'ūd Beg,

Had not thy glance been the dagger, my heart had not bled
to-day ;

Had not thy look been the serpent⁹ I never had lost my way.

Also among the great and learned men of the time of Sultān Sikandar were Shaikh 'Abdu-llāh Tulumbī¹⁰ in Dihli, and Shaikh 'Azizu-llah Tulumbī¹¹ in Sambhal, both of whom came

¹ MSS. (A) (B) هندوستانیہ.

² MS. (B) جمال اذین Text جمال الدین (A). مس. اذین (B).

³ MSS. (A) (B) غزل Text ایيات.

⁴ The verses are here given in the order in which they come in MSS. (A) and (B). Both MSS. read گلرخ چو کند and MS. (A) reads تا خاک or چاک Text.

⁵ MS. (A) دونکر Dūnkār?

⁶ MS. (A) میگویند.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) رسمی omit کتب علمی.

⁸ MS. (A) reads مطلع مسعود.

⁹ Abtar. A noxious serpent which no one sees without fleeing from it see Lane s. v. بترو.

¹⁰ MS. (B) omits طلبی.

¹¹ MS. (A) بوده اند.

to Hindustān at the time of the ruin of Multan, and introduced the systematic study of the intellectual sciences into that country. Before then time, with the exception of the Sharḥ : Shamsiyah, and the Sharḥ : Sahalf¹ there were no books current in Hindustān which treated of logic and metaphysics. I heard also from my masters,² that more than forty expert and profoundly learned men have arisen from among the disciples of Shaikh 'Abdu llāh, for example, Miyān Ladan, Jamal Khān of Dihli, Miyān Shaikh of Gwāhār,³ Mīrān Sayyid Jalal of Bādāon, and others. They say also that Sultān Sikandar, during the instruction of the aforesaid Shaikh 'Abdu llāh, used to come⁴ and seat himself quietly in a corner unseen by the rest, fearing lest he should interrupt the lesson of the other students, and when the lesson was ended they used to exchange the customary salutation of *Salām 'alaikum*⁵ and mix freely with each other.

And Shaikh 'Azīzā llāh of Tūlumbā, who was a man of great probity and rectitude, had such an abundant genius and marvellous power of recollection⁶ that no matter how difficult or minute the subject matter of a book which a student of intelligence might be reading he would give his lesson in it without previously reading it, and that time after time when they came up for examination, and propounded the most inscrutable problems, the learned Shaikh would explain them on the instant while giving his lesson.

¹ The former of these two works was most probably the famous commentary by Qaqbū d Dīn Maḥmud bñ Muḥammad Rāzī on the *Shamsiyah* a famous treatise on Logic composed by Najmu d Dīn 'Umar bñ 'Alī Qazwīnī who died A.H. 693 (1293 A.D.) see Hāfi Khālīfah No. 7667 El Salāf fi el kalam folia de metaphysica The Sharḥ : Ghālayf must be the commentary mentioned by Hāfi Khālīfah and by him ascribed to Samarqandī. There was another commentary by Blāghtī See H. K. 7718

² MS (A) و از ایسا یاد شد که دوست

³ MS (A) has a h atus between the first and last letters of this name

⁴ Text and MS (B) میں میں MS (A) میں میں ⁵ MSS (A) (B)

⁶ 'Recollection' does not quite convey the full meaning of the word in the original which is استھان Isthān this means literally, making present summoing It seems to be used here for the power of calling up at will any impress on It is not memory or rather retentiveness but implies the power of recalling impressions by purely mental forces after the removal of the stimulus MSS (A) (B) read غریب داشتی استھانی

One of his pupils was¹ Miyān Ḥātim Sanbali, who is commonly said to have read the *Commentary on the Miftāḥ*² more than thirty times in the course of his life, and the *Muṭawwal*³ more than forty times, from the first letter of the *Bism'illāh* to the last of the word *Tammat*.⁴

Another is Shaikhu-l-Hadiyah Jaunpūrī, the author of many worthy compositions and excellent books, who wrote a commentary extending over several volumes upon the *Hedāyah-i-Fiqh*,⁵ while there is no need of mentioning his commentary on the *Kāfiyah*:⁶ in addition to these he wrote notes upon the *Tafsīr-i-*

¹ MSS. (A) (B) ٨٥.

² The text and MS. (B) agree in this reading. MS. (A) reads مفتاح سرهین which may possibly stand for شرھین مفتاح Sharhain-i-miftāḥ, the two commentaries on the *Miftāḥ*.

Miftāhu-l-'ulūm (clavis doctrinarum), see Hājī Khalifah 12578. This book was written by Sirājn-d-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Yusuf bin Abī Muḥammad bin Alī as Sikkākī who died 626 A.H. (1228 A.D.)

The book was divided into three parts, of which the first treated of grammatical inflection, the second of syntax, and the third of arrangement and composition of sentences. (علمی المعانی والبيان) 'Ilmaiū-l-ma'ānī wal bayān. (Regarding 'Ilmu-l-bayān, etc., see Garcin de Tassy *Rhetorique des langues de l'orient Musulmān*, pp. 1-5.)

A commentary on all three parts was written by Maulā Husāmn-d-Dīn al Muwazzīnī, and this is probably the commentary alluded to in the text. Other commentaries were written on the third part, of which Hājī Khalifah mentions three as worthy of special notice.

³ *Muṭawwal* (commentarius longior). By this book is meant the commentary written by Sa'du-d-Dīn at-Taftazānī (who died 792 A. H.) on the book called *Talkhiṣu-l-Miftāḥ*. It was called by the name of *Muṭawwal* or long commentary because after its completion in A. H. 748 its author wrote a second commentary, an abbreviation of the first, and gave it the name of *Mukhtaṣar* or shorter commentary. (See H. K. II. p. 401).

⁴ All works written by Muslims commence with بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم *Bism'illāh*. In the name of God. The word تمت الكتاب *tammat*, stands for tammat-il kitāb, the book is finished, and forms the last word, answering to our word 'Finis.' MSS. (A) and (B) write only تم.

⁵ *Hidāyah-i-Fiqh*. (see Hājī Khalifah 14366.)

⁶ *Kāfiyah*. The famous grammar known by this name is *Al-Kāfiyat fi-l-nāḥiyya* (liber sufficiens) whose author was Shaikh Jamālū-d-Dīn abī 'Umar Uṣmān bin 'Umr, commonly known as *Ibnu-l-hājib*. (ob: 646 A. H.). For a full account of the work and its various commentaries see H. K. 9707.

*Ma lārik*¹ and other works, which are read up to the present day² Sultan Sikandar also collected together learned men³ from all parts of the country to instruct him,⁴ placing on one side Shaikh 'Abdu llah, and Shaikh 'Azizu llah, and on the other Shaikh Nadiyah and his son Shaikh⁵ Bhakari to discuss difficult points. Eventually it became clearly evident that the former pair of worthies were superior in oratory, while the two latter were the better writers. The death of Shaikh 'Abdu llah occurred in the year 922 H., the following chronogram was invented to commemorate it *Ulāka lahum u'l darajatu l'uldā*⁶

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And among the poets of the time of Sīkhan Ḥar, was the afore said Shaikh Jamali Kanbawī of Dihlī, to whom Sultān Sikandar was in the habit of submitting verses which he had written, for his opinion.

Speaking generally, he had many excellent points, he was a man who had travelled much, and had been honoured with the fellowship of our master the saintly Jāmī,⁷ may God sanctify his resting place, and had gained many advantages from⁸ him and won his approbation,⁹ and was moreover in the habit of submitting¹⁰ his poems to that revered master. The following verses are by him

Verse

I wear a garment woven of the dust of thy street
And¹¹ that too rent to the skirt with my tears

Verse 12

Love's speech is swift, whole centuries of words,
Friend speaks to friend swift as the eye can close

¹ *Tafsīr al-Madārik* Explanation of the sources from which are sought the ordinances of the law. See Lane s.v. مدریک

² MS (A) omits دعاء

³ MSS (A) (B) write علاماء

⁴ MS (A) در درس حوش

⁵ Both MSS (A) (B) write شیخ

⁶ The text reads wrongly here اول لک لہم در حات اعلیٰ MSS (A) (B) are correct. The quotation may be found in the Qur'an (XX 77). The value of the letters is 929.

⁷ MSS (A) (B) omit اللہ

⁸ MS (A) omits ل

⁹ MSS (A) (B) در رادیه

¹⁰ MS (A) (B) در ملک رست

¹¹ MS (A) omits the couplet

¹² MS (B) omits و

The following ode also,¹ which he translated and set to music in his native Hindī, is marvellously inspiring, and is well known.²

My heart's desire is fixed on thy abode
 Oh thou that art long absent from my sight ;
 By day and night the thought of thee alone
 My constant partner is, ask then thy thought
 Should'st thou desire, to bring thee news of me.

He also wrote a *Tazkirah* (Book of Memoirs) to recount the assemblies of some of the Shaikhs of Hindūstān, called the *Sīyaru-l-Ārifīn* (Biographies of the Saints) which is not entirely free from defects and discrepancies. It commences from the venerable Khwāja³ Mu'inu-l-Haqq wau-d-Dīn Ajmīrī, and finishes with his own spiritual guide Shaikh Samā'u-d-Dīn ⁴ Kanbawī of Dihlī, in addition to which it contains other matter both⁵ prose and poetry. His *dīwān* is made up of eight or nine thousand couplets.

SULTĀN IBRAHĪM BIN SULTĀN SIKANDAR LODĪ,

Ascended the throne in Āgra in the year 923 H. with the concurrence of the Amīrs, and Shahzāda Jalāl Khān ibn-i-Sultān Sikandar⁶ [was appointed to the rule of Jaunpūr and was styled by the title of Sultān, while Khān-i-Jahān Lūhānī⁷ governor of Rāpī came to Āgra] and blamed the Amīrs greatly for associating (Jalāl Khān) in the government⁸ of the kingdom ; and after that he had pointed out to them the foolishness⁹ of this procedure orders were issued to the Amīrs of the eastern districts to seize Jalāl Khān and bring him to the Court. He however went from Jaunpūr to Kalpi and collected a large following, and after establishing the *Khutbah* and *sikkah* in his own name, assumed the title of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn. A'zam Hūmāyūn Shirwānī sided with him for a time, but eventually came and had an audience of Sultān Ibrāhīm. Sultān Ibrāhīm

1 (A) omits موم او.

2 MS. (A) omits حضرت.

3 MS. (A) جمیری.

4 MS. (A) دارد مم.

5 From this point there is a very long omission in MS. (B).

6 The portion included in square brackets is repeated twice in MS. (A).

7 MS. (A) نوہانی (Nūhānī).

8 MS. (A) reads بامن.

9 MS. (A) فسح.

sent to the fortress of Hānsī certain of his brothers who were imprisoned, for instance Shāhzūda Isma'il Khān, and Husain Khān, and others,¹ and appointed for each of them food and clothing and two² servants from the private establishment. Then he proceeded in person with the object of conquering³ the Eastern districts, and came to Bhūn Gānw, and having settled the disturbances in Mawāṣ⁴ came to Qānānj. There he nominated a large number of Amirs to proceed against Jalāl Khān, who with thirty thousand cavalry and a certain number of elephants had gone off in the direction of Āgra. Malik Ādām Kākar was sent by the Sultān to defend Āgra, and certain other Amirs arrived to support him. They succeeded in persuading Jalāl Khān, by making pleasing overtures and using attractive arguments, to surrender his paraphernalia of royalty and kingly splendour to the Sultān, in order that they might prefer his application for pardon of his past offences and obtain for him the Kalpli district as a jā tegir. Jalāl Khān instantly agreed, and made over his royal canopy, his kettle-drums, *etcetera* to Malik Ādām with instructions to convey them to the Sultān in the neighbourhood of Itāwa.

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¹ It will be remembered that A'zam Humayūn was the eldest son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, Isma'il and Husain were respectively the fourth and fifth sons, Jalal being the second son, and Ibrāhim the third.

² Text reads دو دو MS. (A) more correctly reads جو جو.

³ بخشیر MS. (A).

⁴ The text reads here: wa dñ Mawāshdrā pāk lurdā while MS. (A) reads مواشہ مواشہ for Mawāshdrā. Neither reading is intelligible.

Frishta reads here:

جیچند زمیندار چرتولی من توان پرگنہ کول کہ از مواس مشہور بود با عمر خان پسر سکندرخان سور چنگ کردا او را بشہادت رسانید بنابر این ملک قاسم حاکم منبهل بر سریں رفتہ آن مفسد را بقتل کردا و آن فتنہ ناگھانی را تسکین داده در قزوچ بمالزمت پادشاہ رسید -

Jai Chand, a Zemindār of Chartūlī, a dependency of the pargana of Kol which was better known as Mawās, had fought against 'Umr Khān the son of Sikandar Khān Sūr and had slain him. Accordingly Malik Qāsim Hākim of Saubhal proceeded against him and put that rebel to death, and having quelled that sudden rebellion came and joined the king at Qānānj.

On the strength of Frishta's statement the above translation is given, and I would suggest that the text should read آن مفسد ان مواس را

The Sultān would not agree to his proposal of peace, and despatched a large army to oppose Jalāl Khān, who fled in consternation and took refuge¹ with the Rāja of Gwāliār, and the Amirs of Sikandar's party, who had heretofore been a source of weakness to the administration of the empire, one and all owned allegiance to the Sultān. The Sultān experienced² a revulsion of feeling with regard to Miyān Bhoh, who was the chief of the Amirs of Sikandar, and had been his *vazīr* and privy councillor, accordingly he cast him into chains and sent him to Malik Ādam; however, he treated his son with kindness and advanced him to the high offices formerly held by his father. Miyān Bhoh died in prison, and A'zam Humāyūn Shirwānī, the Governor of Karra, was sent with thirty thousand cavalry and three³ hundred elephants to attempt the reduction of Gwāliār. Jalāl Khān fled from Gwāliār and went to Mālwa to Sultān Mahmūd of Mālwa. After the arrival of the Sultān's troops Rāi Vikramājīt the son of Rāi Mān Singh,⁴ who, after the decease⁵ of his father, held the government of Gwāliār, was not able to cope with them, and could not properly defend the fortress. The fortress of Bādalgarh, which lies below⁶ the fortress of Gwāliār,⁷ a very lofty structure, was taken from Rāi Mān Singh⁸ and fell into the hands of the Muslims,⁹ and a brazen animal,¹⁰ which was worshipped by the Hindūs also fell into their

¹ MS. (A) omits بُرْد.

² MS. (A) بَيْدَا Firishta calls him بَهْرَاء! Bhūra.

³ The text reads سی صد سی sad three hundred. MS. (A) reads میں صد سی sad thirty hundred. Firishta (Bo. text p. 349.) reads also میں صد سی sad.

⁴ MS. (A) مَان سِنْجَرَ.

⁵ MS. (A) در گَمَشَتْنَ Text reads کشتن Firishta says he died.

⁶ MS. (B) continues here.

⁷ This fortress of Bādalgarh is to be distinguished from another fort of the same name mentioned in subsequent page (text page 429) see Āin-i-Akbarī, I. (B) p. 380 n. 1. Firishta says it had been built by Mān Singh and was a lofty fortified building (Bo. text p. 350).

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) omit رَائِ.

⁹ MS. (A) omits اہل.

¹⁰ The text reads صورتی روئین Šūratī rū'īn a brazen image: but both MSS. (A) (B) read مسحوری روئین Sutūrē rū'īn a brazen animal. So also Firishta, who says that it was ultimately erected at the Baghdād gate of Dihlī, and goes on to say that "that cow remained at that gateway till the reign of Akbar" (p. 350).

hands, and was sent by them to Āgra, whence it was sent by Sultān Ibrahim to Dihli, and was put up over the city gate. This image was removed to Fathpur in the year 992 H., ten years before the composition of this history,¹ where it was seen by the author of this work. It was converted into gongs, and bells, and implements of all kinds.

In those days Sultān Ibrahim becoming distrustful of the old Amirs, imprisoned the greater number of them,² and expelled (others) in different directions, and inasmuch as Jalal Khan could not get on with Sultan Mahmūd of Malwa, he fled from Malwa and came to the country of Kara Kanka,³ where he fell into the hands of a tribe of the Gonds,⁴ who took him prisoner and sent him as a present⁵ to the Sultan who ordered him to be taken to Hansi and imprisoned with his brothers. While on the way thither he drank of the draught of martyrdom.

The draught of sovereignty and glory is so sweet
 That for its sake kings will shed the blood of their brethren,
 Shed not the blood of the afflicted in heart for the sake of
 kingdom,
 For they will pour the selfsame draught into the cup for
 thee.⁶

After some time, in accordance with the orders of Sultān Ibrahim, A'zam Humājūn Shūwāni, together with his son Fath Khan, abandoned the siege of Gwalai Fort which he was within an ace of taking, and came to Āgra, where both were made prisoners. Islām Khan the son of A'zam [Khan]⁷ Humayun, gathered together⁸ a following in Karra by means of his father's

¹ MS (B) agreeing with the text MS (A) reads حیث اس حق اور تاریخ

² MS (B) reads گردانیده

³ Text and both MSS (A) (B) Firishta (Bo text 351) reads در راجه کادبہ شنگات، fled to the Raja of Kadba (?) It would seem we should read Garha Katana which is the name of country bounded on the North by Panna and on the south by the Dahn see Elliot VI 30

⁴ For an account of the Gonds see Sherring Hindu Tribes and Castes, II 134 et seqq, see also Hunter Imp. Gaz article Central Provinces

⁵ MSS (A) (B) read مقدمہ مباحثہ تجھے نہ

⁶ Firishta also has these same lines

⁷ MS (A)

⁸ MS (A) وسایدہ

wealth, and, having brought over to his side the Amirs of that district, fought a battle with Alīmad Khān¹ the governor of Karra, and defeated him. Sultān Ibrāhīm accordingly despatched Alīmad Khān, the brother of Ā'zam Humāyūn Lodi, in command of a vast army,² to oppose the Amirs who had fled from his camp and had joined Islām Khān. With him also he sent³ other Khāns of eminence, such as Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, and others of similar rank. Near the township of Bāngarmau, in the neighbourhood of Qanauj,⁴ Iqbāl Khān, the chief cavalry commander under Ā'zam Humāyūn, with five thousand cavalry and some splendid elephants, broke out of ambuscade and attacked the forces of the Sultān, and after throwing them all into confusion⁵ withdrew (into ambush). The Sultān by way of precaution despatched⁶ a further force to their assistance, but the enemy, who had about forty thousand cavalry, well armed, and five hundred elephants, shewed a firm front against them, until Naṣīr Khān Luhānī with other generals arrived from the direction of Bihār and engaged the enemy on both sides. A fierce conflict ensued between the two armies, such a conflict as baffles description, and after a severe struggle⁷ the rebels were defeated. Islām Khān was killed and Sa'īd Khān Lodi was taken prisoner, thus the rebellion was quenched.

Verse.

Do not inflict ingratitude upon a benefactor and generous friend,

Like the cloud, which receives bounty from the ocean, and rains a storm of arrows upon its breast.⁸

As far as you are able, make the requital of favours your habit and custom,

Like the river, which gives to the clouds an ocean in return for one drop of its rain.

And withal that he had gained so important a victory, yet was not the heart of the Sultān favourably disposed towards the

¹ MS. (A) omits مَنْ.

² MS. (A) reads سردار لشکر انبوہ کرد. ³ MS. (A) نامزد ساخته.

⁴ MS. (A) wrongly inserts و before قبائل.

⁵ Firishta says, "after killing some and wounding many."

⁶ MS. (A) فروستاده و. ⁷ MSS. (A) (B) کشش و کوشش.

⁸ This couplet is also given by Firishta.

Amirs and they also being aware of this, raised in all directions the banners of antagonism. In the meanwhile, many of the eminent Amirs of royal descent, as for example A'zam Humāyūn Shirwāni, and Miyān Bhoh, the Vazir of Sultan Sikandar, departed from this world in the confinement of the prison house.¹

This is that same journeying place this interminable desert
In which the army of Salm and Tūr was lost,²

This is the selfsame stage, this world of ruin

Which witnessed the palace of Afrasiyab³

Miyān Husain⁴ Farmali was assassinated in Chanderi, at the instigation of the Sultan, by certain rusthānī Shaikh Zadas of that place, and Daryā Khān Lūhām governor of Bihar, and Khān-i Jahān Lodi being alarmed,⁵ became disaffected. After a short time Darya Khan died, and his son Bahadur Khan turned rebel and occupied the place of his father. The revolted Amirs made common cause with him, so that he collected a force of nearly a hundred thousand cavalry in the vicinity of Bihar, and gained possession of that country,⁶ assuming the title of Sultan Muhammad,⁷ establishing the Khūqābah and sikka in his own name. His army penetrated as far as the country of Sambal and brought it within the area of their control.⁸ The Khūqābah was read in his name in Bihar and the territories adjacent, for some time. It so happened that the son of Daulat Khan Lodi whose name was Khan-i Khanan⁹ came from Lāhor to Āgra to visit the Sultan, but being suspicious of his intentions fled from his court and went to his father Daulat Khan, seeing no hope of obtaining release from the (wrath of the) Sultan, sent that same son of his¹⁰ to Kabul. He accordingly did homage to the supreme King, Zahīr

¹ MS (A) reads در قعده

² MS (A) reads مرحلا مرحلا مرحلا مرحلا MS (B) For the story of Salm and Tur two of the sons of Farid n see *Sīlāl-nāma* (Atkinson) page 49 et seqq also *Shāh-nāma* (Turner Macan) pp. 58 to 83

³ MS (A) reads سوت بادن دک

⁴ MS (A)

⁵ MS (B) خراسان

⁶ MS (A) omits و Fīrshtā adds as far as Sambal

⁷ Footnote variant محمد Mah i l Fīrshtā reads Muhammed

⁸ MS (A) سندھ و سیکھ MS (B) سندھ و سیکھ Text

⁹ Fīrshtā says غازی خاں MS (B) پسر حون را عاریخان

¹⁰ MS (B)

d-Dīn Bābar, and induced him to advance against Hindūstān. Eventually Khān-i-Khānān laid a complaint¹ against his father before the supreme King Bābar, and poisoned his mind against him, and led to discord between them, as will be related if the Most High God so will it. Khān-i-Khānān was living up to the date of the rebellion of Sher Shāh, but at last died in prison. Sultān Muḥammad departed to the world of permanence from Bihār, and the Amīrs on all sides rebelled against Sultān Ibrāhīm, and great damage was inflicted upon the kingdom. The pillars of the empire began to totter,² and the standard of the fortune of King Bābar floated high.

331. The following is a brief epitome of the matter: Daulat Khān and Ghāzi Khān his son, together with the other noble Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm, sent ‘Alam Khān Lodi to Kābul, bearing despatches to Zahīru-d-Dīn Bābar Pādishāh, inviting him to attempt the conquest of Hindūstān. Accordingly Bābar Pādishāh appointed a number of his own Amīrs to accompany ‘Alam Khan, with orders to advance and conquer that country. Having conquered Siālkot and Lāhor with its dependencies, they represented the condition of affairs (to Bābar) and the following *qīṣ’ah* was written to commemorate the date of the conquest of Hindūstān.

Verse.

Zahīru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Bābar,
In fortune Sikandar, in force a Bahrām,
By his fortune conquered the country of Hind,
The date of this was *Faṭḥ bādālat*.³ (Victory by fortune).

Bābar Pādishāh marching continuously, arrived at the banks of the river Indus, and drew up the whole force, composed of ten thousand [veteran] cavalry⁴ in that camp after passing the troops in review. In the interval, Daulat Khān and Ghāzi Khān had turned back with thirty thousand veteran⁵ cavalry composed of Afghāns and other tribes, and had occupied the town of Kalānūr, and prepared to engage Bābar’s Amīrs at

¹ MS. (B) writes after خود از پدر کلایت instead of before it as in the text.
MS. (A) reads معاقب شکایت for کلایت.

² MSS. (A) (B) افتاد.

³ فتح بدولت *Faṭḥ bā dālat*. These letters give the date 930 H.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) omit صورہ گاری.

⁵ MS. (B) omits سوار.

Lâhor, while Amir Khnârû, who had strengthened the fortress of Sialkot, evacuated it as soon as Ghâzi Khân arrived, and took refuge in flight to the camp. Some days afterwards Bâbar arrived at Sialkot where he encamped [and after laying waste the township of Sialkot founded Dholpur] ¹ 'Alam Khân proceeded to Dihli by order of Bâbir, and encountering Sultan Ibrâhim, made² a night attack upon the army of the Sultan, and Jalâl Khân with certain other Amirs arrived in the course of that night and joined 'Alam Khân. Sultan Ibrâhim did 332 not stir from his tent till dawn. The followers³ of 'Alam Khân, fancying they had secured an easy victory, were scattered in all directions, only a small number remained⁴ with 'Alam Khân. Sultan Ibrâhim, urging an elephant forward, attacked the enemy's centre, who could not withstand⁵ his attack. The faithless 'Alam Khân passing through⁶ the Doab came to Sîrtind, and thence fled for refuge to the fortress of Gunguna,⁷ one of the dependencies of Malot,⁸ at the foot of the hills Dilâwar Khân Lâhâni separated from him, and joined the service of Bâbar Padishâh, and became one of his faithful adherents. 'Alam Khân also after some time came and had an interview with Bâbir, who, in accordance with his former custom, gave him an honourable reception, and as he was halting at the time of the interview he distinguished him with a robe of honour and other marks of favour, and when he pitched camp in the neighbourhood of Kalanûr, Muhammad Sultân Mirzâ and other Amirs⁹ came from Lâhor and joined him. Thence he proceeded to the fortress of Malot in which Ghâzi Khân [and Daulat Khan were, and besieged it, and Ghâzi Khân and Khân-i-Khanan]¹⁰ determined upon flight

¹ Not in either MS (A) or (B) a footnote to the text states that this passage occurs in one MS only.

² MSS (A) (B) آورد و

³ The text reads rightly عالم خان حاییان MS A reads عالم خان

⁴ MS (A) مددگار

⁵ MS (B) پای تائیت

⁶ MS (B) omits گلستان

⁷ The text and both MSS. read Gunguna See Erskine's Bâbir, p 300
"The fort of Kinkutel"

⁸ In Pind Dadan کل in tahsil Jhâlam, District Panjab see Hunter Imp Cat., IX 263

⁹ MSS (A) (B) دیگر اعماق

¹⁰ Not in text of MSS (A) (B) which read MS (A)

و در لشکار دریا نوداده روزہ عاصمہ نہاد

and left the fort. Daulāt Khān hastened to tender his submission, and his faults were¹ pardoned as on former occasions; and on the day of public audience when they brought him into the presence with two swords tied round his neck, orders were given that he was not to be brought in in that (humiliating) manner. On the contrary, Bābar sent him a respectful summons, and bidding him be seated² gave him a place near himself.³

That is (true) generosity to shew kindness to the wrongdoer,
For the generous cannot but shew kindness to a friend.

However, he distributed his effects among the soldiery,⁴ and the fortress of Malot, which apparently means Malot itself, fell into the hands of Bābar Pādishāh. Some few days after this occurrence

333. Daulat Khān, who had been imprisoned by Bābar, died in prison⁵ and Bābar proceeded to the Siwālik hills in pursuit of Ghāzī Khān, and encamped⁶ at the foot of the Dūn,⁷ which is a very high hill, Ghāzī Khān was not to be found. Bābar accordingly returned stage by stage to the frontiers of Sihrind, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Ghaghar;⁸ thence he came to the borders of⁹ Sāmāna and Sanām, and gave orders to Amīr Kittah Beg to¹⁰ proceed to within a short distance of the camp of Sultān Ibrāhīm, who, after the defeat of 'Alam Khān, had stood fast¹¹ near Dihlī,

^{۱۰} محاصرہ نہودند و غازی خان و خانخانان ازان قلعہ فرار داده

^۱ MS. (A) reads گناہان او.

^۲ MS. (A) جائی دادند و فرمود MS. (B).

^۳ Compare the account of this given by Bābar himself, see Elliot IV. 246. Firishta's account (Bo. text p. 378) tallies with that given by our author.

^۴ In MS. (A) the word بسپاہیاں precedes سے: in the text it follows it.

^۵ Firishta does not mention the death of Daulat Khān, and tells us that Bābar took possession of Ghāzī Khān's library of valuable books, of which he kept some for himself and gave the rest away.

^۶ MS. (A) نزول فرمود.

^۷ The text reads دامن کوہ نا دون with a footnote variant هندون. MSS. (A) (B) read دامن کوہ دون, see Tūzak-i-Bābarī, Elliot IV. 247. "Marching thence and passing the small hills of Ābkand by Milwat we reached Dūn. In the language of Hindustan they call a Jūlga (or dale) Dūn."

^۸ MS. (A) گھکو.

^۹ MSS. (A) (B) omit در بھدوہ.

^{۱۰} MS. (A) omits اسک.

^{۱۱} MSS. (A) (B) متمن بود.

and bring intelligence of the position and strength of his army; and at this camp Babur the Afghān who had been in revolt came and had an interview (with Bābar). From this camp also Shāhzada Muḥammad Hamayun Mīrzā, together with Khwaja Kalān Beg and other notable Amirs, were despatched against Hamid Khan the *Khas-i Khāil* (Chief of Cavalry) of Sultān Ibrāhim, who was advancing at the head of a force from Hisṣār Firoza to give them battle. They proceeded by forced marches, and a severe engagement took place. Hamid Khan was defeated, many of his men being either killed or taken prisoners.¹ The *sarīr* of Hisṣār Firoza with a revenue of two crores,² was given as a reward to the Shāhzada, and Bābar Padishāh encamped on the bank of the Jamna, two marches from Shāhbād, and detailed Khwāja Muḥammad Sultan Mīrzā, and Sultān Juwāid Mīrzā³ Birlas to oppose Da'ud Khan and a body of Amirs of the army of Sultān Ibrāhim, who had crossed the Jamna with five or six thousand cavalry. Accordingly they also crossed the Jamna and gave the Afghans a second drubbing, killing them and taking them prisoners, while the remnant of the sword took refuge in the camp of Sultān Ibrāhim.

Marching thence, having drawn up his right and left wings and centre,⁴ King Bābar reviewed them in person. Eight hundred gun carriages⁵ had been prepared in one day. Ustād Ali Quli the Artillerist, acting upon my orders, had followed the custom of the Turkish artillery, and bound together the gun carriages with chains and raw hide thongs, twisting them into the form of a whip-lash.⁶ And in the interval between each pair of gun carriages six or seven shelter parapets⁷ were placed, so that on the day of

¹ MS (B) اسیروں

² MS (A) دو کروڑ (J) 293. ³ MSS (A) (B) میزان

⁴ baranghar, right wing jananghar, left wing called also عول قربل (See Pavet de Courteille Dict Turk oriental), see also Erskine's Babur, p 227

⁵ Text writes عرباد MS (A) writes this word طبل

⁶ Ustad Ali Quli (Erskine's Babur, p 302).

⁷ P de O does not give this word (?) at the end of a whip, i.e., the lash. See Erskine's Babur, p 304

⁸ The text reads توبرہ پر حاک tobra : purkhak. MS (A) omits the words purkhak while MS (B) writes پر حاک نیفگ purkhak : tufang. All these readings appear to be incorrect. For توبرہ tobra, we should read تورہ

the battle the riflemen might be able to fire in safety from the shelter of the guns and parapets. He had determined¹ to march, and encamp with the city of Pānipath in the rear of his army, and to use the line of gun-carriages as a front line of defence for his troops,² while the cavalry and infantry should come into action from behind the gun-carriages with³ arrow and musketry fire, while the remainder of the cavalry should advance on both sides, and keep up a constant attack,⁴ and in case of necessity should retire to the cover afforded by the gun-carriages.⁵ Accordingly on Thursday the last day of Jumaidu-l-Ākhīr⁶ 932 H., he encamped in the vicinity of the city of Pānipath, at a distance of six *krohs* from the camp of Sultān Ibrāhim, whose force was composed of a hundred thousand cavalry and a thousand elephants, while the army of Bābar Pādīshāh⁷ comprised fifteen thousand cavalry and infantry on a rough estimate.⁸ The troops under Bābar used to make daily sallies from unexpected quarters, and attack the Afḡhān army, bringing in several heads: in spite of which Sultān Ibrāhim and his men did not dare to make a single attempt at any counter attack during all this time.⁹ At last one night Mahdi Khwāja, Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā and certain other Āmīrs, with five or six¹⁰ thousand men made a night attack¹¹ upon Sultān Ibrāhim's army, and after killing a large

tūra, with the meaning *palisades* or *abattis*, see Pavet de Courteille Dict. Turk-oriental s. v. تُورا تُورة *pièces de bois et de fer qu'on relie ensemble avec des chaînes et des crochets, et derrière lesquelles s'abritent les soldats.* See also Erskine's Bābar, p. 304 n. 2. See also Pers: *Lat Lexicon* s v., also Elliott IV. 251. n. 4. This seems to be undoubtedly the correct reading, the word تُوبَرَة *tūbra* having been written by our author in mistake for تُورَة, the words پر خاک having been subsequently added. Sacks full of gunpowder would form a not very comfortable shelter for riflemen.

ب. تیروتفنگ (B) پیش سپاہ (A). قرار او (B). ۲ MS. (A). ۳ MS. (B).

۴ The text reads بِمَدْافِعٍ وَّبِجَادَلٍ with a footnote to say that this is the reading of all three MSS., but that probably the verbal noun of action should have been written. MS. (A) gives this verbal noun مَدْفَعَة. So that clearly this MS. was not one of the three from which the text was edited.

۵ MS. (B) omits عربَة and writes بار تعقب.

۶ April 12, 1526. ۷ MS. (B). بادشاہ (A). ۸ MS. (B). تَخْمِينَا.

۹ MS. (A) writes ظاهِر نَشَد for ظاهِر. ۱۰ MS. (B) writes wrongly واقع for جراحتی. ۱۱ MS. (A). جرأتی.

۱۰ MSS. (A) (B). پنج شش.

۱۱ MS. (A). شبیخون.

number of them returned in safety. In spite of the consternation into which this threw them, the enemy were not put upon their guard,¹ and on Friday the eighth of the honoured month Rajab² in the aforesaid year, Sultān Ibrāhim with a large army, strong as the brazen rampart of Sikandar,³ clad in iron armour came out to the fight.

Bābar Padishāh also, having arrayed his army with all the pomp and circumstance of war, and shewing a firm unbroken front, gave orders detailing from the left wing Amir Qarā Qūrchi and Amir Shaikh 'Ali, with certain other Amirs, and from the right wing, Wali Qizil and Bāba Qushiqah, with the whole force of Mughals, to form two parties and attack the enemy in the rear, while the Amirs of the right and left wings in a body, and from the picked troops,⁴ Amir Muhammad Gokultāsh, and Amir Yūnas 'Ali, and Amir Shāh Mansūr Birlās, with other famous Amirs, should lead the front attack: and since the Afghāns [were specially observant of the right wing, Amir 'Abdu-l-'azīz, who was with the reserve, was ordered by king Bābar to reinforce the right wing],⁵ and when he got within bowshot of the enemy,⁶ the bodies of the enemies took to themselves wings, and the bird of the soul of many of them took flight from the cage of the body, while the wings of others⁷ were clipped by the shears of the two-edged sword.

Verse.

So vast was the river of blood which flowed on that battle field

That the feet of the warriors could not stand against its flood ;
The breeze which blew from that battle field at morning time
Brought to the nostrils the odour of the heart's blood

The slain lay in heaps,⁸ while those who escaped death by the sword became the portion for kites and ravens A period of two

¹ MS. (A) writes پروانہ شد MS. (B) agrees with the text.

² المُرْجَب Al-murjab. So called because in the Time of Ignorance it was held in special honour, inasmuch as war or fighting during this month was held to be unlawful, see Lane s.v. رجب.

³ MS. (A) omits اسکندر.

⁴ MS. (B) فوج.

⁵ Omitted from MS. (B)

⁶ The text is wrong here: we should read دز شیده نیز dar shaiba : tu on the authority of MSS. (A) (B).

⁷ MS. (B) supplies بعضی after پروانل.

⁸ We should read واز کشند پشندا شد.

*qarns*¹ has elapsed since this event up to the time of the composition of this *Muntakhab*, but up to the present, the noise of conflict and shouts of combatants proceeding from that field of battle reach the ears of travellers at night.

In the year 997 H. (1588 A.D.) the writer of these pages² was proceeding one day at early morning³ from the city of

336. Lāhor towards Fathpūr, and had to cross that plain, when these terrifying noises reached his ears, and the people who were with him imagined that some enemy was upon them. I also witnessed with my own eyes what I had heard related. Submitting this divine mystery to the Almighty we went on our way.

Sultān Ibrāhim together with a party of attendants was taken in an unknown desert and put to the sword, his head⁴ was brought into the presence of Bābar Pādishāh, and⁵ about five or six thousand who formed Sultān Ibrāhim's retinue were put to death in the one spot.

Verse.

It is plainly evident⁶ to thee that this dark world is a snare of calamity,

Thou knowest⁷ now that the world is full of guile, and desperately deceitful.

That man from fear of whom no one would enter the water

He himself is drowned in the ocean, an ocean without bounds.⁸

Bābar Pādishāh after gaining this⁹ signal victory departed thence, and reached Dihli¹⁰ on the same day and encamped there. He then caused the *Khuṭbah* to be read in his name,¹¹ despatching Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mirzā and all the Amīrs to Āgra, with orders to make forced marches, and to seize the treasure¹² belonging to Ibrāhim, which was of untold value, and divide it among the soldiery.¹³

1 The قرن *qarn* is an uncertain period of time, here it probably means a space of forty years.

2 اوراق را MSS. (A) (B).

3 وقت ستری MS. (A) (B).

4 سوش را MSS. (A) (B).

5 و supply MSS. (A) (B).

6 روز شب MS. (B) reads پہننا.

7 حیرتی MS. (B) reads ناپہننا.

8 Read here بنا پہننا for بنا پہننا. A footnote to the text states that بنا پہننا is the reading of all three MSS.

9 MS. (A). این چنین فتح دہلی MS. (B).

10 MS. (B) omits &.

11 MS. (B) omits بنام.

12 MS. (A) (B) خزینہ and omit &.

13 MS. (A) (B) نہودند.

Verse.

He who sacrifices his life upon the field of battle
 Sacrifice thy gold to him by way of generosity.
 However brave hearted a man may be
 He cannot be eager to fight when he is without food.¹

This event took place in the year 932 H. (1525 A D), and the Hindūs invented this date *Shahid shudan-i-Ibrāhīm*² (the martyrdom of Ibrāhīm) to commemorate it. From that time the empire once more passed from the Afghān Lodi family, and rested on the descendants of Amir Timūr Sāhibqirān. The duration of the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm was nine years.

ZAHIRU-D-DÍN MUHAMMAD BÁBÁR PÁDISHÁH GHÁZI.

337

After this ascended³ the throne⁴ of sovereignty, and by his justice and liberality adorned the world with fresh lustre and glory, and sent rewards to Samarqand, Trāq, Khurāsān and Kashgār. He also despatched offerings⁵ to the sacred cities of Makkah and Medīnah, and to the holy places of pilgrimage, and sent off gold beyond price to all the inhabitants of Badakhshān and Kābul, to each its separate store, from the vast treasuries of Hindūstān. He converted the world into a rose garden. The Amirs of Hindūstān, notwithstanding his conciliatory behaviour and efforts to improve⁶ their fortunes, did not yield obedience to him, but behaved like unruly savages,⁷ and took to fortifying themselves in their fortresses and estates,⁸ while Qāsim Sanbālī in Sambal, and Nizām Khān in Baiāna, and Hasan Khān Miwātī in Alwar, and Tātār Khān Sārang Khān⁹ in Gwāhār, took refuge in their respective fortresses. Itāwa was held by Qutb Khān, and Kalpī by ‘Alam Khān, while Qanauj and all the eastern districts were in the possession of the Afghāns, who, in the reign of Sultān Ibrahim also, had refused to own his sway,¹⁰ and¹¹ having raised the son of Bihār Khān to the throne, gave¹² him the title of Sultān Muhammad, his empire extended as far as

¹ MS (B) reads دی مورگ

شہید شدن ابراهیم = 932

² MSS (A) (B) سوہ

نذر و سریر = 932

³ MS (A) reads ترقیۃ

متلوحش نودہ after بودہ (B)

⁴ MS (A) omits و تقدیع

ساریک حل = 932

⁵ MS (A) نمیکرد

و میکرد supply

⁶ MS (A) پهادند

و پهادند

Bihār, and Naṣīr Khān Lūhānī and Ma'rūf Farmalī and other powerful Amīrs gave in their allegiance to him, while a slave of Sultān Ibrāhīm named Marghūb, having fortified the township of Mahāwan, which is situated at a distance of twenty *krohs* from Āgra, on the far side of the river Jamna, refused to own him as king.

Accordingly troops were detailed by Bābar Pādīshāh to conquer these countries, and Firoz Khān, and Sārang Khān,¹ and Shaikh Bāyazid, the brother of Muṣṭafā Farmalī, with other Afghāns coming and tendering their submission, were given *jāegīrs*.² Shaikh Khūran who was one of the Hindustānī Amīrs, and also one of their most accomplished men,³ being unrivalled in the art of music, came with his whole following and had an interview (with Bābar) in the Doāb.

The territory of Sambal was conferred as a *jāegīr* upon Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mirzā. The Amīrs seized Qāsim Sanbalī and sent him to Bābar, while another body of men had been sent against Baiāna, and had besieged Niẓām Khān, keeping him closely invested. In this year also Rānā Sānkā having wrested the fortress of Khandār,⁴ which is in the vicinity of Rantānbhūr, from Ḥasan son of Makhan, was in possession of it; and Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mirzā,⁵ with a party of Amīrs who had been appointed⁶ to capture and hold Dholpūr, were ordered to proceed against a body of Afghāns of the Lūhānī faction who were close on fifty thousand, and had advanced beyond Qanauj. Both Saiyyid Mahdī Khwāja, and Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, who had been ordered to capture Itāwa,⁷ joined the retinue of the Shāhzāda,⁸ who brought into subjection the whole of the eastern districts as far as Jaunpūr. In the meanwhile Rānā Sānkā and Ḥasan Khān Miwātī raised to the throne one of the sons of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, named Sultān Muḥammad, with the title of Pādshāh, and started on an expedition against the territories of Bābar with a large following and vast⁹ army.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) خانی.

² MSS. (A) (B) جایگیروہا.

³ MSS. (A) (B) متعین.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) کھنڈار.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) برا.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) معین.

⁷ MS. (B) writes گدماں for اتاوا.

⁸ MS. (A) writes گش Shāh.

⁹ MS. (A) بیدایان.

Marching by way of Basāwar¹ they arrived in the neighbourhood of Fathpur, otherwise known as Sikri² Nizām Khān, the Governor of Bairān made representations to the Court of Babar and gained a certain degree of influence. Rafī'u d Dīn Sifwī, who was one of the most powerful Sayyids of Balkh³ and the chief⁴ of the traditionists, and who, having come to Hindustān in the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, had been given the title of Ḥa-rat⁵ Muqaddas (His Holiness), came and had audience of the Sultan and tendered his service. Tātā Khan Sarang Khān also, after that Rānā Sāṅkā seized the fortress of Khandhar, and the infidels had got the upper hand, first of all sent a representation to King (Babar) saying, I intend to surrender the fortress of Gwalior, but when Khwāja Rahīm⁶ Dad and Shīkh Khūrān and a further party also arrived, he was ashamed (of this weakness). This party then, by the guidance of Shīkh Muhammad Ghāns⁷, who was unrivalled in his time, and was the chief authority on the science of da'watu l asmā,⁸ entered the fort by some skilful stratagem and took it from Tātā Khan whether he would or no, and sent him into the presence of Babar Padishāh. In just this same way also Muhammad Zaitūn the Afghan gave up the fort of Dholpur to⁹ the Amirs of Babar, and coming in had an interview with the King. In the meanwhile, Rānā Sāṅkā¹⁰ had arrived on the confines of Bairān and was doing damage to the country, and had, after a halt of a few days, reached Fathpur, Babar Pādīshāh, with a small body of the soldiery which he had with him left the capital of Āgra with the object of engaging him in battle. He also wrote⁹ a despatch to summon Shahzada Mohammad Hamayun Mirza, ordering him to leave Jaunpūr in charge of certain eminent Amirs, and to come himself with all speed to take part in that war, the victorious Prince, having taken the country of Hārauld¹⁰ and

339.

1 MS (A) بشارور

2 See Hunter, *Imp. Gov.*, IV 433

3 MSS (Δ) (B) أبک

4 MS (A) اعاظم

5 MS (B) حم

6 Lit. calling upon the names (of God). This is a term used to express a system of incantation which is held to be lawful by orthodox Muhammadans. For a full account of it, see Hughes (Dict. of Islam) article *Da'wah* p. 72

MS (B) reads دعوات رهمنوی

7 MS (A) & 8 MSS (A) (B) ك دارا

9 MS (B) می دوشند

10 Footnote variant to the text reads درود هاراولد

Bihār from Nasir Khān¹ Luhānī, and having appointed Khwāja Amīr, Shāh Ḥasan and Amīr Junaid Birlās to the government of Jaunpūr, proceeded by way of Kalpī, and by adopting measures partly peaceful and partly warlike, brought over ‘Ālam Khān the governor of that place,² and made him one of his adherents. He lost no time in attaching himself to the king’s service, and was granted many royal favours.

At this same time, that pattern for the great³ and noble, Khwāja Khāwind Naqshbandī arrived from Kābul, and the Amīrs sitting in council determined by a majority, that, seeing that the army of Rānā Sānkā is currently reported to exceed in multitude the ants and locusts, it appears advisable to strengthen the fortress of Āgra, and that, leaving it in charge of a garrison, the sovereign of Islām should proceed in his own excellent person towards the

340. Panjāb, and wait for the development of unseen events. The king did not agree to the decision of this council, but girded up his loins to carry into effect his intention of a *jihād*, and setting his heart upon martyrdom, marched in the direction of the field of Fathpūr and made this project the aim and object of his ambition.⁴

Verse.

Since the soul must of necessity at last leave the body,
This is best, that, when the time comes, it should at least
depart with honour.

The end of the world is this, and nothing more
That after a man’s death, his name should remain.

The Amīrs also, placing their hands upon the sacred word, (the Qur’ān), swore an oath to renew their compact and carry out their intention of making war upon the infidels, for the exaltation of the sublime creed,⁵ and the promulgation of the

¹ A footnote variant نصرخان Nuṣrat Khān. So also MS. (B).

² MS. (B) reads حاکم بخارا Hākim-i-Bukhārā.

³ The text reads قدوة الاعظم so also MSS. (A) (B). A footnote to the text says that this reading is found in all three copies, but that اعظم is correct.

⁴ MS. (A) صفت ولا نعمت.

⁵ The كلام Kalimah. “There is no God but God and Muhammad is the Apostle of God,” see Qur’ān xlvi. 21 and xlvi. 29. See also Hughes (Dict. of Islām) art : Kalimah.

glorious law, deeming the field of battle to be a joyful assembly, and doing full justice¹ to the claims of manliness in such a way as the eye of time had never before witnessed, and after many strenuous efforts the standards of Islam floated bravely on high, while the banners of infidelity were laid low. In the thick of the fight an arrow found its way to the forehead of Hasan Khân Miwâti, who was an infidel who used the Kalimah, they cast him into a well and took to flight, while he fell into the well of Hell, although a certain Miwâti,² a *jogi*³ in form and appearance, in the year 960 H., after the death of Salim Shâh Afghân Sur, raised a rebellion in Miwâti, and called himself⁴ Hasan Khân, and mentioned certain of the secret signs to the Miwâtis, still, a certain number acknowledged him. The composer of this *Muntakhab* (selection) also, in the year 965 H. (1557 A D) saw him⁵ in Agra, but no signs of nobility or authority were visible in his features,⁶ and the late Khân-i Khânân Buram Khân used to say, that Hasan Khân Miwâti⁷ was a man who commanded a large following,⁸ and was of kingly appearance, and had a poetical temperament. His poems are well known, but this mannikin⁹ resembled¹⁰ an uncouth rustic, his appearance was extremely repulsive¹¹ God forbid that this wretch, should be that Hasan Khân.

After some time certain of the Khânzâdas of Miwâti moved by indignation and jealousy put him to death. A short time after this¹² victory, that gallant king was attacked by a severe illness, and after that he had reached the age of fifty years, he departed from this transitory world to the eternal realms in the year 937 H. (1530 A D). 341.

THE DATE OF THE DEATH OF SHÂH BÂBÂR

This took place in the year nine hundred and thirty seven
The words *Shash-i Shawâl*¹³ also form the date of his decease,

¹ MS (B) reads داده داده

² MS (B) omits میوانی

³ MS (A) reads چوکی ⁴ MS (B) میگفت Text and MS (A) میگرفت

⁵ MS (B) دیده دوده ⁶ Both MSS (A) (B) omit دیده

⁷ Both MSS (A) (B) read میوانی for میگردن

⁸ MS (A) reads صاحب حقتی ⁹ MSS (A)/(B) صردک

¹⁰ MS (B) می نهاد ¹¹ Lit like that of a changeling

¹² MSS (A) (B) omit اس ¹³ شش شوال = 937 (H)

while the date of his birth may be found from this couplet.

Since this revered monarch was born in the sixth of Muḥarram,

The year of his birth¹ also is *Şəhə-i-Muḥarram*.

The duration of his reign in Māwārū-n-nahr, Badağşāhān, Kābul, and Kāshghar, as well as in Hindustān, was² thirty-eight years. He had succeeded to the kingdom at the age of twelve, and Khwāja Kalān Bēg wrote this couplet in his funeral oration:

Alas ! that time and the changeful heaven should exist without thee.

Alas ! and Alas ! that time should remain and thou should'st be gone.

Among the learned men of his time is Shaikh Zain Khānī,³ who translated in most elegant⁴ style, the *Wāqī'at-i-Bābarī*,⁵ which the deceased monarch wrote, and the following verses are by him :

Verses.

342. Thou hast rested with thy guardians and hast fled from me
What have I done ? or what hast thou heard or seen from
me ?

There was no necessity for injustice to enable thee to seize
my heart.

I would have yielded it had'st thou but desired it of me.

Verses.⁶

So straitened did my heart become for longing for those lips
of thine

Too narrow was the way by which my soul should quit its
earthly shrine.

¹ The text reads correctly او تاریخ سال او but both MSS. (A) (B) read تاریخ فوت *tārikh-i-faut*, the date of his death.

The letters of the words شش محرم give the date 888 H. This would make him fifty years of age in 938 H. This couplet has a variant reading which is given in the footnote to the text.

² MS. (A) omits بود.

³ MS. (A) reads حوافست دین.

⁴ *Wāqī'at-i-Bābarī*. This, called also *Tūzak-i-Bābarī* is the work of which Erskine's translation is so well-known. I can find no other reference to the translation from the original Türkī hero referred to by our author. See Elliot V. 218 *et seqq.*, also Erskine's *Bābar* (Introduction).

Footnote variant فصیح.

⁶ MS. (A) reads دل و.

My verses are both rational and traditional, and my desire is,
that Maulānā Hasan, who comprises in himself all rational¹ and
traditional science, may hear them

Another is Maulana Baqā'i who wrote a Maṣnavī in the metre
of the Maṭḥzūn-i Asrār² At the moment I do not remember a
single poem of his

Another³ is Maulānā Shihābu d Dīn the Enigmatist, whose
general learning was overshadowed by his special skill in the
composition of enigmas, and⁴ at the time when Darmash Khān⁵
was appointed⁶ by Shah Isma'il Ṣafawi Husaini to the Governor-
ship of Khurasan, that prince of traditionists, Mir Jamalu d Dīn,
the traditionist, one day while the preaching was going on, in
dispelling the apparent contradiction between the sacred word
Verily your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six
*days,*⁷ and that true Hadīq (tradition) that *He created the world in*
*seven days,*⁸ explained it in two ways, Maulana Shihābu d
Dīn⁹ refuted it, by adducing one after another several excellent
arguments and wrote a treatise on that subject, to which the
learned divines of that time subscribed¹⁰ their signatures The
writer of these pages also on the same occasion wrote a few lines
of prose and poetry, from which the following rubā'ī is selected,¹¹

Quatrain

343

This writing which has appeared like lawful magic,
Its poetry and prose are purer than the purest water

¹ MSS (A) (B) read جوں

² MS (A) supplies سیار See *Ain-i Albari* (B) I p 595 n 2, also Beale, p 67

³ MSS (A) (B) و دیگری See Beale, p 243 Shihābu d Dīn died in the
regime of Humayun 942 A H See next p 60

⁴ MS (A) در و مانی

⁵ MS (A) درمش خاں Darmash Khān

⁶ MSS (A) (B) مصوب شد

⁷ Qur'an VII 52 X 3

⁸ See *Mīshkāt* xx v I 9 God created the earth on Saturday, and the hills
on it on Sunday and the trees on Monday and unpleasant things on Tuesday,
and he created the light on Wednesday and scattered the easts of the earth
on Thursday and created Adam after afternoon prayer on Friday the last of
the creation

⁹ MS (B) writes شیخاب only

¹⁰ MSS (A) (B) write احمد

¹¹ The text reads اوان حملہ غیر است MS (A) omits the word فقیر and
MS (B) reads فوج possibly for جوں

- It is a gleam from the brightness of "the brilliant Star,"¹
In describing whose dignity the tongue of meditation is struck dumb.
- The following enigma on the name Kāshif is also by him.

Quatrain.

With a view to deceive the heart of this broken-hearted one,
That idol with mouth like the rosebud is every moment²
displaying coquetry.

Upon the leaf of the rose she wrote that curling ringlet
And then displayed her moon-bright face from³ one corner.⁴

The death of the Maulavi took place at the time of the return of the Emperor Muḥammad Humāyūn, whose abode is in Paradise, from his expedition to Gujrāt in the year 942 H., and Mir Khond⁵ Amir the historian invented the chronogram *Shihābu-s-sāqib*. And one of the wonderful⁶ inventions of that Emperor, whose shelter is the pardon of God, is the Khatt-i-Bābārī (the Bābārī script), in which writing he indited a copy of the Qur'ān, and sent it to the sacred city of Makka: his anthology of Persian and Tūrki poetry is well-known. He has also composed a book on the Hanifite Theology called *Mubaiyyin*,⁷ and Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn⁸ wrote a commentary upon it which he entitled *Mubīn*. His treatises⁹ on Prosody are also in common use.

¹ *Shihābu-d-Dīn* was called *Shihābu-s-sāqib* (the brilliant star); these words also give the date of his death, see post.

² MS. (A) reads جی for جو.

³ MS. (A) reads دو for از.

⁴ The following is the explanation of this *Mu'amma* which is contained in the two last lines of the *Rubā'i*. That is to say: she took the word گل and removed from it the *dāira* or curved portion of the ل lām, thus leaving کا; to this she added آن سر زلف, that is to say the last letter of the word چل, the letter ف, thus having کا...ف. To this she added رخ rukh-i-mah, the first letter of the word شهر, which is in Arabic شہر. This will give the whole word کاشف.

⁵ MS. (A), see Beale, p. 150.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) omit غرائب.

⁷ مبین نام بفتح باي مثنات.

⁸ MS. (A), see Elliot and Dowson IV. 288, *et seqq.*

⁹ MS. (B) reads ویل for وسایل, see Elliot and Dowson IV. 219.

Verse

The heaven, whose sole skill is oppression,
Has this one object, to wring each moment the heart's blood,
It gives not to the tulip the crown of royalty without laying
low under the foot of oppression the head of a crowned
monarch

NAŞİPU D DIN [WAU D DUVVĀ]¹ MUHAMMAD HUMAYUN
PADSHAH I (HĀZĪ)

344.

Marching by forced marches from Sanbal in the year 937 H.
(1530 A D), with the concurrence of Amir Khalifa who was the
agent and prime minister² of the Government ascended the
throne. The following chronogram was invented to record the
date

Verse

Muhammad Humayun Shah of auspicious fortune
Who is the best of kings by virtue of his merit
The year in which he ascended the kingly throne
Was distinguished by the words *Khairu l Muluk*³

Moreover, inasmuch as at the time of his accession he
made present of trays filled with gold another chronogram was
invented in the words *Kishti i Zar* (Tray of gold). After dis-
posing of all matters of importance he led an army against the
fortress of Kalinjar⁴ and⁵ after quelling the insurrection of
Sultan 'Alam ibn i Sultan Sikandar Lodī who had raised a revolt
in Jaunpur, returned to Āgra and made a great feast at which
entertainment twelve thousand people were distinguished by the
bestowal of robes of honour

Verse

A king will have the upper hand of his enemies
When his army is happy and contented,
But if he withdraws then just reward from his soldiery,
They in turn will withhold their hands from the sword

In those days⁶ Muhammad Zaman Mirza ibn i Bādū u z Zaman
Mirza⁷ ibn i Sultan Husain Mirza, who had hostile intentions

¹ MS (A)

² The text reads و ولی سلطنت و ولی مطلق MS (A) reads و ولی سلطنت و ولی مطلق

³ حب الملوک *Khairu l Muluk* Best of Kings. The letters of the words حب الملوک give the date 937 H as do also the letters of the words کشیده چور *kashid-e qajar* in the next line

⁴ MS (B) writes کا چور *ka qajar* and *kal qajar*

⁵ MSS (A)(B) supply و ⁶ MS (A) ارم ⁷ MS (B) صدر

was captured. Sending him to the fortress of Baiāna, orders were given for his eyes to be put out. The pupil of his eye remained uninjured however, and shortly after, he escaped from prison and fled for refuge to Sultān Bahādur of Gujrāt. It is said that at the time when Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā joined Sultān Bahādur, the latter was engaged in besieging Chitor, and the weather was exceedingly hot. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā was seized with a pain at the heart,¹ for the cure of which the physicians declared *gulgand* (confection of roses)² to be indispensable. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā begged Sultān Bahādur to send him a piece of this *gulgand*. He accordingly summoned his *shurbatdār* (preparer of beverages), and enquired how much *gulgand* there had been brought with the camp; he replied that there must be more than twenty cart loads. The whole of this he sent to the camp of Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā,³ and apologetically explained that this amount had been estimated as the probable requirements of the army, if it were not sufficient he begged to be excused. It eventually transpired that the juice of the *gulgand* used to be extracted for his use, and that for this reason there were⁴ so many carts accompanying him. Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, with his two sons Ulugh Mirzā and Shāh Mirzā, proceeded to Qanauj and laid the foundations of revolt, and when the king, now deceased, wrote and despatched to Sultān Bahādur letters summoning Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, Sultān Bahādur sent back a discourteous reply;⁵ he accordingly determined upon the conquest of Gujrāt. Bahādur, having collected an army to reduce the fortress of Chitor and oppose Rānā Sānkā, engaged him in battle, and besieged him. Tātār Khān Lodi being despatched by him, came and gained possession of the fortress of Baiāna, extending his depredations as far as Āgra; and after a fierce

¹ MSS. (A) (B) درد دلی.

² گل غندہ *Gulgand*. Confection of rose-petals and honey, said to be a powerful cardiac stimulant and tonic, see *Makhzanu-l-adwīyah* s.v. ورد.

³ MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) بالآخر.

⁵ MS. (A) reads بودی for بود in the text.

⁶ For the text of this reply and an account of the circumstance, under which it was written, see Bayley's *History of Gujerāt*, pp. 377 to 380.

conflict¹ with Muzā Hāndūl, in which he attacked with three thousand² men, was put to the sword with all his following. While Sultān Bahadur was besieging Chitor for the second time, Muhammad Humāyūn Padshāh³ moved against him from Āgra, and in this same year Mirzā Kamran, proceeding by forced marches from Lāhor to Qandahār, defeated Sam Muza, the brother of Shāh⁴ Tāhmasp, who was besieging Khwāja Kalan Bēg, and⁵ the following hemistich gives the date

Zada Padshāh Kamrān Sām rā⁶
(King Kāmīān defeated Sam)

Maulānā Bekāsī⁷ also writes the following

Verse

346.

At that time when the crown and the golden goblet stands in sight,

When amid the joy and feasting is seen the form of the flagon and the chasing of the cup,

I enquired from wisdom, why hast thou cast down in our midst the gold scattering crown, like a crimson tulip?

She answered, the heaven, by way of assigning a date to this encounter, has cast down the golden crown,⁸ in consequence of the defeat of the army of Sam

Muhammad Humayun Padshāh, considering that it would be disgraceful to go up against Sultān Bahadur and engage his attention

¹ MS (A) ۳۰۰۰

² The text reads سهیں Si Sad 3000 MS (B) reads سو شش Shash Sad 600

³ MS (A) writes میرزا Mirz + MS (A) omits شاہ + MS (A) ، ۹۴۲

⁴ رضا پادشاه کامران سام را These letters form the date 942 II

⁵ Footnote variant شکیدی Shikidi

⁶ اونکھ تاج در رشکست سپاه سام The letters of this line form the date 942 in the following way

The literal meaning of the line may be taken thus

Has cast away the crown of gold (Taj + Zar) from the defeat of the army of Sam (Shikast + Sipah + Sam). By Taj + Zar is meant the letter ج, the first letter of the word جو the value of which is 7, this being cast out from the value of Shikast + Sipah + Sam gives 949 - 7 = 942

while he was engaged in the siege of Chitor,¹ halted at Sārang-pūr. Sultān Bahādur meanwhile forcibly reduced the fort of Chitor, after which he engaged in war with Pādshāh (Humāyūn) for a space of two months in the neighbourhood of Mandsūr, a dependency of Mālwa, but owing to the fact that no supplies of grain could reach the camp of Bahādur, man and beast died from starvation, and² Bahādur with five of his most trusty Amīrs left the royal tent by the rear door and fled towards Mandsūr.³ The following verse commenmorates the date of this event:—

Humāyūn Shah-i-Ghāzi, who has thousands of slaves in his
palace like Jamshīd,

When he came victorious towards Gujrāt, returned in triumph,
the glory of the sons of Timūr.

Since Bahādur fell humbled and abject,

The date thereof was "The disgrace of Bahādur."⁴

Muhammad Humāyūn Pādshāh pursued him, and the Mughūl soldiers came upon Bahādur one night while he was asleep,⁵ and were near taking him prisoner, but he made his escape with five or six horsemen towards Gujrāt. Sultān 'Ālam Lodi, however, fell into their hands and they cut off his feet. The army of Humāyūn Pādshāh pursued Bahādur by rapid marches and laid waste Ahmadābād. Bahādur leaving Ahmadābād went to Kanbhāyat,⁶

347. and from there to the port of Dip,⁷ and at that time the fortress

¹ See Bayley, *History of Guzrāt*, p. 382. ² MSS. (A) (B) supply , here.

³ MS. (A) reads جاد، so also footnote variant to text.

⁴ زل بادر Zull-i-Bahādur. These letters form the date 942 H. We may also read Zill-i-Bahādur, in which case we translate "the submission of Bahādur."

⁵ MS. (B) reads گرفتہ یافتہ which the text gives in a footnote variant. This appears from the context to be the true reading.

⁶ Cambay. The name Khambāt is said to be derived from *Khamba* or *Stambhatirthi*, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar god. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, III. 271. See also Tieffenthaler I. 370 et seqq.

⁷ Tieff I. 395, writes *Diu*, appelée *Dip* dans la langue du pays, est une petite île située dans (près de) la presqu' île de Soreth où se trouve une ville et un château très fort, appartenant aux Portugais avec un petit territoire. La ville est séparée du château par un canal taillé dans la pierre. Un pont de bois joint l'un à l'autre. Elle a un port commode, duquel sort chaque année, un vaisseau chargé de marchandises pour Mōsambique. *Diu* est à 60 milles portugais de Surate vers l'Ouest."

See also *Aīn-i-Akbarī* I. 348, and II. 265, also Bayley, *Hist. of Gujrāt*, 319 n.

of Jānpānīr¹ was also taken after a battle by the Padshāh, and treasure beyond computation fell into his hands.

The year in which this happened may be learned from the following verse —

Wisdom sought for the date of the victory of Shāh Humāyūn
and discovered this,

"It was the ninth of the month of Safar"²

Then Bahādur, in concert with the Zamīndars of the country³ of Sorath, collected a force and proceeded towards Ahmādābad. Mīrzā 'Ashkārī who, after the return of Humāyūn Padshāh towards the East,⁴ remained at Ahmādābād with the intention of having the Khutbah read in his own name, in which project he had the support of Amir Hindu Beg, however, he could not carry out his plan, and after slight opposition left for Jānpānīr, the governor of which place, Tardī Beg, having entrenched himself, sent letters to the court conveying the tidings of the revolt of Mīrzā 'Ashkārī. But at the time when Humāyūn had left Mandir on his way to Āgra Mīrzā 'Ashkārī met him on the road and gave in his submission, and Bahādur took Jānpānīr from Tardī Beg without the necessity of fighting⁵ [And in this year Shaikh⁶ Jamālī Kanbawī of Dīlī left this transitory world for the kingdom of eternity A chronogram has been invented to commemorate this in the words Khusru-i-Hind būda (he was the Khusru of Hindustan)]⁷ In this year also Shāh Tahmasp came up against Qandahar from 'Irāq to take vengeance on Sām Mīrzā,⁸ and⁹ Khwāja Kalān Beg leaving the city empty, and leaving the Diwānbhāna (Hall

¹ Or Champānīr See Bayley's *History of Gujerat*, pp. 390 et seqq.

² شہر صفر دردشہ & نوہ : *Shahr-i-Safar bu'l* These words give the date 942 II

³ MS (A) omits لادہ, * A footnote variant reads بورھان پورہ Burhanpur

⁴ The portion in square brackets is omitted in MS (A) in this place

⁵ MS (B)

⁶ خسرو داده The letters of these words give the date 942 II There is a footnote to the text calling attention to an alleged discrepancy in the dates of the chronograms and asserting that داده دا represents 932 and not 942 This is a mistake

⁸ MS (A) here inserts the date ۹۴۲ (942) in figures

⁹ MS (A) here inserts the paragraph relating to the death of Shaikh Jamālī, *supra* n 6

of audience) locked up just as it was, adorned with its splendid carpets, its magnificent furniture, and all the appurtenances of the audience chamber, came out to invite Shāh Tahmāsp to alight at that pleasantly prepared¹ resting place, which he did, and² gave Khwāja Kalāū Bēg great praise for his conduct, saying, that is a good servant whom Kāmrān Mirzā possesses. Shāh Tahmāsp left Qandahār in charge of Badaghī Khān, one of his own Amīrs, and returned to 'Irāq. Mirzā Kāmrān at this same juncture, proceeded by forced marches from Lāhor, and arriving at Qandahār took possession of it. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, whom Bahādur had despatched after his defeat to inflict injury upon Hindustān, took advantage of the absence³ of Mirzā Kāmrān to invest Lāhor; but, when he heard tidings of the return of Humāyūn Pādshāh to Gujrāt, retraced his steps. At the expiry of one year from the accession⁴ of Humāyūn Pādshāh in Āgra, Shīr Khān Afghān Sūr, in the absence of Humāyūn, collected a large force, and took possession⁵ of the country of Gour, Bihār, and Jaunpūr, and also the fortress of Chinār. Humāyūn Pādshāh encamped⁶ before the fort of Chinār, with the intention of opposing Shīr Khān, on the fourteenth of the month of Ṣafar in the year 943 H., and besieged Jalāl Khān, son of Shīr Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Islām Shāh. In a short time by the exertions of Rūmī Khān the Artillerist, (on whose name Sultān Bahādur had written and despatched the following enigma :—

[Haif bāshad nām i ān sag bar zabān,

Mīkh dar jānash nīh o nāmash bikhvān]⁷

It were a pity to take the name of that dog on one's lips
Place a stake (mīkh) in his life (jān) and read his name).

¹ MSS. (A) (B) طیار ترہ. ² MS. (A) supplies و. ³ MS. (B) omits زمان.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read استقرار. ⁵ متصروف شد MS. (A)

⁶ MS. (A) ساخته مسکر.

⁷ This معما mu'ammā or enigma requires explanation: The English version is naturally meaningless.

The words in the original, خان رومی Rūmī Khān, contain as will be seen the word میخ mīkh between the syllables Rū...ān. These form the word روان Rawān, one meaning of which is life, for which the synonym in Persian is حی jān. So the writer says: Place the word mīkh in his life (روان rawān,) and you have his name رومیخان Rū mīkh ān, i.e., Rūmī Khān.

¹ The *ākāra Mihrāb* is, as its name implies, a litter so close² on that the curtains surround on all sides the sitter upon it. See Lane s.v. حاف.

² MS (A) reads در آمدگه و در آمدگه

³ Regarding the truth, etc. (See MS. Copy)

The climate of Bangāla proved so extremely suitable to Humāyūn, that he changed the name of Gaur to Jannatābād (The realm of Paradise), and having halted there for (two or)¹ three months returned. In the meanwhile Shir Khān's affair was assuming large proportions, and his following was increasing. He wrote a letter to Humāyūn, saying, 'all these Afghāns are the servants and retainers of His Majesty the King, and beg to be granted *jāegīrs*,² if the king will think about a *jāegīr* for them, then it will be well, but if not, hunger will drive them to open revolt. Up to the present time I have kept them in check, but now they no longer obey me, and the proverb is well-known. *The hungry man will throw himself upon the sword.* For the rest whatever the king says is law.'

Humāyūn, when he grasped the contents of the letter, saw clearly what its object was, and seeing that the opportunity had passed by,³ and considering the bareness of equipment and inefficiency⁴ of his army, which had recently been doubled, many horses and camels having died, while the remainder were so jaded and emaciated that they were of no use whatever, he set about devising some remedial measures. Mīzā Hindāl, who had accompanied the king as far as Mongīr, was despatched to Āgra to put down the rebellion⁵ of Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, Ulugh Mirzā, and Shāh Mirzā, who had fled and had done great mischief in the Dihlī country, and were now returning. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, after that Sultān Bahādur was drowned in the sea owing to the treachery of the Firangīs,⁶ could not accomplish anything, and again sought refuge with Humāyūn.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit و د.

² MS (A) omits ل.

³ بَعْدَ ازْ خَرَابِيٍّ بِصَرَفَةٍ. *Ba'd az kharābi-i-Baṣra.* After the ruin of Baṣra.

A proverbial expression equivalent to the English "shutting the stable door after the horse is stolen." For the story from which the proverb arises see *Sharh-i-Nahju-l-Balāgh*" by 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd bin Abī-l-Ḥadīd al Mu'tazīlī. When Alī ibn Muḥammad Ṣāḥebu-z-Zanj besieged Baṣra in the year 255 H. Aḥmad Abūl-Abbās, son of Al-Muwaffaq b-Illāh came up and opposed him, but not until Baṣra was ruined. Hence the proverb. See Arabum Proverbia. Freytag III, p. 129, No. 774.

⁴ MS. (A) reads بِي سَاعَانِي وَبِشِيمَانِي (B) بِي سَاعَانِي وَبِرَبَشَانِي

⁵ MS. (A) omits و فساد.

⁶ This happened at Dīn on the 3rd Ramaḍān A.H. 943. See Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, pp. 396, 397.

And in the year 945 H Mirzā Hindal, at the instigation of certain turbulent innovators,¹ put to death Shaikh Bahlūl, the elder brother of Shaikh Muhammad Ghās of Gwālār, who was one of the chief exponents of the art of invocation and incantation,² and who enjoyed the full confidence and friendship of Humāyūn. The year in which this event occurred was commemorated by the chronogram *Faqad māta Shahidin*.³ Verily he died a martyr's death

Mirzā Hindal in this year read the Khutbah in his own name in Agra. Humāyūn despatched five thousand picked men to reinforce Jahangir Bēg the Mughul, and making over the rule of that country to him, with permission to read the Khutbah should occasion arise, set out for Agra, and, all unprepared as he was, reached Jausū,⁴ which is a village on the bank of the Ganges. The Amirs of Jaunpūr and Chūnār came in and offered to tender their services. Shū Khan seized the head of the road, and being aware of the distress of the army, placed between it and his own army a canal,⁵ which joined the Ganges, and, owing to the rains, was quite full of water, and for three months encamped over against the King. It is said that during this period when they were confronting each

¹ MS (A) reads معتل مفتیان

² MS (A) reads دعوت اسماء و سحر da'u i't : *Asma wa sihr*, the invocation (of the attributes of God) and magic' *Da'i'ah issa'il* in the *Jātāhirat al-Khamāṣa* to be used for several purposes establishment of friendship or enmity, for the induction of sickness and death, or for the cure of disease for the accomplishment of desires temporal or spiritual, and to secure victory in battle

By *Asmā* is meant the names or attributes of the Deity, they are of two categories, the *Asmā' al-jalāliyah* or "terrible attributes" and the *Asmā' al-jamāliyah*, "amiable attributes". For a full account see Hughes, *Dict. of Islam* articles DA'WAH and MAGIC.

³ فَقَدْ مَاتَ شَاهِي Faqad māta Shahidin These words give the date 945 H
MS (B) appends the date in figures

⁴ Footnote variant حاصہ Jausū

⁵ The text reads رهابی ramahi which has no meaning. A footnote variant is given زهابی zahabi, which means water oozing from the ground. This is the reading of MS (B). MS (A) reads رهابی raha'i. We should read زهابی rahabi, in the sense of a canal or aqueduct. See Elliott and Dowson IV, 370n

other, Humāyūn one day sent Mulla Muḥammad ‘Azīz,¹ who was an old friend of Shīr Khān, as an ambassador.² Shīr Khān was at that moment with his sleeves³ rolled up, and with a spade in his hand, in spite of the heat, was busy preparing the fort and entrenchments.

When Mulla Muḥammad came near he washed his hands, and having ordered a *shāmiāna*⁴ to be pitched, sat on the ground unceremoniously, and after hearing the King's message said, "Take this one message from me to the King and say : ' You yourself desire war, but your army does not, I on the other hand, do not desire war,⁵ but my army does : for the rest the decision is the King's.' " Then he sent Shaikh Khalil,⁶ one of the descendants of the venerable Shaikh Farīd Ganj-i-Shakkar, *may God sanctify his soul*, who was the spiritual guide of Shīr Khān, to Humāyūn, and made overtures of peace to him, representing that he was willing to give up to Humāyūn's representatives the whole country with the exception of Bangāla, and would have the *Khuṭbah* and *sikka* established in Humāyūn's name. This agreement was ratified between them by an oath on the Divine Word, and Humāyūn's mind was at peace with regard to Shīr Khān.

A bridge was ordered to be thrown across : but Shīr Khān was plotting treachery and deceit.

Verse.

Make the camel leap from the room of the deceit of the world,
because out of craft,

In that room where they speak of peace the camel is clad in
armour.

I flee from the camel of the heavens and the room of the earth,
Because there are maddened camels surrounding that room.

The following morning he surprised and attacked the army of Humāyūn, without giving them time to draw up in line. After a short skirmish Humāyūn's army was defeated, and the Afghāns

¹ MS. (A) reads پور غریب مہماد ۵۴۲۰ Muhammad Yarghāri. MS. (B) reads محمد پر عزیز.

² Read بیلچی گیری for بیلچی گری. MSS. (A) (B).

³ Omit را MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ شامیانا *Shāmiāna*, a kind of marquee consisting of a flat awning supported by four poles and having no side curtains.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) omit جنگ. See Elliot and Dowson IV, 371 and note 2.

arriving first¹ at the head of the bridge broke it down, while their artillerists and archers seated in boats kept the army under a perfect hail of fire, drowning² them in the ocean of destruction. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā was overwhelmed by the tempest of death, and Humayūn urged his horse into the water and was in dread of drowning, in fact was on the point of drowning, when a water carrier³ came to his aid and rescued him from that whirlpool of destruction. Then he turned towards Agra. Shīr Khān wrote⁴ this verse upon that event:—

Thou givest sovereignty to Farid the son of Hasan,⁵

Thou givest the army of Humayūn to the fishes

Although the master (Ustād) has [this second verse]—⁶

One thou exaltest and givest him sovereignty,

Another thou castest down from his throne to the fishes⁷

This event occurred in the year 916 H, and to commemorate it the following chronogram was written

*Salāmat bārad Pādshāh kāse.*⁸

And Shīr Khān after the victory turned back, and came to Bangālā, and after fighting several engagements⁹ put to death Jahāngir Qull Bēg with all his following. In that country he read the *Khuqābāh* in his own name, and assumed the title of Shīr Shāh,¹⁰ and in the following year proceeded with a vast army

1 بیشتر *pīkhtar* (Text) MSS. (A) (B) read *bishtar*, in great numbers.

2 می ماختند *Mī māxtand* MSS. (A) (B)

3 Named Nizām according to *Firdausi*, who says that as a reward Humayūn permitted him to occupy the throne for half a day. Briggs II 87

4 MSS. (A) (B) ۸۵

5 Shīr Shāh was originally called Farid Khān, and his father's name was Hasan Khān.

6 MS. (A) omits these words. The text has a footnote saying that the above is the reading of two MSS., but that the correct reading is

اگرچہ مصرع دانی این دیت استاردار

No authority exists for such a reading

The verses in question are by *Firdausi*.

7 Here the reading of MS. (A) is followed which reads

دکو را ز شاهی بمهی دهی

8 MS. (B) adds the date in figures (946)

9 مسکال *Miskal*. See Elliot and Dowson, IV, pp. 376-378

10 'Abbās Khān tells us he had assumed the title of *Hazrat-i-'Alī*

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intending to capture Āgra. Kāmrān Mirzā, prior to the affair of Jausā, after hearing of the victory of Shir Khān and the rebellion of Mirzā Hindāl against Humāyūn, returned from Qandahār to Lāhor, and leaving there came to Āgra, which he reached in the year 946 II. Mirzā Hindāl himself, before the arrival of Mirzā Kāmrān, in the absence of Humāyūn, laid siege to Dihlī, in which Mīr Fakhr 'Ali and Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir had fortified themselves; but not meeting with any success joined hands with Mirzā Kāmrān. Mīr Fakhr 'Ali also came in and had an interview with him, but Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir would not leave the fort. Eventually Mirzā Hindāl separating from Mirzā Kāmrān proceeded to Alwar. When Humāyūn heard these tidings, he became still more despondent,¹ till that eventful defeat took place:² after the defeat at Jausā³ he proceeded by forced marches, accompanied by a few horsemen, and arrived unawares at the tent of Mirzā Kāmrān in Āgra. The Mirzā also knew nothing of his coming; both brothers upon recognising each other burst into tears.⁴ Afterwards Hindāl Mirzā and Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā and his sons, who had for a time shewn hostility, came in and offered their submission for certain considerations: Their faults were pardoned and they sat in consultation. Mirzā Kāmrān ostensibly had this intention, that, inasmuch as the army of the Panjāb had gathered fresh force, Humāyūn should grant him leave to proceed against Shir Khān and endeavour to take vengeance on him, while the King should remain in ease and tranquillity at the Capital. When Humāyūn declined to accede to this proposal, the Mirzā put forward a claim to proceed to⁵ the Panjāb, and urged an infinity of reasons, giving colour to the suggestion that a refusal would cause him insupportable annoyance. Accordingly Humāyūn acceded⁶ to all his requests, saving only his return; and Khwāja Kalān Bēg was exerting his efforts to procure the return of Mirzā Kāmrān to the Panjāb: so that this argument was carried on for six months and nothing was settled.⁷ In the meantime Mirzā Kāmrān was taken ill with a complication

¹ MSS. (A) (B) بیشتر.

² MS. (B) حادث گشت.

³ Text چوسا Chausā.

⁴ MS. (A) گردند.

⁵ MS. (A) ب.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) اجابت نمودند.

⁷ Omit the words دار گیو MSS. (A) (B).

of severe diseases,¹ and when the diagnosis was arrived at that the source of the disease was a poison, which had been poured into his life's cup by the hand of circumstance, he was led by the whisperings of interested advisers² to entertain suspicion against Humayun, and imagined that perhaps it was he who had administered³ poison to him. Ill as he was he returned to Lahore, and in breach⁴ of his former agreement that he would leave the whole of his army at Agra in the service of the king, took the whole of it⁵ with him, with the exception of two thousand men whom he left under the command of Skandar Mu'za Haidar the Mughul and Dughlat.⁶ Kashmīrī also remained at Agra, and were kindly treated. Shir Khan waxed bold at the success of these hypocrisies, and towards the close of the year⁷ aforesaid reached the bank of the Ganges, and despatching a⁸ force under his son Qutb Khan, sent him across [the Ganges]⁹ against Kalpi and Itawa. Qasim Husain Sultan Usbeg, in concert with Yadgar Nasir Mu'za and Iskandar Sultan, after a fight in the vicinity of Kālpi put to death the son of Shir Khan with a large number¹⁰ of his following, sending their heads to Agra.

Humayun started to oppose Shir Khan with a large force composed of some hundred thousand cavalry, and crossing the river of Qānanj encamped in face of his enemy for the space of one month. The army of Shir Khan did not comprise in all more than five thousand¹¹ cavalry. It was under such circumstances that Muhammad Sultan Mu'za and his son fled a second time from the king, and the reinforcements of Mirza Kamran also took flight to Lahore, and the Mughuls of the King's army were scattered in

¹ امراض متصاده *Amraz-i-mutazuddah* Lit. Diseases of opposite tendencies, i.e. those diseases the treatment of one of which tends to aggravate the other.

² مکفی های عرصه مویان *Makhfi-hāye urṣeh-mawīyan* MSS (A) (B)

³ سخاں *Sakhan* for سخافت *Sakhat* MS (B) ۱۵۴۴ AD

⁴ و تقدیر را انجام *W-taqdīr-rā-i-najam* MS (A) (B) instead of ⁵ Read here *W-taqdīr-rā-i-hamra* خود برد *W-taqdīr-rā-i-hamra* خود برد
Text

⁶ و دعائت *W-dū'a-i-t* MS (A)

⁷ در آخر میال *Dar ḥarāṣal* for در حراسان *Dar ḥarāṣan* MS (B) reads wrongly

⁸ نامی ساخته *Nāmī-saṣṭhit* ^۹ MSS (A) (B) om t گنگ *gung*

¹⁰ جمع کثیر *Jam' kathir* MSS (A) (B)

¹¹ پیشاه هزار *pīṣāḥah zar* fifty thousand MS (B) says *pārījāh zar* fifty thousand

all directions. The rains now came on, and inasmuch as the camp of Humāyūn's army was on low lying ground, he desired to march from there and encamp on the high ground. At this very time¹ Shir Khān drew up his troops, and came out to give battle. This engagement took place on the day of the 'Āshūra, the 10th of Muharram 947 H., and a chronogram was found for it in the words *Kharābi-i-mulk-i-Dillī*.² The greater number of the Mughal soldiers refused to fight³ and took to their heels, while a small body of them who engaged in fight, strove manfully in battle,⁴ but things had gone beyond control, and it was of no avail. The king rode off with the intention of going to the high ground. This action of his in itself afforded an excuse to his men to flee, and a serious defeat ensued. Moreover the king while crossing the river Ganges became separated from his horse, and by the help of Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad of Ghaznī (who eventually became the foster-father of the prince's most excellent majesty, and was honoured in Hindūstān with the title of A'zam Khān),⁵ escaped from the water and returned to Āgra; but seeing that⁶ the enemy's army was coming up in pursuit, he could not remain there,⁷ so made his way to the Panjāb with all speed.

At the commencement of Rabi'u-l-awwal of this year all the Sultāns and Amīrs of the Chaghatai tribe⁸ assembled for conference in Lāhor. Hypocrisy was still the order of the day, and Muḥammad Sultān and his sons fled from Lāhor to Multān, while Mirzā Hindāl and Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir thought it advisable to proceed to Bhakkar and Tatta. Mirzā Kāmrān

¹ MSS. (A) (B) حین ہمیں در.

² خوابی ملک دلی. These letters give the date 947 H.

³ *Jang nā karda*. MS. (A) omits ترتیب.

⁴ MS. (B) reads دادند کشش و کوشش وار.

⁵ Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atka Khān, son of Mīr Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī. See Āīn-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, p. 321 (No. 15).

The word *Atka*, *Atikā*, or *Atākā* is a Turkī word, signifying précepteur instituteur, père de lait (Pavet de Courteilles).

The wife of Shamsu-d-Dīn was appointed *anakah* or wet-nurse to Prince Akbar at Amarkot.

⁶ MS. (A) omits گرفت توانستند قرار.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read چون.

⁸ For a full account of the Line of Chaghatai, see Ney and Elias *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 28 et seqq. MS. (B) writes چون.

prayed that this conference might speedily be dissolved so that he might go to Kabul. After long consultation Humāyūn sent Mirzā Haidar with a large party who had accepted service in Kashmīr, to that district. It was agreed¹ that Khwāja Kalān Bēg should follow Mirzā Haidar, and that Humāyūn himself also should proceed thither after the conquest of Kashmīr.

When Mirzā Haidar arrived at Naushahia² which is a well-known place, he entered that country with the concurrence of certain Kashmiris and conquered it and on the 22nd of Rajab of this same year he gained possession of that country. Khwāja Kalān Bēg had gone to Sīalkot. When tidings reached the king that Shī Khān had crossed the river at Sultānpur and had arrived within thirty *krohs* of Lāhor, Humayun, on the first of the month of Rajab in the aforesaid year, crossed the river of Lāhor, and Mirza Kāmrān, after breaking his solemn vows, agreed for certain reasons to accompany Humāyūn as far as the neighbourhood of Bahira, and Khwāja Kalān Bēg made forced marches from Sīalkot, and joined Humāyūn's camp. Mirzā Kamrān together with Mirza 'Askari, separating³ from the king, proceeded in company with Khwāja Kalān Bēg towards Kabul, while Humāyūn proceeded towards Sind Muzā Hindal, and Mirza Yadgar Nasir also, after accompanying him for a few stages, left him, and after a few days returned, by the counsel of⁴ Amir Abūl Baqā. On the banks of the Indus such great scarcity prevailed in the camp of Humayun, that one *sir*⁵ of the smaller millet⁶ could sometimes not be bought even for an *ashrafī*.⁷ The greater part of the army perished owing to this scarcity, while others died from want of water, till at last Humāyūn with a small number passed on to the districts of Jaisalmīr,⁸ and the country of Marwā, where strange⁹ incidents

¹ MSS (A) (B) مقرر ساخته

² Nowshera

³ MSS (A) (B) supplying *zīj*.

⁴ MS (B) reads *مُصْبَت* & in company with ⁵ About two pounds

⁶ *Ghalla* ; *jawari* This is the Hindustani, or rather, the Panjabī name. In Persian it is called *ارزان*

⁷ The proper average price of this grain being six *dam* per *man* of forty *sirs*, the above represents an enhancement of price represented by the ratio 1 6,000

⁸ MS (A)

⁹ Omit و غریب MSS (A) (B)

occurred. After undergoing great hardships and distress, which it is the invariable custom of the Heavens to inflict, he betook himself to 'Irāq and having obtained reinforcements, Shāh Tahmāsp gained possession of Qandahār and Kābul, and collecting a great army re-conquered Hindūstān. This exploit will be described in its proper place if the Most High God will it so.

SHIR KHĀN IBN I HASAN SŪR

Whose name was Farīd and his title Shir Khān, ascended the throne of empire under the above title, which he assumed. The 357. chronogram Kharābī-i-Mulk-i-Dilli¹ was invented² to record that year.

Inasmuch as he, by favourable circumstances and his own cleverness and bravery, rose from the rank of Bēg³ to royal dignity, it is essential to give a brief account of his career. The father of Hasan Sūr, Ibrāhīm by name,⁴ in the time of Sultān Buhlūl, came to Hindūstān from⁵ Roh, by which is meant Afḡhānistān, entered the service of Sultān Buhlūl, and was stationed in the vicinity of Hissār Firūza and Nārnūl. After his death (his son) Hasan became a servant of Jamāl Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Sikandar, and was granted the *jāegīr* of the *pargana* of Sahsarām and Khawāspūr, dependencies of the fortress of Eastern Rohtās.⁶ He had five hundred cavalry under his command. In consequence of the unkindness of his father, and the jealous enmity of his brothers,⁷ of whom there were seven, he left his

¹ These letters give the date 947 H. (1540 A.D.) MS. (B) adds the date in figures.

² MSS. (A) (B) with يافتندہ شد for شد as in the text.

³ The text reads از هک کی از بک کی MS. (B) MS. (A) از یک کی از یک کی.

The first seems the only intelligible reading in the sense in which it is translated.

⁴ Omit ~~و~~ MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ The text and both MSS. read رادہ Radah it should be روہ Roh. See Firishta Bo. text, p. 412, also Elliott and Dowson IV, 308.

⁶ Rohtās Sharqī. Rohtāsgarh in the Shāhābād district of Bengal. The other Rohtās is in the Panjāb. See Hunter Imp. Gaz., XII, 78.

⁷ The text reads بوداون اعیانی barādarān-i-a'yānī. Uterine brothers. MS. (A) reads اخیاؤنی Akhyānī brothers by the same mother, but a different father. From the context it is clear that Badāoni means all the sons of Hasan Khān by his four wives. (Steingass), see E and D IV, 310.

home and giving up the service of Jamal Khan spent some time in Jaunpur in the acquisition of science, and in perfecting himself¹ in knowledge, until he had read the *Kafiyah*² with its commentary and other epitomes, besides acquiring by heart the *Gulistan*, *Bustan*, *Sikandarnama* and other works. He used to go the round of monasteries and colleges, associating with the learned doctors and *Shaikh*s of that country, and busied himself with the improvement of his character. After some time he was reconciled to his father, and was entrusted by him with the management of his *jægirs*. Thus he carried out with equity and impartiality, using clever devices³ for the punishment of rebels, and kept them in check.⁴ Later on circumstances again led to an estrangement between Farid and his father, and going to Agra with his own brother,⁵ he elected to enter the service of Daulat Khan,⁶ one of the chief commanders⁷ of Sultan Ibrâhim, and laid a complaint against his father and brothers⁸ before the Sultan.⁹ The Sultan however, was displeased at this and said, This is a disgraceful and inhuman state of things that a father should be displeased with his son and that the son should complain against him.¹⁰ Upon the death of Hasan, Daulat Khan made a representation to the Sultan, and obtained his desire in securing those *parganas* for Shir Khan. There he remained for some time,¹¹ and eventually was led by the enmity of his brothers to enter the service of Bihâr Khan, the son of Daryâ Khan Luhani,¹² who had read the *Khutbah* and issued the *sikka* in his own name in Bihar, and had assumed the title of

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¹ There is a little variation in the reading here. MS (B) reads

عزم و کسب مسائل *fazil* MS (A) also reads *fazil* excellencies

² Al *Kafiyah* *fîl nâhî* A celebrated work on Arabic grammar by Shaikh Jamain d Din (Ibn al Hajib), for an account of this work and its commentary see H K No 9707.

³ MS (A) *لطف ایصال*

⁴ MS (A) *مودہ بارو*

⁵ Nizam Khan was the brother of Farid Khan by the same mother

⁶ Daulat Khan the son of Badhu was a commander of 12 000 horse and in great favour with Sultan Ibrahim (E D IV 321)

⁷ MS (A) omits *کمار*

⁸ MS (A) omits *دیگر*

⁹ MSS (A) (B) supply *و*

¹⁰ Read here *انکھ پدر اور ناراضی فاشد* MS (B).

¹¹ (MSS) (AB) *سر دود و*

¹² (MSS) (A) (B) *دوحلی*

Sultān Muḥammad. This was at the time when Sultān Ibrāhīm had taken the field at Pānipath, and Bābar Pādshāh had conquered Hindūstān and planted¹ the banner of sovereignty. Here he was well received, and as one day, when on a hunting expedition, he killed a tiger in the presence of Sultān Muḥammad, the title of Shīr Khān was bestowed upon him by the Sultān, who also appointed him to be tutor² to his son Jalāl Khān. After some time Muḥammad Khān Sūr, governor of the country of Chaund, made an attempt to turn Sultān Muḥammad against Shīr Khān, with the object of advancing the interest of his brothers, and having succeeded in getting an order from Sultān Muḥammad that the brothers were to have a share in the management of the *parganas*, sent Suleimān, son of Hasan Sūr who has been mentioned, accompanied by one of his servants named Shādi to Khawāspūr, and Bhaka the servant of Shīr Khān who was known as the father of Khawāṣ Khān engaged in battle with Suleimān and was killed. The remainder fled, and came to Shīr Khān at Sahsarām. Shīr Khān had no longer the power to cope with Muḥammad Khān, nor the inclination to serve Sultān Muḥammad, he accordingly abandoned his position and *jāegīr*, and having no other resource betook himself to Sultān Junaid Birlās, who was holding the Government of Karra and Mānikpūr on behalf of Bābar Padshāh.

359. He remained in his service, and after presenting many valuable offerings, obtained a fully equipped army as reinforcement from Sultān Junaid, and fought with Muḥammad Khān, wrested from him the *parganas* of Chaund and other *parganas*, and took possession of them. Muḥammad Khān fled, and took refuge in the fortress of Rohtās. Shīr Khān, having wreaked his vengeance on his brothers, made apologetic overtures to Muḥammad Khān, addressing him by the title of uncle; having thus earned his gratitude he handed over³ the *parganas* he held as *jāegīr* to him on the same footing as formerly, and leaving Nizām his full brother in charge

¹ MS. (A) reads آختند for اخْتَنَد.

² Atālīgh Atālīgh, this word is Tūrkī. In its Arabicized it becomes طالقی, but the other is the correct orthography. Atālīgh Atā līgh literally signifies the relationship of an *atā* or father.

According to M. Pavet de Courteille it signifies "Paternité : nom d'une dignité dans le Turkestān et le Kharisur, chef de tribu : qui élève une personne."

³ MS. (A) writes گذرانیده. MS. (B) omits گذارشند.

of the *jægi*, went again to Sultan Junaid, whom he found just starting to pay his respects to Babar Padshah. Taking Shir Khan with him, Junaid enrolled him among the servants and well-wishers of the King's court. He accompanied Babar on the expedition to Chanderi. In accordance with Mughul habits and customs, and owing to the carelessness of the king in his management of the affairs of State, and the venality of the revenue-officers, and the utter disorder into which the affairs of the people had fallen, matters came to such a pass that if any person¹ had an object in view, he could quickly bring it to pass.² One day Babar on the occasion of a banquet, observed him behave in a way which deserved the royal censure,³ and demanded the punishment of Shir Khan. Those who were present at the banquet related the particulars of his independence and arrogant assumption, not omitting to mention some of his double dealings. Shir Khan accordingly became apprehensive of danger, and fled from the king's camp to his *parganas*, whence he wrote a letter couched in apologetic terms and sent it to Sultan Junaid, advancing as a pretext to cover his return,⁴ that since Muhammad Khan was led by feelings of hostility against him to induce Sultan Muhammad to send⁵ an army against Shir Khan's *parganas* because of his being in service with the Mughuls, and as he could not easily and quickly⁶ obtain leave of absence from Babar, he had accordingly taken this liberty and had at all hazards determined to rejoin those who wished well to the Sultan.

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Thence he proceeded to Sultan Muhammad, where he was honoured by increased confidence and by suitable rewards, and was once more installed as custodian of his younger son Jalal Khan, whose whole affairs he took under his own management. After the death of Sultan Muhammad, he obtained absolute control of the whole country of Bibar and its dependencies.

He entered into a compact of friendship with Makhsum Alam, the governor of Hajipur, one of the Amirs of the Wali

¹ MS (A) supplies *کسی*

² MSS (A) (B) supply *کرد و تواند* after *می*

³ MS (A) reads *عمرت* for *عمرت* text

⁴ MS (A) has *لکھاں* with no dots

⁵ Omit *می* before *نالدہ* MSS (A) (B)

⁶ MS (A) *تعددی* The text is correct

of Bangāla, who despatched an Amīr named Qutb Khān to undertake the overthrow of Makhdūm 'Ālam. Shīr Khān marched to the aid of Makhdūm 'Ālam, and after a fierce battle put Qutb Khān to death, taking as spoil elephants and treasure and many followers. Jalāl Khān and his tribe, who are Lūhānis,² in spite of Shīr Khān, made over Bihār to the ruler of Bangāla and elected to serve under him, and leaving Shīr Khān to his fate, took care to secure their own safety.

The Bangālis in the first instance sent Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of the Qutb Khān above mentioned, against Shīr Khān to wreak vengeance upon him. Shīr Khān used daily to fight with them from within the fort, but since the Bangālis received large reinforcements, and no way of retreat remained open to him, he yielded to necessity and fought a battle with them in the open³ in which he gained the day. Ibrāhīm Khān also seeing what had occurred went and joined his father, and Shīr Khān seized the whole of the camp of the Bangālis⁴ with their elephants and artillery, acquiring thereby great renown, so that he established a lasting and undivided control over the country of Bihār and raised himself to the dignity of a Sultān. He next wrested the fortress of Chinār together with its vast treasures from the sons of [Jamāl Khān Sārang-Khāni⁵]⁶ Tāj Khān, one of the Amīrs of 361. Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, who some years before had regained possession of it, and took in marriage his wealthy and beautiful wife who had vast stores of treasure. This fact also enhanced his grandeur and dignity, so that the desire for sovereignty daily gained more ascendancy over his mind, till at last certain powerful Amīrs of the Afghān Lodī faction summoned from Chitor Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, who, after raising Ḥasan Khān Miwāti and Rānā Sānkā to royal power, had induced him to fight with Bābar Pādshāh, and subsequently to his defeat⁷ had remained in the fortress of Chitor, and seated him upon the throne in Patna.⁸ He accordingly came with a vast army and invaded the country of Bihār, and wresting it from Shīr Khān took possession of it. Shīr Khān was perforce compelled to

¹ MS. (A) supplies و.

² نوھانیان (A) (B).

³ MS. (B) reads جنگ صعب but the textual reading جنگ صاف is correct.

⁴ MS. (A) بندگالہ.

⁵ MS. (B) ساراھانی.

⁶ Not in MS. (A).

⁷ MS. (A) بعد از شکست.

⁸ MS. (A) omits در ولایت پتنہ.

submit, and entered his service, and taking leave came to Sahsaram Sultān Mahmūd passing by Sahsaram, after writing and making over to Shir Khāu an agreement relating to Bihār,¹ thereby raising his hopes, despatched him to attempt the conquest of Jaunpūr and to engage in war with the Amirs of Humayun Padshah He thus brought the whole of that province as far as Lakhnau into his own² power The Amirs of Humayūn Padshāh could not stand against (Shir Khāu), and proceeding to Kālinjai³ gave in their allegiance to him Humayun marched to oppose Sultān Mahmūd, and Baban and Bayazid,⁴ who were with him⁵ When the two armies met Shir Khan, who had stood aloof from Sultān Mahmud for some days, again joined his force, and sent a message to Mīr Hindu Bēg Quchin, Commander in chief of the Mughul army, saying that on the day of the battle he would make a flank movement and stand on one side You and the Afghāns, said he, well know how utterly I abhor and detest the command of Sultān Mahmūd and Baban⁶ and Bayazid

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Verse

If I committed a fault, I have at all events made my road clear

Eventually he did as he had arranged, and Sultān Mahmud and Baban⁷ being defeated retired to the country of Pātna, and made no further attempts to fight, till in the year 949 H (1542 A D) in the country of Orissa⁸ he encamped on the frontiers of the desert of non existence, and having gone to the appointed goal remained at rest Humayun Padshah [after this victory]⁹ sent Mīr Hindu Bēg as his agent to Shir Khan with a demand to him to yield up the fort of Chunar He, however, made some lame excuse, so the king ordered several noted Amirs to precede him

¹ This agreement was to the effect that should Shir Khan render effectual assistance to Sultān Muhammad Lodi in recovering Jaunpur, the country of Bihar should be restored to him as a reward for his services (Firshṭa)

² MSS (A) (B) omit حود کالیختر (B)

⁴ MSS (A) (B) read ویں و بایزید Firshṭa says Baban and Bayazid

⁵ MSS (A) (B) read میرزا اور بابن متوحدہ کشندہ ۲۵. The text is incorrect

⁶ MS (A) سے

⁷ MS (1) اور دس سے

⁹ Not in MSS (A) (B) which write also میر هندو بیگ

and lay siege to that fortress, himself also¹ preparing to follow them. In the meanwhile Shir Khān wrote a petition in which he pointed out his own sincerity and the favour shewn him by Baban, and recounted the deserving nature of his former services, more specially his opposition to Baban and Bāyazid. This petition he sent by the hand of Qutb Khān, his eldest son, together with a large force, to Humāyūn Pādshāh. He sent also with Qutb Khān, 'Isā Khān Hajjāb, who was his *vakil* with the powers of a *vazīr*, and he fleeing from Gujrāt joined his father in Bangāla. When Humāyūn Pādshāh altered his course towards Gujrāt, Shir Khān himself had risen to great dignity and power, so that he engaged in open battle with Humāyūn on two occasions, and gained the day, as has already been mentioned. Shir Shāh in the early part of the year of his accession laid waste the ancient city of Qannauj, and moving it from its original site re-established it on the banks of the river Ganges; it is now known as Shirgaṛh. In the same manner he destroyed the fortress of Shamsābād and removed it to another place, calling it by the name of Rusūlpūr. Now, however, at the date of writing, it has been repopulated in its old position. And when he arrived at old Dihlī, which was founded by Sultān 'Alāud-Dīn, he destroyed that also, and established between the fortress of Dīnpanāh, which Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh constructed, and² Firozābād, an extensive city, and built round³ that fort a rampart of stone and mortar, having an extent of three *krohs*. On his arrival at Sultānpūr by continuous marches, the brothers of Humāyūn Pādshāh and the Chaghatai Amīrs quarrelled, and each took his own way as has been described, and Shir Shāh himself,⁴ not giving them time to reassemble, came up in pursuit. In this year he issued a public proclamation that from the country of Bangāla as far as western Rohtās, which is a four months' journey, and also from Āgra to Mandū,⁵ at every *kroh* a *sarāi* (rest-house) and a mosque, and a well built of burned bricks was to be established and a *Muazzin*⁶ and an *Imām*.⁷ A Musulmān

¹ MS. (A) reads خود هم.

² MS. (A) supplies و.

³ MS. (A) reads here قلعه را.

⁴ MS. (A) supplies خود.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) مندو.

⁶ The officer whose duty it is to call the *Azān* or call to prayer before each of the stated times of prayer. See Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, *Azān*.

⁷ The priest who leads the prayers.

and a Hindu were also appointed to superintend the supply of water for each. A refreshment house was also kept stocked for the use of strangers and poor wayfarers. On both sides of the road also, large and lofty trees were planted in avenues, so that all travellers might go along in the shade of them. Traces of these still remain in most places up to the present time, though fifty-two years have passed since then. In his reign justice was so widespread that if, for example, an old man holding a golden tray in his hand had lain down to sleep whenever he felt inclined, no thief or rustler would have dared to take it away from him.

Thanks be to God that the writer of this *Muntakhab* was born in the reign of so just a King, to use the words of the Prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him!*¹ I was born in the reign of the just King, on the seventeenth of Rabi'u s sâni² in the year 947 H (1540 A D) but, in spite of this, would that the name of that hour and that day had been erased from the chronicles of years and months, so that I had not been obliged to leave the private chamber of non-existence, where I dwelt with the inhabitants of the world of dreams and fancies, and to place my foot into this world of imaginary existence, and to suffer³ so many scars of various misfortunes, all of which are branded with the stamp, *He loses this world and the next, the context is well-known*

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Verse

My body bears a robe, surpassing splendid
My hopes for this world and the next are ended

Rubâ'i

I came yesterday, and have accomplished nothing,
To-day my efforts have availed me nothing,
To-morrow I depart, having learned no single secret,
Better had been non-existence than this vain superfluity

And when one looks into the matter carefully one becomes aware that seeing that the Lord, the repository of the seal of the prophetic office, upon him and his family *may the peace and blessing of God rest*, says⁴ "Would that the Lord of Muhammad had not

¹ MSS (A) (B)

² 21st August, 1540

³ MSS (A) (B) read ساید کشیده for نایستی کشیده

⁴ MSS (A) (B) omit مرماده writing simple

reated Muhammad," it is not in the power of a weak-minded mortal (like myself) to draw a single breath in this valley (of desolation), and one fears lest such an attempt should lead to audacity in the way of religion, and lest its fruit should be everlasting destruction. *I entreat pardon from God of all that is an abomination to Him.*

What power has the clay that it should say to the potter

Why dost thou make me and why dost thou break me!¹

After that Shir Shāh reached the hill-country of Bālnāt.² He built there the fortress of Rohtās as a protection for the army of Hindūstān against the Mughūl forces. Then he appointed Khawāss Khān to undertake the pursuit, and returned. While on the march he heard that a commander named Khiżr Khān Sarak had become infatuated with rebellious notions and was behaving as though he were a Sultān. Shir Shāh³ accordingly bent his course thither, and Khiżr Khān hastening to encounter him was taken prisoner. Shir Shāh took possession of that country and conferred it by way of *jāegīr* upon several of his Amirs, and appointed to the superintendence of the fort of Rohtās,⁴ Qāzī Fażīlat the Qāzī of the army, who was popularly known by the more appropriate title of Qāzī Fażīhat.⁵

In the year 948 H. he came⁶ to Āgra, and in the year 949 H. proceeded to Gwāliār with the intention of conquering Mālwa.⁶ Abūl Qāsim Beg, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn Pādshāh who had entrenched himself in that fortress, came in and had an interview

1 Cf. Isaiah xlvi. 9; Romans ix. 21. So also Omar Khayyām

از آب و گلسم سرشنَّه من چکنَّم
وین پشم و قصب تو سروشَّنَه من چکنم
هر نیــک و بدیــ که آید از ما بوجود
توبــر سرــ من نوشــنَه من چکنَّم

Thou formedst me of clay. What help have I !
Thou didst this garment weave. What help have I !
Whate'er for good or ill from me proceeds
Is thy prescription, Thine! What help have I !

2 MS. (A).

3 Omit شرقي MS. (A).

4 فضیلت *Fażīlat* means excellence. *Fażīhat* means ignominy.

5 باگوره آمد MSS. (A) (B)

6 Omit قلعه MSS. (A) (B).

with him, giving up the keys of the fort. Mallū Khān the governor of Mālwa, who¹ was one of the slaves of the Khilji Sultāns, and held absolute and unlimited power in that province, offered his services to Shir Shāh, and was honoured by splendid rewards. Shir Shāh also had tents pitched for him close to his own tent, and prepared a hundred and one horses and other apparatus of pomp and dignity in his honour. In the meantime a suspicion arose in Mallū Khān's mind, and one night he tore his tent and escaped alone after the accustomed manner of slaves, and fled. Shir Khān wrote the following:—

Verse.

You see how the chicken-hearted slave Mallū has treated me
It is a saying of Muṣṭafā "There can be no good in a slave."

Shir Khān then nominated Hāji Khān Sultānī to the subjugation of the province of Mālwa, and Sazāwal Khān² to administer the affairs of the district of Sawās;³ Mallū Khān fought with Hāji Khān and Sazāwal Khān, and suffered a defeat from which he never recovered.

Every weakling who fights with one stronger than he,
Gets such a fall that he can never again rise.

And Khān-i-Khānūn Sarwānī,⁴ who was the⁵ permanent Governor of the fort of Ranthanbūr, yielded up that fortress to Shir Shāh and came with his family to the township of Basāwar. It is said that some one introduced some poison into his cup. His tomb is in the suburbs of that township, in a pleasant spot, and is well-known at this time:

Quatrain.

Death, thou hast desolated hundreds of homes,
In the kingdom of existence thou makest life thy spoil.
No jewel beyond price has come into the world,
But thou has borne it away and hidden it beneath the dust.

In this year Shir Shāh⁶ led an army against the fortress of Rāi Sen and besieged it, because Pūranmal the son of Silhādī, one of the Chiefs of Rāi Sen, had attacked the city of Chanderī, which

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¹ Supply ~~as~~ MSS. (A) (B).

² MS. (A) supplies ~~ب~~.

³ MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ MS. (A) *سوزانی*.

⁵ Omit ~~as~~ before حاکم MSS. (A) (B).

⁶ MS. (A).

is one of the chief cities of Hindūstān, and had put its inhabitants to death, and was keeping two thousand¹ women, Hindūs and Muslims, in his own *harīm*. The following couplet was found to record the date of this siege :

Qiyām-i-bārgāh bāshad mubārak.

May the stability of the court be fortunate.²

After prolonging the siege for some time Shīr Shāh entered into a compact, and succeeded in dislodging Pūrāmal³ by the intervention of Shāhzāda 'Ādil Khān and Qutb Khān Nāib,⁴ and assigned him a place in his own camp, bestowing upon him a hundred horses, with a robe of honour and a sum of gold; and eventually by the advice of Mir Saiyyid Rafi'u-d-Din Ṣafawi of Ij,⁵ which was given the title of *Muqaddasa* (Sacred) by Sikandar Lodi, broke his word, and caused Pūrāmal together with his family and children to be trampled to death by elephants. Not a single man of those turbulent and rebellious Hindūs, who were

367. near ten thousand souls, escaped in that battle. Their women and men either⁶ became food for the edge (*jauhar*) of the sword or fed the flames of the fire called *jūhar*, a well-known word in the Hindi language. This chronicle, from that day forward, remained as a record upon the pages of Time, *may God be merciful to its author*. This event occurred in the year 950 H., and⁷ after some time he girded up his loins for a holy war to uproot the pestilent infidels of the country of Mārwār, and led a vast⁸ army against Rāi Maldeo⁹

¹ MS. (A) omits دو.

² قیام بارگاہ باشہ مبارک. The letters give the date 949 H. MS. (B) gives this date in figures.

³ MS. (A) reads دیوربیل Deorimal and omits ازنا.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) omit پائین.

⁵ Died at Āgra in 954 or 957, see *Ain-i-Akbarī* (B). I, 523.

The text reads erroneously ایچی Ilchī-e. MS. (A) reads انجی Injī, and MS. (B) reads انجی Ichī. We should read Ijī, in the sense given in the translation. Ij is stated by Yāqūt to be a city rich in gardens and other advantages. The Persians he says pronounce it ایک I'k (*Mujam-u-l Buldān*, I, p. 415).

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) یا.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) د.

⁸ Lit. exceeding in its numbers the ants and locusts.

⁹ MS. (B) omits رای.

the leader of the Rāis of Hindūstan who held sway over the country of Nagor and Jaunpuj, and was a powerful opponent of the Muslims, and inasmuch as one of the maxims of Shir Shāh, from which he never departed,¹ was to throw up an entrenched position round his army, no matter how few the enemy might be, as soon as Mäldeo arrived in the vicinity of Ajmir with fifty thousand picked cavalry trained and experienced in war, intent upon slaying or being slain, and confronted Shir Shah, he, finding it impossible to make trenches and ramparts because of the sandy soil, held a conference with his experienced and veteran Amirs. No one of them however could devise a way to effect that object. Suddenly Mahmud Khān, the son of 'Ādil Khān,² who was grandson to Shāh Shāh, notwithstanding his youth said, "Let Shāh 'Alam order the bāyāras (grain sellers) of the army to fill sacks with sand and arrange them round³ the army." This idea⁴ highly commended itself to Shir Shah, and he immediately placed his turban upon the lad's head, and bestowed upon him in perpetuity the treaty territories.

In the end Heaven did not favour his designs, and Islam Shah⁵ after reaching kingly power, made this unfortunate boy the very first of his family, heirs to the kingdom, to have his name blotted out from the page of existence, in accordance with the saying *Al mulku 'aqim*⁶ (The kingdom has no heir), and that treatment which he meted out to them, vindictive Time measured again to his posterity.

Verse

If thou hast done evil remain not secure from calamity,
For the nature of things brings about inequital

In short Shir Shah, who⁷ would not give the head of one of his soldiers for a kingdom, and to whom the Afghans were⁸ far dearer than can be expressed, was by no means willing to involve

¹ MS (A) omits حلف

² MS (A) reads حاں MS (B) پسر عادل حاں

³ MS (A) reads for درد و گرد

⁴ MS (A) reads اس رای او سوار

⁵ MSS (A) (B) read سلیم شاہ ⁶ الملک عقیم

⁷ MS (A) omits جوں

⁸ MSS (A) (B) read بود

his army in calamity with the ignorant, boar-natured, currish ¹ Hindūs. Accordingly he devised an artifice, and wrote fictitious letters purporting to emanate from the generals of Mäldeo's army, to himself, couched in enigmatical language,² the substance of them being that there would be no need for the king in person to superintend the fighting, when the armies were drawn up for battle, because they themselves would take Mäldeo alive and deliver him up, upon the condition that such and such places should be given them as a reward. Having done this he so arranged that those letters fell into Mäldeo's hands, with the result that Mäldeo became utterly suspicious of all his generals,³ and, in the dead of night⁴ fled alone without looking behind him ; and, notwithstanding that his generals denied their complicity with oath upon oath, saying that they never could have been guilty of such dastardly conduct,⁵ and that this was all the handiwork of Shir Shāh in his desire to raise dissensions⁶ between them, it was of no use, and had no effect upon Mäldeo's mind. Kanhaiyā,⁷ who was his minister and agent, abused Mäldeo in violent terms, and taking four thousand resolute men devoted to death, or even more than this number, came down upon the army of Shir Shāh, with the intention of surprising them by night, but missed his way, and after marching the whole night, when morning broke became aware that he had left the camp far in rear.⁸ After striving to the utmost of their powers, when they had abandoned all hope of life, at the very moment when the army of Shir Shāh came in sight, as a result of their own stupidity, by the good luck of Shir Shāh or by the superior good fortune of Islām, the infidels in a body dismounted from their horses, and renewing their vows of singleness of purpose and

¹ سگسار بکسار with a footnote variant found in MS. (B).

² MS. (B) omits نوشت. ³ خویش امرای MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ شباشب واقع نشاد MSS. (A) (B). ⁵ MS. (A) omits واقع نشاد.

⁶ Lit. to cast the stone of discord in our midst. MSS. (A) (B) read دو میان ما. M S. (A) reads حیله و این حیله for دو میان ما. (Text).

⁷ This name is given on the authority of Firishta (Bo. text, p. 427). Our text and both MSS. (A) (B) read گوپا Goyā which does not appear to be possibly correct. Brigg's II, p. 122, calls him Koonbha. Kanhaiyā is a proper name among Hindūs, and is one of the names of Krishna.

⁸ Firishta merely says they missed their way and reached the enemy's camp in daylight. (Bo. text, loc cit.).

mutual assistance binding¹ their sashes together and joining hand to hand, attacked the army of the Afghāns with their short spears, which they call *Barchha*,² and with their swords *Shir Shah* had given orders saying that if any man ventured to fight with the sword with this swinish horde, his blood would be on his own head. He accordingly ordered the elephant troops to advance and³ trample them down. In rear of the elephants, the artillery and archers gave them a taste of the bowstring, and admitting them to the banquet of death, gave them the hospitality of the land of extinction. The bright surface of the world's page was polished, and freed from the dark lines of the land of infidels, and not one of the infidels got off with his life, nor was a single Muslim lost in that encounter.⁴ A poet of Basawar, whose *tâkhallus*⁵ is *Faizi*,⁶ wrote this verse on that subject

Suddenly check to the king happened to Maldeo
It would have been checkmate had not the piece
Kanya⁶ protected him as 'Irā'⁷

It is said that after this victory *Shir Shah* on several occasions used to say, "I have sold the empire of the whole of Hindustan⁸ for a handful of millet". Returning thence and making over the fortress of Rantambhor to his son 'Ādil Khan, he gave him leave for a few days to visit the fort, and put the garrison in order, when he was to follow his father. The writer has heard from a trustworthy source, that one day while on that expedition Mu Sayyid Rafī'a d Dīn, the renowned and unique traditionist now pardoned and absolved, who has been already mentioned, said to *Shir Shah*, "All my ancestors were⁹ authors of authoritative compositions and used to give instructions in the two sacred

¹ The text reads فوطة در در طه باقته but we should read باقته *bâfta*

² *Barchha* A Hindi word meaning a small spear

³ MSS (A) (B) read پاسال کردند

⁴ MS (B) writes needlessly مک کس صاحب نشد

⁵ See Āmīn Akbarī (B) I 490 for a full account of the poet *Faizi*

⁶ I read here کیا for گوری, see n 7 page 478

⁷ گوری for نمری MSS (A) (B) 'Irā' is that piece at chess which is interposed between the King and a Rook to protect the King from check by the Rook see J R S A xiii p 49 (Bland on the Persian game of chess)

⁸ MS (A) supplies ب

⁹ MS (A) و دلایل

370. cities.¹ I alone of all my family have become so helpless and powerless that in search of the gold and fame of Hindūstān I am blindly wandering. I beseech your Majesty to grant me permission to depart, so that at the end of my days I may be able to relight the lamp of those venerable ancestors of mine.

Seeing that I was not worthy to succeed those mighty intellects who have gone before me,

My hands have spoiled many books, my ignorance has wasted many parchments.²

Shīr Shāh answered, I should have no objections to make on this score, were it not that I have kept you with me for a special object, which is this that I intend in a short time by the help of God, *He is blessed and exalted*,³ to clear the heart-delighting plain of Hindūstān of the thorns of infidelity, and shortly to reduce the few forts which remain, with very little difficulty, and passing along the seashore to fight with⁴ those Qizilbāshes who oppose the progress of the company of pilgrims⁵ to the holy temple (of Makkah) and have given rise to bigoted interference with the established religion and the orthodox followers of Muḥammad, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*,⁶ and to send you thence with a mission bearing letters to the Sultān of Rūm, in order that, having knitted the bonds of religious brotherhood between us, you may bear to him a request on my behalf to be entrusted with the service of one of the two sacred temples, *may God increase their dignity*. Then I coming up from one direction [and the *Khwandgār*⁷ from the other], may clear out the Qizilbāsh from between us, because⁸ as soon as the Sultān of Rūm attacks him, he will move with all rapidity in this direction, and when the Sultān of Rūm withdraws his forces, he will

¹ Makkah and Madinah.

² دفاتر Dafātir.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read بعون ایزدی تبارک و تعالیٰ.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) با.

⁵ MS. (B) reads حجاج و جوار. Regarding the Hajj or pilgrimage to Makkah, see Hughes Dict. of Islam, art. Hajj.

⁶ A footnote variant للهم انزله المقدع المقرب بالقيمة is evidently the interpolation of some devout copyist.

⁷ MS. (B) omits the words in square brackets.

⁸ MS. (A) هج.

again return to the place he came from, whereas if we surround him from both directions with this army and the large following we have in Hindūstan, together with that powerful force and its artillery,¹ his resisting power will be nil,² and on carefully considering over this matter I can think of no person more fitted to carry³ this message than yourself, and simply in view of the attainment of this object⁴ I cannot entertain the idea of your leave

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It must not be forgotten that it is by no means improbable that this same good intention may be the cause of the salvation of that faithful king from the fire (of hell) although he fell into the fire,⁵ in the Day of Reckoning, for the Almighty, *may He be glorified and exalted*, is satisfied with little and very bountiful, and the story of 'Amr ibn La'īq⁶ [who for all his vast army and equipment, which gave him the pre-eminence over all kings of 'Iraq in the four quarters of the globe, was always regretful because he had not been present at the slaughter of Imam Husain, *may God Most High be pleased with him*, so that he might have smitten and destroyed the⁷ followers of Yazid,⁸ and of his having a vision in which he was walking in the gardens of Paradise] is well known say, *every man acts after his own manner*,⁹ that is after his own desire

Verse

My brother thou art all desire naught else
 All the rest of thee is but bone and fibre
 If a rose is thy desire, thou art a rose garden,
 If a furnace is thy desire thou art its fuel¹⁰

¹ آتش ناری MS (A)

² We should probably read here معدوم for معلوم

³ MS (A) reads او for او

⁴ MS (A) reads عرض

⁵ See next page for the account of Shir Shah's accident at the siege of Kalinjar

⁶ See Ibn Khalliqan (Da Shāh) IV pp 301 et seqq

⁷ MSS (A) (B) omit بلند

⁸ Yazid the son of Mu'awiyah the second Khalifah of the house of Ummaiyah. He is celebrated in Muslim history as the opponent of Hussain who was killed at Karbala A H 61, see Hughes Dict of Islam

⁹ See Qur'an XVII 86

¹⁰ MS (A) reads & هم for & هم MS (B) reads & هم

And in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.) Shir Shāh invested the fortress of Kālinjar, which is one of the strongest and most famous of the forts of Hindūstān, and with great energy and skill in a short time prepared galleries, and used to make daily attacks upon the bastions;¹ and by the time that the galleries had advanced near to the walls of the fort, and the mines were ready, attacking on all four sides he made the condition of the garrison very precarious. Shir Shāh from the position where he was standing, gave orders to hurl grenades filled with gunpowder into the fort. This they did, and by chance one of those grenades struck the wall of the fort, and recoiling with great force exploded. Its fragments fell among the other grenades, which exploded, burning Shir Shāh severely from head to foot. And inasmuch as he was badly scorched,² and Shaikh Khalil the son of his spiritual guide, and the learned Maulānā Nāzīmu-d-Dīn³ also were fellow-sufferers with Shir Shāh in this explosion,⁴ Shir Shāh as he ran using his hands to cover his nakedness,⁵ took refuge in a tent which they had pitched for him in (front of) a bastion,⁶ where he lay unconscious. Whenever he recovered consciousness a little⁷ he shouted to his men encouraging them⁸ to seize the fort, and if any one came to see him he signed to him to go and fight, so that in his absence the Amīrs⁹ in command in the trenches worked harder than if he had been present, and

¹ The text reads here مورچل with a footnote variant مورچھا. MS. (B) reads مارکارہ. MS. (A) however has a totally different reading مارکارہ for which I can see no meaning, but we should probably read "bastions" which would be consonant with both the text and MSS. (A) and (B). This supposition is the more probable as some lines further on we have MS. (B) reading مارکل, MS. (A) مورچل, and the text مورچل. See note 6.

² يلمع *Yulma*. The meaning of this word is given in Fazlu-llāh Khān's Turkish Persian Dictionary as *Chīze ki müye ān kanda bāshad*, that which has lost its hair.

³ مولانا ناظم MS. (A) reads مولانا ناظم.

⁴ درین سوزش و شورش MS. (B) reads درین سوزش و شورش.

⁵ هودو دست پس و پیش گرفته Both MSS. (A) (B) read هودو دست پس و پیش گرفته. This is a common expression to denote utter wretchedness and poverty.

⁶ The text reads مارکل MS. (A). MS. (B), see ante n. 1. مورچل

⁷ آید MS. (A) می آید. ⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read here فریاد زده مودم را الخ

⁹ امرای مورچل MS. (A).

behaved with the utmost gallantry, and coming to close quarters with the garrison, brought matters to a fight with knife and dagger and did full justice to the demands of endeavour and manliness. The writer heard a story from a most trustworthy source, that on that eventful day of assault, in which the deeds of every individual assailant were conspicuous, and the standards and faces could be easily distinguished one from another,¹ I saw, said he, a soldier armed *cup a pie*, who had not previously been seen nor was ever after seen, clothed from head to foot in black, wearing a plume² of the same colour upon his head,³ and riding and encouraging our men in the battle. Then he entered one of the galleries and made his way into the fort. I searched for him everywhere after the battle, but in vain, I could find no trace of him.⁴ The men in the other trenches also gave the same account saying, we saw several horsemen wearing these clothes who kept advancing in front of us till they entered the fort and vanished.

Verse

If thou hadst not been on the side of religious law, Heaven 373
itself would have girt its loins,

If thou hadst⁵ been on the side of the faith, the Gemini
would have ungirt their sword

A report became current that, in that battle, certain men from the invisible world had come to the aid of the Muslims. And Shir Shah suffering and distressed as he was from time to time enquired for tidings of victory. The air was terribly hot, and although they sprinkled him constantly with sandal and rose water, it was utterly useless⁶ to relieve the scorching heat whose intensity increased hour by hour.

¹ The text reads مس (A) reads ار سک دیگار صدارت وود MS (B) reads صورہ مس (B) reads صورہ۔ The reading of the text is adopted.

² Fazl Nabi Khan gives a word يالاو Yala' in the meaning of علم alam a standard or ensign.

³ MSS (A) (B) agree with the footnote variant بلونہاں ونگ a reading of the words ملدوں و عالماء found in the text

⁴ MS (A) بیانیم

⁵ In the first line MSS (A) (B) read د for در (Text). In the second line MS (A) reads د for در (Text).

⁶ The text reads فائدہ ار الہاب احل نداشت MS (B) reads اف for احل but the correct reading appears to be اصل نداشت MS (A)

Verse.

A breast which is consumed by the fire of separation
Sandal¹ can afford it no relief.

At the very moment of hearing, the good tidings of victory he yielded up his life² to the Lord, the Giver of life, the Receiver of life. The following stanza was written to record the date of his death :—

Shir Shāh, he in dread of whom
The lion and the goat drank at the same source
Left the world ; the wise sage pronounced
The date of his death. *Zi ātash murd*³ (he died from the effects of fire).

His corpse was taken to Sahsarām where was the burial-place of his fathers, and there buried. The period of his military command was fifteen years, and of his Sultānate five years.

It is said that on one occasion when he was looking in a mirror, he exclaimed, “ Alas ! that I obtained my kingdom at the time of evening prayer.”⁴

سندل *Santalum album*. Useful in headache, Sontheimer II, 138. There are three kinds according to the *Makhranu-l-adwīyah*. The white sandal called in Hindī *Chandan* ; the yellow sandal called in Hindī *Mulāgīr* ; the red sandal called in Hindī *Rakat Chandan*. This latter is the wood of *Pterocarpus santalinus* (Red sanders). It is generally called *Debī Chandan*, it is used, not for headache, but after being offered at the shrine of Kālī is used to mark the forehead of the worshipper. The others both *Chandan* and *Malayāgīr* (so called because it comes from Malayālam or Malabar) are used as a powder mixed into a paste with water to apply to the forehead as a cure for headache. They are also used in *pījā* or worship by the Hindūs, who have a saying

Chandan, dhūp, dīp, malayāgīr
Prem sahit Thākur nahalwāñī.

With (gifts of) Chandan, frankincense, lamps, and malayāgīr
I will lovingly bathe the Thākur (Lord).

¹ Omit عاریتی MS. (A).

² ج. آتش مرد. These letters give the date 952 H. This date is given in figures in both MSS. (A) (B).

⁴ That is to say so late in life. Firishṭa says : Whenever he looked in the glass and saw his white beard, he used to say, “ It was near evening before I attained to empire.”

MSS. (A) (B) writes دریغ کے پادشاہی الخ

Verses.

My heart! like Khiṣr¹ take and drink the water of life,
 Like Sikandar come and conquer land and sea
 If thou entertainest any longing for the cup-bearer and wine,
 Take the cup of Kausar² from the hand of the Hūri³ and
 drink.

The fame of thy greatness and glory and majesty
 Has reached the Koh-i-qāf, go thither and hear its tale. 374.
 If thou art sitting, for instance, on the throne of Solomon,
 One day like the ant creep into the recess of a cave and hide
 there;

Two or three days like the spider, spin in the deserted corner
 of the world the strands of desire and take thy place there.
 Every beautiful-faced one,⁴ whose beauty is unapproachable
 With that one, to thy heart's content,⁵ take thy delight.
 This world is a dream in the opinion of the wise,
 Do thou at last see this dream and take it
 Thy life, O Qādiri, is as a fairy-tale of enchantment,
 Thou hast heard the tale, take the spell of enchantment
 When the hand of Death tears⁶ the sleeve of thy existence
 Raise thy hand, and seize the skirt of the true Friend (God)

ISLEM SHĀH IBNI SHIR SHĀH SŪR,⁷

Who is Islem Khān, on the fifteenth of the month Rabi'u-l-Awwal in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.), acting upon the summons of the Amīrs⁸ of Bhatta came by forced marches from the neighbourhood of Patna,⁹ and by the co-operation of 'Isā Khān Hajjāb and the other men of influence and power,¹⁰ succeeded¹¹ to the imperial throne in room of his father, with the title of Islem

¹ Al Khiṣr See Hughes, Dict. of Islam, p 272

² Qur'an xviii. 1-3 See Hughes, op cit, p 262.

³ The women of Paradise Qur'an iv. 56-78

⁴ MS (A) reads مُرْخُونَ مُرْجُونَ for مُرْخُونَ مُرْجُونَ⁵

⁵ دواہی دل دواہی دل MS (B)

⁶ سرد (Text) MS (A); MS (B) reads داد

⁷ MS (A) omits سور

⁸ A footnote variant اصرای بخت نا بلغار. MS (B)

⁹ MS (A) دیکھ Bhatta

¹⁰ اهل حل و عقد

¹¹ MSS (A) (B) read گشت for نشست (Text)

375. Shāh, and the son of Mulla Alīmad Junaid,¹ who is well known,² found this verse of the sacred word:³ "And already we have written in the Psalms, after the admonition that 'the earth shall my righteous servants inherit,'"⁴ to give the date of his accession. He wrote a despatch to his elder brother 'Ādil Khān and sent it to him in Ranthanbūr, of which the following is the substance. "Although the succession was really your right, still as you were at so great a distance there was a danger, nay a certainty of the occurrence of disturbances here before you could arrive. Accordingly with a view to keep down insurrections, I will take charge of the army for a few days as your deputy, and after you arrive I shall have no alternative but to submit to and obey you." Leaving Kālinjar he made for⁵ Āgra and in the vicinity of the township of Kūra Khātampūr,⁶ Khawāss Khān arrived from Sihriṇd which was his jāegīr, and yielded a forced allegiance, because he was more inclined to favour the accession of 'Ādil Khān as compared with Islem Shāh; a splendid banquet was held and he was anew placed on the throne. Afterwards when fresh despatches from Islem Shāh reached 'Ādil Khān, he referred the question of his coming to the following four persons upon whose advice and opinion as to its expediency he made his action dependent: Qutb Khān Nāib, 'Isā Khān Niyāzī, Khawāss Khān, and Jalāl Khān Jilwānī,⁷ all of whom were great Amīrs, men of eminence belonging to his family. Islem Shāh sent this body of men to him bearing an agreement by which he undertook to allow 'Ādil Khān to depart to his jāegīr after the first interview, and to deliver to his control any place in Hindūstān which he might select. 'Ādil Khān acting upon the advice of these Amīrs proceeded from the neighbourhood of Ranthanbūr to Fathpūr,

¹ MSS. (A) (B) جند *Jund.*

² MS. (B) omits مشهور.

³ Supply بـ MS. (A). See Qur'ān xxi, 105.

⁴ Psalm xxxvii, 29. 'The righteous shall inherit the land and dwell therein for ever.'

The date is given by the words من بعد الذكر i.e., that which follows الذكر. The value of الذكر being 951, that which follows is 952 H.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) عازم آگرہ شہ.

⁶ Kora (*Corah*) Town in Fathpur district, N.-W. P., on the old Mughul Road from Agra to Allahabad. See Tieff, Vol. I, p. 235 and map, Vol. III. See also Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* viii, p. 295.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) جلو (Julā).

otherwise called Sikri, and Islem Shah¹ left Agra and came to Shikapur,² where the royal palace is at present, to receive him, and when they met they first fulfilled the duties of condolence, and evinced great cordiality, and after a short time set out together for Agria. Islem Shah had plotted treachery against 'Adil Khan, and had consequently made a stipulation that not more than two or three persons should be left in the fort with 'Adil Khan. This however was not carried out, and a large body of followers accompanied him, accordingly Islem Shah was constrained, in order to avoid suspicion, to treat 'Adil Khan with extraordinary³ fawning and flattery, saying 'I have taken care of these unruly⁴ Afghans so far by artful means,⁵ now I make them over to you'.

Verse

Subject the intoxicated and riotous one to the warning glance
of the cup bearer.⁶

Having placed him upon the throne he himself assumed an attitude of submission and obedience, and from motives of worldly wisdom was most punctilious in the observance of courtesy.⁷ Although 'Adil Khan was in the flower of his youth, and of great bodily strength (many well known tales of his strength are told), nevertheless, since he was fond of ease and was well aware of the craft and subtlety of Islem Shah and his⁸ ways of dealing, would not agree to that procedure, rose to his feet and setting Islem Shah on the throne again with all honour and ceremony,⁹ swore allegiance to him, and offered him congratulations upon his accession, with the customary offerings¹⁰ and oblations. Islem Shah, in accordance with the compact which had been made¹¹ sent 'Isa Khan and Khawass Khan to accompany 'Adil Khan, and having confirmed Bwana to him as a *jaegir*, permitted him to proceed thither. Two months later he appointed Ghazi Mahalli, who was one of his confidential attendants, to go and arrest 'Adil Khan.

¹ Omit *ب* MS (B)

² MS (A) reads سنکاپور Sankapur

³ MS (A) reads فوق الحق

⁴ MS (A) میسو

⁵ MS (A) مسر حوشیم

⁶ From Hafiz. See ole commencing Diwan Hafiz Newa Kishore Press p 303

⁷ MS (A) reads ملائمت

⁸ MS (B) supplies او

⁹ Red MSS (A)(B) نعواسم تعظیم و شارکرد و اینوار واقع شده

¹⁰ MS (B) omits دوست

‘Adil Khān, however, heard of this, and fled from Baiān taking refuge with Khawāṣṣ Khān in Miwāt. Khawāṣṣ Khān then summoned Ghāzī Mahalli, and bound him with that same golden chain which he had brought for ‘Adil Khān, and having gained over to his side all¹ the Amīrs, set out for Āgra with a large army. Qutb Khān and Isā Khān also, who were two of the chief nobles of the State,² with whose concurrence the compact³ had been made, were annoyed at this breach of faith on the part of Islem Shāh,⁴ and with great management summoned ‘Adil Khān at a time agreed upon, namely at day break after the Shab-i-barāt,⁵ so that they might own allegiance to him. It so chanced that ‘Adil Khān and Khawāṣṣ Khān, having arrived at Sikri on the Shab-i-barāt,⁶ spent that night as a vigil in the service of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, in voluntary prayers⁷ and benedictions, so that their departure for Āgra was delayed long past the time agreed upon, and it was breakfast time⁸ when they reached the outskirts of Āgra. Islem Shāh who was alarmed,⁹ spoke very courteously to Qutb Khān and the rest of the Amīrs, and permitted them to go and present themselves before ‘Adil Khān. His¹⁰ object was to get rid of his opponents, and that very instant to start alone¹¹

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read امرا عاء.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit امرو و قرار.

³ MS. (A) (B) (C) قول و قرار.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read instead of بوسطه الخ بتقريب و مجيده.

⁵ The fifteenth day of Shā'bān. A day of great rejoicing among Muhammadians. Muhammad ordered his followers to keep vigil during this night, to repeat a hundred prayers and keep the next day as a fast day. See Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*.

Briggs in his translation of *Firishta* says, "as it was the night of the Koorban festival," and in a footnote says, "this fast is kept in commemoration of the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham." The translator however is at fault here, as the original says و چون شب برآ بود (Bo. Text, p. 431) and inasmuch at it was the Shab-i-barāt.

⁶ MS. (A) in error شب برآ ب.

⁷ نوافل و ادعیة. *Nawāfiẓ wa ad'iyah*. *Nawāfiẓ* are voluntary prayers which may be omitted without sin, as distinguished from *Farz* which are prayers enjoined by God, and from *Sunnah*, prayers founded on the practice of the Prophet.

See Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, art. Prayer.

⁸ چاشنگاهی Chāshngāhe. مضریب گشته ۱۶ MSS. (A) (B).

⁹ MS. (A) omits او and also ل after مخالفان.

¹⁰ Insert تنهٰ after ساعت. MSS. (A) (B) instead of as in the text.

for the fortress of Chunār, seize the treasure which was there, and after collecting the necessary equipment for an army to return and again engage in war 'Isā Khan Hajjub warned him of the folly and absurdity of this project, and prevented him from sending his Amirs to his enemy and from starting for Chunār. Eventually Islem Shāh, accompanied by a party of his own bodyguard, and two or three thousand old and trusty retainers, left Āgra with all haste and came out in force to fight, first recalling those Amirs whom he had sent,⁴ saying "I am by no means confident that 'Ādil Khan will not deal treacherously with you you had better return quickly and rejoin me, because the question between⁵ him and me can only be settled by the sword."

Verse

In this case messengers and despatches can avail nothing,
The two edged sword will make this matter clear⁶

The Amirs, however, who were friendly to 'Ādil Khan, on seeing Islem Shah take the field, refused⁷ to return to his side and entered the ranks of the more powerful army, a severe battle ensued before Āgra, and 'Ādil Khan was defeated⁸ and fled alone toward Bhatta.⁹ Khawāṣṣ Khan and 'Isā Khān Nīzāzi, who had a strong regard and unbounded loyalty for each other, took the road to Miwāt and the township of Iñāzpur, engaged the force which had been sent in pursuit of them, and overcame it, but eventually, not having power to resist the army of Islem Shah, proceeded to the hills to the north of Hindustan, which¹⁰ are called (the) Kumaon (hills), and took refuge with the Rājas of that district Qutb Khān Naib, having been appointed to attack them, kept continually ravaging the country at the foot of the hills. In the meantime Islem Shah proceeded to Chunhar, and sent the treasure which was there to Gwalior, and on his return, when he reached the township of Kūrnā Khatampur, while engaged in playing *changān* with Jalal Khan Jilwani,¹¹ who was one of the married Amirs of the Afghans, and had been¹² an adherent

¹ MS (A) امرای فرسناد و MS (B) میں اسے فرماتے ہیں

² Omit تیسرا

³ MS (A) مار مار دیا

⁴ MSS (A) (B) omit درت و

⁵ MSS (A) (B) حلو

⁶ MSS (A) (B) شکست (فیکسٹ)

⁷ MS (A) omits بی کی

⁸ MS (A) (B) تو دی

of 'Adil Khān, and a great object of suspicion to Islem Shāh, by some treacherous device persuaded him to come to his camp, and cast him into chains together with his brother Khudādād, making them over to an Afghān who had a blood feud with them, and having put them to death under the cloke of vengeance, proceeded to Āgra, [and from thence to Gwāliār which he had made his capital],¹ and setting himself to slay and eradicate a party who were favourable to 'Adil Khān, girded up his loins in enmity against them, and swept them one by one from the board of the world like so many pieces in the game of draughts or chess. Quṭb Khān also took fright, and fled from the foot of the Kumāon hills to Lahore, taking refuge with Haibat Khān, to whom Shir Shāh had given the title of A'zam Humāyūn. Haibat Khān in obedience to a summons from² Islem Shāh, sent Quṭb Khān in chains to him. Islem Shāh sent him together with Shāhbāz Khān Lūhānī,³ who was brother-in-law to Shir Shāh,⁴ and Barmazid Kor who was the *Dajjāl*⁵ of that sect, and the Hajjāj⁶ of his age, and thirteen or fourteen other Amīrs⁷ and Amīrs' sons, to the fortress of Gwāliār, where most of them quitted the body in imprisonment.⁸

[Among them was Maḥmūd Khān, son of 'Adil Khān, who in his seventh year had counselled Shir Shāh to throw up a rampart of sand, in consequence of which Shir Shāh had made him his heir-apparent, as has been related. Another was Kawāl Khān Ghakkar who will be mentioned shortly].⁹

And in this year Salim Shāh summoned A'zam Humāyūn from

¹ Not in MSS. (A) (B).

بِمُوجَبٍ طَلْبٍ

² MS. (B).

³ شوھر خواہ سلیم شاہ بود و بر مزید کور و چند کسی دیگر فریشتا says who was sister's husband to Salim Shah, with Barmazid Kor and some others. Bo. Text, 432.

Briggs translates this, "the king's brother-in-law, who was deprived of his sight," mistaking *Barmazid Kor*. (Briggs II, 182.)

⁴ دجال Dajjāl. The *Masīhu-d-dajjāl* or lying Christ, the last of the impostors whose appearance was predicted by Muḥammad.

⁵ See ante, p. 12 n. 1.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) omit نامی.

⁸ The text reads بداروی تفگ by gunpowder. MSS. (A) (B) omit these words.

⁹ This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) a foot-note to the text states that it is found in one MS.

Lahor, but he advanced some excuse¹ for not coming in person, and sent Sa'id Khān his brother, who was renowned for courage and sound judgment². Islem Shah received him with the utmost show of favour, and made much of him, advancing him to the highest place of intimacy, but inwardly cherished the intention of putting an end to him, at last one day, having summoned him to a private interview within the palace, he shewed him the heads of the Amirs who had been immured alive in the walls, for instance Zain Khan Niyāzī³ and the others, saying Do you recognize these persons, who they are? He mentioned the names of some whom he recognized. Previously to this he had thrown⁴ the abovementioned Amirs, men of ability, into a chamber in Gwalior, and setting fire to it with gunpowder had burned them all except Kawāl Khān Ghakkai, who remained under the protection of the All cherisher safe in a corner of the room⁵ [It is said that the 380 following was the reason of his escaping, the sister of Kawāl Khān, who had been united by marriage to Islem Shah, became aware of the conference and sent word to her brother, saying This very night they intend to blow up the prisoners with gunpowder She also sent from inside (the palace) four quilts stuffed with cotton, and several skins of water Kawal Khan poured quantities of water upon the quilts, and under pretence of taking a bath betook himself into a corner, apart from his friends, and rolling himself up in the quilts had gone to sleep when they set fire to the room, and all were burned to ashes, but he alone remained alive beneath the quilt In the morning Islem Shah came to inspect that prison house, and seeing Kawal Khan alive said It is right for me to release you seeing that fire had no power over you]⁶ Then Islem Shah having made him⁷ take an oath that he would never again oppose him, released him, and appointed him to assist the Governor of the Panjab to conquer the country of the Ghakkars [where he arrived with all honour]⁸ In short Sa'id Khan, who had been a witness of this sudden death, gave orders in obedience

1 MS (A) مذر

2 مکالمہ MS (B) reads مکالمہ

3 MS (A) omits ساری

4 MS (A) omits ایں

5 MSS (A) (B) read simply در گوشہ جا

6 This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) a foot note to the text states that it is found in one MS

7 MSS (A) (B) omit اور

8 Not in MSS (A) (B)

to which post horses were tied up along the road to Lāhor, so that he travelled the distance between Āgra and Lāhor within three nights. Day by day the scale turned more and more in favour of the Niyāzī faction, and Ā'zam Humāyūn read the *Khusbah* in his own name in Lāhor. Islem Shāh returned from that same camp and came to Āgra, and summoning a vast army from all sides marched for the Panjāb. Sazāwal Khān came from Mälwa to join this movement, and was received very graciously, and after bringing forward certain important matters took leave, while Islem Shāh, after halting for a few days in Dihlī and ordering his army, set out

381. for Lāhor.¹ Ā'zam Humāyūn and Khawāss Khān, and 'Isā Khān² Niyāzī as well, (who had come down from the hill country to join him), came from the Panjāb with armies strong as the hills to receive Islem Shāh. In the early part of the³ winter time a fierce battle was fought in front of⁴ the township of Ambāla, and on the evening preceding the day on which the battle was to be fought, Ā'zam Khān had asked Khawāss Khān : After the victory who will be selected as the successor to the throne ? He answered : It may be that it will be 'Ādil Khān who is the eldest son of Shir Shāh⁵ and is really fit to rule. It appears that the Niyāzī faction said,⁶ The kingdom is not by inheritance, but *He who conquers, takes the booty.*⁷ It is a foregone conclusion, what sense is there in this that we should strike with the sword and the kingdom should come to others.

Khawāss Khān, who was heart and soul attached to the cause of Shir Shāh, was displeased at this claim of theirs, consequently when the battle began to rage, he refused to fight,⁸ and standing aloof left the battle field together with 'Isā Khān Niyāzī. The Niyāzī faction fought right manfully, without yielding a foot of ground, and were near carrying away the centre⁹ of Islem Shāh's

¹ MS. (A) reads و.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit عیسیٰ خان a footnote to the text states that the words are in one MS.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read only در ایام زمستان. In the winter time.

⁴ MS. (A). در ظاهرو.

⁵ MS. (A) supplies پا شد.

⁶ نیازیان گفتند باشند.

⁷ من غلاب سلاب من *ghalaba salaba.*

⁸ The text reads جنگ ها کرده but this is manifestly wrong, and the reading should be جنگ نا کرده as in MS. (A) (B).

⁹ MS. (A) omits قلب.

army, but in the end¹ pluck told,² and then efforts were of no avail

Verse

Thy wound which utters presage of thy death
When it feels thy salt closes its lips

And Sa'id Khān, the elder brother of Ā'zam Humayun, attended by a body of men fully armed and equipped, disguised in such a way that no one would know him, came in under the pretext of offering congratulations, with the intention of putting an end to Islem Shah, and with that object asked repeatedly, where is the Padshāh that I may offer him my congratulations on his victory? An elephant driver of one of those elephants which had surrounded Islem Shah recognised the voice of Sa'id Khān, and struck a blow at him with his spear, but he³ made his way in safety through the crowd of elephants, great as it was,⁴ and foiled in his purpose made his escape, the Niyazi faction fled and came to Dhankot,⁵ which is near Roh,⁶ and the remainder were plundered by the Kawars, while some were drowned in the nullahs of Ambala. Islem Shah pursued as far as Western Rohtās, and despatched Khwaja Wais⁷ Sirwani with a large army to oppose the Niyazis, and returned towards Āgra. Leaving Āgra he went⁸ to Gwalior, and made it his capital.⁹ When Khawāss Khan and 'Isa Khan Niyāzi, who had made common cause, left the battle field 'Isa Khān went to the hill country,¹⁰ [while Khawāss Khan with five or six hundred cavalry¹¹ fled to Lahor], [and (Islam Khan)¹² Islem Shah appointed Shams Khan

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¹ MS (B) reads گھر for عائش

² نمک کار حود کرد The word 'pluck' seems the best equivalent for the Persian nimak which means literally salt and secondarily spirit courage. It may also mean however that Islem Shah's men were 'true to their salt'.

³ The text reads و here which quite loses the sense. Read او MS (B)

⁴ Omit حلقة ملاں MSS (A) (B) ⁵ MS (A) دھنکوپ Dhankot

⁶ MS (A) رادہ Radah ⁷ MS (A) آواز Awaiz

⁸ MS (A) را پای تحت ساخت و رفت MS (B) و نه و نه

⁹ We should follow the text here. MS (A) omits the words خان نہ اسی and goes on دامن کوہ در گردند and دامن عدیلی omitting the passage in square brackets which follows

¹⁰ MS (B) کس ¹¹ MS (A) اسلام شاہ

Lūhānī as Governor of Lāhor; and at a time when Shams Khān had come out for some undertaking¹ to a distance of thirty *krohs* from Lāhor, Khawāss Khān,² with three³ or four hundred cavalry, each individual man of whom could have withstood an army, advanced with the idea of taking Lāhor, and encamped⁴ in the grove of Kāmrān Mirza. The inhabitants of Lāhor shutting themselves up in the fort held the city till the arrival of Shams Khān, and Khawāss Khān, having cut down the lofty trees⁵ of Safidār and Chinār⁶ of that grove, had set about making *Sātūr*⁷ and ladders, when⁸ his cavalry brought news that Rāi Husain Jilwānī and other Amīrs of Salim Shāh's party with an army of thirty thousand cavalry had arrived in the neighbourhood of Lāhor. Khawāss Khān, after a conference with 'Isā Khān, abandoned the siege, and went out some five or six *krohs* to meet (his enemy), and with five hundred veteran cavalry well tried in war hurled himself against that wall of steel. Rāi Husain said to his men, leave the way open so⁹ that this black calamity may pass through our midst. Accordingly¹⁰ he made a breach in the line of Salim Shāh's army, and attacked them again from the rear and threw them into confusion. At this juncture he received a wound in the knee which bore him from his horse to the ground, but his opponents had not sufficient enterprise to come up to him and take him prisoner, and he was openly borne off the field upon a *charpoy*.¹¹

۱ MS. (A) بیہت مہمی.

۲ MS. (A) مردو سردار (مردو سردار). ۳ MS. (A) سیصد (سیصد). ۴ MS. (A) آندھنہ فروند (آندھنہ فروند).

۵ MS. (A) درختهای (درختهای).

۶ The *Safedār* سفیدار is the white Poplar or Abele. The *Chinār* has been already mentioned.

۷ MS. (A) ساطور. This word is not given in any of the dictionaries. The only word I can conjecture it may possibly be meant for is the Turkī ساتو *Sātū*, which means the roof of a house (P. de C.) in which case it would have a meaning of a shelter under which to approach the walls, like the Roman *Vineae*, which consisted of a roof resting upon posts eight feet in height, made sufficiently light to admit of its being carried by the soldiers. The roof was formed of planks and wicker work.

۸ MS. (A) سواران (A) ۹ MS. (A) reads دھنڈ رلا (دھنڈ رلا). ۱۰ MS. (A) reads بدر رو (بدر رو).

۱۱ I have retained this word in its English dress as being one so familiar to all who know India. The *چهارپائی* *chahār pāī* is simply an oblong wooden frame on four legs (as its name implies) fitted with a bottom of string, matting

Rāī Husain forbade his men to give pursuit, and Khawāṣṣ Khan went off in safety towards Nagarkot¹; whence he proceeded to the foot of the Kumaon hills. The final issue of his affairs will be related shortly² in its own place if God, *He is exalted*, so will it. The Niyazi faction set their hearts upon the government of Kashmir, but by the craft of the Kashmris were enticed into bye ways, and eventually reached their rest in the corner of destruction, as will be mentioned, if God, *He is exalted*, so will it.

And in the year 954 H (1547 A.D.) an Afghan named Usmān, whose hand Sazawal Khan had cut off for some reason, one day laid an ambush in Aga, and at the entrance to a road aimed a blow at Sazawal Khan and wounded him. Sazawal Khan went to the camp, and represented that this attack had been made at the instance of Salim Shah, he then took his way to Malwa. Islem Shah pursued him as far as Banswala, but seeing that Sazawal Khan was hidden among the Zamindars of Sarui,³ Salim Shah left 'Isa Khan Sui with twenty thousand cavalry in Ujjain, and reached the capital. In the early part of his reign Islem Shah detailed five thousand cavalry for the chief *sardars* of Hindūstān. Among them Mubariz Khan, the son of Nizam Khan⁴ Sar, who was the cousin and wife's brother of Islem Shah, and eventually received the title of Muhammad 'Adil, was appointed as a commander of twenty thousand to the vicinity of Ajawan in the Sarkār of Sanbal, in order that Khwāṣṣ Khan and the other Amirs might not be able to raise disturbances in that province, and he appointed as his deputy Pibandh Khāzak.⁵ He had also given orders at the beginning of his reign that between every two resthouses built by Shāh Shah which were at intervals of one *kroh*, another rest house of the same patt *ru* should be built, with a temple, and a dwelling place, and a *co doir* for water, and that a buttery and kitchen containing food both cooked and uncooked, for the use of travellers,⁶ both Hindu and Musulman, should be

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or a broad tape called *nīwar* in common use as a bedstead and everywhere known as a *charpoy*. See Hale and Barnell Glossary, s.v.

¹ The portion included in double square brackets is omitted from MS (B)

² MS (A) مذکور کرد حوالہ دش
نظام حاں سور

³ Footnote variant سرود Sarud

⁴ MS (A) writes نظم حاں سور

⁵ MSS (A) (B) read حرك Khāzak as in footnote variant. The text reads حرك

⁶ MSS (A) (B) supply مسافر

always open. Among other commands of his was this, that the *madad-i-ma'ash*¹ and *aimah* grants of the whole of the protected² provinces of Hindūstān which *Shir Shāh* had given, and the rest-houses which he had furnished, and the pleasure-gardens he had laid out,³ should remain just as they were, and should not be altered in the slightest degree. Another order was, that all the *Pātars*⁴ should be taken by force from those Amīrs who kept *Akhāras* (these are well known in Hindūstān). He also seized⁵ the elephants in the same manner, and did not leave in the possession of any one any but a wretched female elephant fit only for carrying baggage, and gave⁶ orders that the red tent was confined solely to his own use. Another order was this, that he brought the whole country under his own personal control,⁷ and in accordance with the regulations and custom of the *dāghī* system⁸ which *Shir Shāh* had instituted, the soldiery were paid in cash. A further step was to send written orders to all the *Sarkārs* containing comprehensive instructions on all important points of religion, and all political and civil questions,⁹ entering into the minutest essential detail,¹⁰ and dealing with all regulations

385. which might be of service to the soldiery and civil population, to the merchants and other various classes, and which the authorities were bound to follow in their jurisdiction.

All these points were written in these documents whether agreeable to the religious law or not,¹¹ so that there was no necessity to refer any such matters¹² to the *Qāzī* or *Muftī*, nor was it proper to do so.¹³

¹ See *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann) I, 268, 272, regarding the tenures of land called respectively *madad-i-ma'ash* and *aimah*.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit *صَالِكَ*.

³ MSS. (A) (B) omit *سَاخْتَةَ بُودَنَه*. ⁴ Dancing girls, *see ante*, p. 250 (Text) n. 4.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) omit *گُرْفَت*.

⁶ MS. (A) *کَرَد*.

⁷ MS. (A). *خَاصَّةً خَوْد سَاخْت*.

⁸ See *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann) I, 242. Under the *dāghī* system every Amīr began as a commander of twenty, and when he brought his full complement of twenty horses to be branded (داغ *dāgh* signifies a brand), he was to be promoted to the next higher grade, and so on.

⁹ MS. (A) omits the words *صَالِكَ وَ مَعَافَاتٍ*. MS. (B) omits *مَعَافَاتٍ*.

¹⁰ *Naqīr وَ قَطْمَيْر ضَرْبَرِي* *Naqīr o qīlmīr-i-zarūrī*. *Naqīr* means the small groove on the date stone, *qīlmīr* is the thin pellicle which covers the datestone.

¹¹ MS. (A) *بَابَ مُوَافَقَةِ*. ¹² MS. (A) *ابْوَابِ*. ¹³ MS. (A) *بَابَ مُسْتَحْمِلِ*.

Also the Amirs of five thousand, ten thousand, and twenty thousand, used every Friday to pitch a lofty tent supported by eight poles,¹ and bring the shoes of Salim Shāh together with a quiver which he had given to the *sardārs*² in front of the throne, and first of all the commander of the troops, and after him the *Munsif*, that is to say, the Chief Commissioner (*Amin*) followed by the others in due precedence, with bowed heads and every expression of respect would take their seats in their appointed places. Then a Secretary would come and read aloud that order, chapter and verse, which occupied eighty sheets of paper more or less. Any question which presented any difficulty was referred by them in conclave to the various provisions and rulings of that document, by which it was finally decided, and if it should so happen that any Amir acted in contravention of that order, the Secretary used to write a report of that action and despatch it to the Court, and the disobedient Amir would forthwith be visited with punishment together with his family and relations. This procedure remained in force to the end of the reign of Islem Shāh. The writer of this *Muntakhab*, in the year 955 H (1548 A.D.), when he was of tender age, went to the country of Bījwara, one of the dependencies of Bairāna, with the army of Farid Taran, Commander of five thousand, in the company of his maternal grandfather, *on him be the mercy of God*, and witnessed these customs and rules of practice. And in the year 954 H or in 955 H, God knows which, Khwāja Wais Sirwāni, who had been commissioned to proceed against A'zam Humāyūn³ [fought a battle with the Niyazis in the

I This is a conjecture. I have failed to find the word سُرْجَه *Surgha* in any dictionary. It sounds like a Turkic word. There is a word in the Turkic language سُوقْمَه *Sughma* or سُوقْمَه *Sugma* (Fażlu llah Khan) meaning pilier colonne (P de G) and it is quite possible that in copying the word, j has been written for , and the p omitted by oversight. We should then have سُرْجَه as in the text and MSS. The meaning is reasonable eight poled shamshas being very commonly used.

² MS (A) has a different reading to the text here. It reads در کشته می کرد سردار داده بود upon a tray which he had given to the Sardar instead of ترکشی که سردار داده بود

³ MS (B) omits the words from نامزد to ملکیون, the copyist having mistaken his place after the first occurrence of the name A'zam Humayun

L 100 J

vicinity of Dhankot,¹ and was defeated. A'zam Humāyūn] having taken a strong force pursued him as far as Sihrind.. Islem Shāh sent a large army against the rebels, and at last they fought another battle in the same country, and on this occasion also the
386. Niyāzis suffered defeat, and some of their women were captured and sent to Gwāliār. Islem Shāh dishonoured them, and made over to the harlots in his camp the banners and tents and all the tokens of dignity of the Niyāzis who had fallen into his hands, and naming one Sa'id Khān, and another Ā'zam² Humāyūn, and a third Shāhbāz Khān, in this way he distributed titles. Moreover he gave them drums which they used to play at their doors at the time of the *naubat*,³ and the prostitutes used to give themselves airs⁴ and used to say *Sag-i-falakam*.⁵ This class used to come every Thursday evening, in accordance with the custom of the harlots of Hindūstān, to pay their respects to Islem Shāh, and the heralds and chamberlains used to call out with a loud voice, O King cast a gracious glance hither, for a certain Khān Niyāzi, and Bahmān Khān are here to invoke blessings on thee. This used to annoy the Afghāns who were all of one tribe and of one mind, so that an intense disgust for him had sprung up in their hearts. Some assert that his conferring the titles of the Niyāzis and giving the ensigns and drums was on the first occasion.⁶ God knows the truth. And Ā'zam Humāyūn, who on the second occasion was defeated, was not able to gird himself again to war, and the Niyāzi party being scattered asunder grew daily weaker, and at first took refuge with the Ghakkars in the neighbourhood of Rohtās, making the hill country adjoining the Kashmīr territory their asylum. Islem Shāh, in order to remove the cause of the mischief, marched with a large army, and reaching the Panjāb took up a strong position in the northern hill range, and by way of guarding his head-quarter post built five
387. forts: *viz.*, Mānkot and Rashidkot and the others. For a space of

¹ MS. (A) دھنکوپ Dhankob.

² MSS. (A) (B) omit خان.

³ نوبت *Naubat*. Music which is played daily by the band appointed for the purpose at stated hours. See Āin-i-Akbarī (B) I. 51.

⁴ طبل عالیٰ Footnote variant, also MSS. (A) (B) Text reads طبل عالیٰ Tabl-i-ulā (*nawākhtan*). To beat the drum of self-conceit.

⁵ سگ فلکم *Sag-i-Falakam*. "I am the dog of the sky," a parodied expression taken from the astronomical *Shir-i-falak*, the constellation Leo.

⁶ On the occasion of their first defeat.

two years he kept the Afghans¹ employed in carrying stone and lime, and had such a hatred of the whole tribe that he heaped² the dust of infamy and oppression on their heads. At this time he did not give them even the smallest coin³ by way of recompence. A party of them, however, who had obtained exemption from this labour,⁴ he detailed to oppose the Ghakkars, and they engaged in continuous warfare with them.

The Ghakkars in appearance like the tribe of 'Ad,⁵ daily fought with the Afghans, and by night entered their camp like thieves, and used to carry off whomsoever they might find, woman or man, freed man or slave, and keep them in bonds with the utmost rigour, and sell them. The Afghans⁶ dragged them in the dirt, and gave them the nickname of *Ruswāī* (disgraced), but no one had the power to represent this state of things to Islem Shah till at last one day Shah Muhammad Farmuli,⁷ who was one of the most noted Amirs for wit and good humour in Hindustan, and was also a specially favoured and forward boon companion said, "My Lord the King! Last night I saw in a dream three bags descend from heaven, in one of which was dust, in another gold, and in the third⁸ paper. The dust fell upon the head of a soldier, the gold went to the house of the Hindu *daftari*,⁹ and the paper remained in the royal treasury." Islem Shah was pleased with this speech, and promised that after his return to Gwalior he would make his accountants draw up an account of the soldiers' pay, and pay them in gold. As it happened that order was never carried out, for in those same days death seized him by the collar.

Verse

Attend to my wants to day for that draught is of no avail
Which is given to Sohrāb after his death.

In the end, the affairs of the Niyazis came to this, that when 388

¹ MSS (A) (B) omit دو نژاد

² MS (A) ریخت

³ MS (A) مک فلس و حینل ساد ادا *Yak fals o jital na dad*. The text reads *Falus*. The *jital* is an imaginary division of the *dam* used only for purposes of calculation. Its fictitious value is only the thousandth part of a rupee. *Ain-i-Albari* (B) I 31.

⁴ Read بائزد کرد *Tā bāzad kard* MS (A) MS (B) تائیزد کرده The text is wrong

⁵ See Sale's Koran p 4 ⁶ MSS (A) (B) *بیدی کشیده* *bādi kashidah*

⁷ MS A قرتاعی ⁸ MS (A) دودنگری ⁹ A scribe, clerk

their strength¹ was broken, and they came into Kashmīr, the Kashmīris, who are² born traitors and deceivers, first of all invited the Niyāzīs from Rūjūrī after inflaming them with spurious ambition for kingdom, and in the end their guides leading them astray³ brought the tribes of Kashmīr to oppose them, and at a hint from Islem Shāh held the head of the pass against them. The women even of the Niyāzīs in defence of their honour girded on quivers, (among them were the mother and wife of Ā'zam Humāyūn),⁴ and fighting with the Kashmīris were attacked by a hail of stones which literally covered them, and not a soul escaped. It is said that in the reign of Shir Shāh a body of the Afghāns of the tribe of Sanbal invited the Niyāzīs to Dhankot under treaty, and put two thousand of them to death in obedience to the orders of Shir Shāh, putting their wives and children to the sword. Five years later the same thing happened to them,⁵ and in this house of retribution they received the reward of their deeds, hand for hand. And⁶ in these narrow passes they put all three brothers to the sword, sending their heads as an offering to Salim Shāh. They also sent for him a girl from there. A part of this story has been elegantly told in the *Tārikh-i-Kashmīr*,⁷ the composition of which is ancient though its arrangement is modern; and at the time when Islem Shāh, had sent troops against the Ghakkars and the Jānoha party who were strongly entrenched on the banks of the river Behat, he himself was occupied in building the fortress of Māngarh;⁸ and Kāmrān Mirzā, after fighting many battles with⁹

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Muhammad Humāyūn Padshāh, fled from Kābul and took refuge with Salim Shāh, in the hopes that he would give him reinforcements which would enable him to capture Kābul, in the (vain) expectation that the water which had flowed away would return¹⁰ to its source. When Islem Shāh heard this tidings, he selected from his army the notorious Humūn¹¹ Baqqāl, who in those

پس خم. ۱ Footnote variant صورت. ۲ MS. (A) ای ۴۵۰. ۳ MSS. (A) (B)

۴ Omit & MSS. (A) (B).

۵ همان آش در کاسه ایشان بود. *Hamān āsh dar Kāsa-i-shān būd:* Lit. The same broth was in their cup.

۶ MS. (A) supplies و.

۷ *Tārikh-i-Kashmīr*, see p. 8, n. 3.

۸ Text مال گرہ Mālgarh. MSS. (A) (B) مان گرہ Māngarh.

۹ با MS. (A).

۱۰ MS. (A) omits باز.

۱۱ Footnote variant هیموں Haimūn. The text reads هیموی Haimūī.

days, in virtue of his capacity for extorting taxes, had been promoted from being overseer of the market to a post of confidence, and sent him with another body of Afghans to the neighbourhood of Rohtas to meet Mirzā, and although Islam Shāh in his own mind thought this a reason for increased confidence in Mirzā, being led to this by the want of confidence¹ he had in the Afghans as a tribe, and the entire trust he reposed in Humān, still Mirzā himself made light of this, and² recognizing that there were dregs in the very first draught of the cup was unwilling to come in person.

Verse

Now indeed thou repentest but thy repentance profiteth thee nothing

Nevertheless, in spite of this Mirzā still believed that possibly Islam Shāh would overlook everything, and would treat him with honour and respect when the time of meeting arrived. However, on the day of public audience, he himself entered with arrogant assurance, and sitting on the seat of a Farvān or a Shaddad,³ gave orders to Sarmast Khān⁴ the Afghān, a Da'ud Zā'i,⁵ who held the office of *Bārbak*,⁶ in accordance with which he directed Mirzā to perform the customary salutations like the servants of the ordinary public. He accordingly performed the *Kornish*,⁷ and those diabolical men⁸ out of sheer inhumanity seized Mirzā roughly by the nape of the neck, and shouted aloud several times saying, Your Majesty!⁹ Be pleased to cast a glance hither, for Kāmrān the Muqaddam zāda of Kabul invokes blessings. Islam Shāh after ignoring him for some considerable time, cast a haughty glance in the direction of Mirzā,¹⁰ and uttered a hypocritical 390. "Welcome" *Ha then ordered a tent and canopy to be erected*

¹ Footnote variant and MS (A) اعتیادی

² MS (A) و نز قبیل اول خم و دردی

³ Shaddad the son of 'Ad see ante, p 203 n 6

⁴ MS (A) omits خان ⁵ MS (A) omits مادرہ ذئی

⁶ MS (A) تاریک *Bārbak* The chief attendant of the darbar or public audience

⁷ کورشی *Kornish* A mode of salutation in which the palm of the right hand is placed on the forehead and the head bowed. It signifies that the saluter has placed his head (which is the seat of the senses and the mind) into the hand of humility. See *Ain-i Akbari* (B) I 158

⁸ MS (A) دو مردم (B) پادشاہا حاتم میرزا کردو

for Mirzā near to his own tent, and bestowed upon him a horse and a robe of honour, and a slave girl and a eunuch so that they might spy into his affairs. He used also to summon the Mirzā from time to time, and hold converse with him regarding poetry, but their intercourse was always disagreeable, and the Mirzā was worried by those incessant ceremonial visits and shew of politeness, till he grew sick of his life, and was watching a favourable opportunity to make his escape. Moreover the Afghāns used to make jibes¹ at him in the Hindī tongue, and when he appeared in *darbār* used to say² *Moro mī āyad*³ (Here comes the peacock). The Mirzā enquired from one of the attendants, in the presence of Islem Shāh, "What do they mean by *Moro*?" He answered, "It is the name they give⁴ to a man of great dignity." The Mirzā replied,⁵ "At that rate Salim Shāh is a first rate *Moro* and *Shir Shāh* was a still finer." Salim Shāh consequently gave orders that no one was ever to use that word again,⁶ nor to indulge in pleasantries at the Mirzā's expense. At last one day Islem Shāh called upon the Mirzā for a verse of poetry, when the Mirzā recited this *matla'* off hand :

*Gardish-i-gardūn-i-gardān gardanānrā gard kard
Bar sar-i-ṣāhib-tamīzān nāqışān rā mard kard.*⁷

The revolutions of the circling heaven have brought low the mighty,
And have made worthless men to lord it over men of intelligence.

Islem Shāh fully caught the meaning of this verse, and gave secret orders to his attendants to keep the Mirzā under open arrest. The Mirzā, however, by the help of the *zamīndārs*,⁸ made an arrangement with one of the hill Rājas, and persuaded him, by holding out inducements of various kinds, to station post-

¹ MS. (A) (B) هزل. ² MS. (A) & 5.

³ سُورَة *Moro* is the Prākrit form of the modern Hindī *मोर* *Mor*, a peacock.

MS. (B) reads مور و مرغ یعنی. *Moro*, that is to say, a bird.

MS. (A) reads مور و یعنی مرغ, so also footnote variant to text.

⁴ MS. (A) omits میگویند. ⁵ MS. (B) omits گفت.

6 MS. (B) reads بگویند for نگویند.

⁷ Read اهل تمیزان for صاحب تمیزان MSS. (A) (B). ⁸ MS. (B) ذمینداری.

horses along the banks of the river Chinab. One night he emerged from his tent with a woman's chālīr¹ drawn over his head. The guards imagined that it was one of the women of his harem and offered no interference.

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The Mirza crossed the river with his horse and saddle and succeeded in reaching the Rāja. From there he proceeded alone clothed in a burqā², and taking a jilaundar³ with him, was escorted by some of the Rājas' subjects till he arrived in the vicinity of the village of Ghari Khū,⁴ on the bank of the river Behat, and rested there one night. Inasmuch as that village is near Sultānpur the residence of Sultan Ādam Ghakkār, at a distance of three krohs from the fortress of Rohtās, some one went to Sultan Ādam and informed him that a Mughal woman was encamped at such and such a place, attended only by one jilaundar and that her intention was to proceed on the following morning. Sultan Ādam sent messengers to make enquiries, and then proceeded⁵ in person, and had an interview with the Mirzā, who by persistent entreaty prevailed upon him to give a promise that he would send him in safety to a place of refuge. Sultan Ādam accordingly wrote a letter to Muhammad Humayun Pādshāh, who had recently arrived in that neighbourhood, begging him to spare the Mirzā's life.⁶

The Padshah wrote an order in accordance with this request⁷ of his, and sent it to him, but eventually, two years later, he again seized the Mirza, and⁸ after blinding him with a lancet

¹ چادر chadar A garment worn by women over the head and body

² برق Burqa' Here the author probably means the garment covering the head and body completely and having only a small latticed opening for the mouth and similar openings for the eyes worn by Afghān women when out of doors. See Lane Modern Egyptians for a description of the burqa' proper, which is a kind of veil.

³ حارڈار Jilaundar An attendant whose duty it is to run beside the horse. Abul Fażl says some of them will run from 50 to 100 kroh (100 to 200 miles') a day. See Āin-i Akbari (B) I 138

⁴ Text مدرقی With a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS. However MS (A) reads مدرقی correctly

⁵ MS (A) MS (B) reads گھری جو Ghari Ju ⁶ MSS (A) (B) ۹ آف

⁷ Real with MS (A) میرزا for میرزا (text) ⁸ MSS (A) (B) مسٹر

⁹ MS (A) supplies و

proposal, and folk began to entertain increased suspicion against him, and both small and great talked openly about him. Shāh Muḥammad summoned these two holy men into his own private dwelling for safe custody, and took great pains to entertain them. One night, not long afterwards, an armed band entered his¹ house by the upper story and martyred both father and son who were engaged in their night's devotions. They then left the house, and in the morning the governor of the city came and enquired of Shāh Muḥammad how this had occurred. He absolutely denied any knowledge of the circumstances, and stated that he had no idea who the murderers were; then he prepared a report of the affair under the Great Seal, and sent it together with a despatch to Islem Shāh at his camp. Islem Shāh thereupon sent to Dihlī Makhdūmu-l-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu-llāh of Sultānpūr,² who was *Shaikhn-l-Islām* and *Sadru-s-sudūr*, to investigate this matter, and also despatched circular letters summoning the Chief 'Ulamā of the time, for example Miyān Hātim Sanbālī, Miyān Jamāl Khān Muftī, and others. This conflict lasted two months after this time, and after great argument and enquiry it was with tolerable certainty conjectured³ that the murderers were agents of Shāh Muḥammad.⁴ This result was reported to

394. Islem Shāh, but before any reply could be received Shāh Muḥammad, who had sunk from so high dignity to the depths of disgrace, could not endure the anxiety, underwent venesection and took sour milk in addition, and endured voluntarily humiliating penance. Report also says even more than this, but, every one knew perfectly well that all these austeries and self-inflections, were the outcome of hypocrisy and deceit, and not inspired by religious motives.

Thou hast forsaken the world for the sake of the world.

Quatrain.

This long time thou hast made thy tongue like a sword,
So that thou givest the attributes of a lion to one who is but
a dog.

Thou turnest upside down the storehouse of falsehood
In order to satisfy thy own hungry belly.

¹ MS. (A) omits *وَلِ*.

² See Āīn-i-Akbarī (Blockmann) I, Biography VII.

³ MS. (B) reads *وَمُؤْفِهِ*.

⁴ MS. (B) *وَلَمَّا دَعَهُ*.

This event took place in the year 956 H. Another important incident was the affair of Shaykh 'Alai Mahdi of Baiana,¹ which closely resembles the affair of Sidi Maula,² which took place during the reign of Sultan Jalāl ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh, in fact the proverb, *One shoe is like its fellow*,³ is exactly applicable here.

The following is a brief exposition of this affair. The father of the aforesaid Shaykh 'Alai was called Hasan, and was one of the great Shaykhs of the country of Brugala, and on his arrival from Bangala on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the holy city of Makka with his younger brother Shaykh Nasru'llah, who was one of the most eminent of the 'Ulamā, came from there to Hindustan and took up his abode in the province of Baiāna. The words *Ja'a nasru llahi wal fath*,⁴ were found to give the date of that event. The elder brother gave his attention to *Irshād*⁵ and *Hidāyat*, and the younger⁶ to *fatiqa*⁷ and instruction in religious knowledge.⁸

Shaykh 'Alai, who was the most orthodox of the sons of the Shaykh, the tablet of whose forehead was from early boyhood distinguished by the marks of nobility and uprightness, and the evidences of a youth to be spent in the worship of God and in following the ordinances of the prophet of God, *may the peace and blessing of God rest upon him*, in the service of his venerable father devoted himself to the acquirement of exoteric and esoteric sciences, and to the improvement of his character disposition and behaviour, and in a short time⁹ having read all the routine works by the aid of his natural quickness of apprehension and clear intellect, engaged in tuition and instruction.

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¹ See *Ain-i Akbari* (Blochmann) I, Biography V, seqq.

² See Beale (Oriental Biog. Dict.), p. 240.

³ حدو الارجل بالارجل They also say حاده حاده بالليل They also say حاده حاده بالليل *one feather of the arrow is like another* See Freytag Prog. Arab I 345. As we say As like as two peas.

⁴ وَلِلَّهِ الْمُصْرِفُ وَالْمُنْتَعِنُ The letters give the date 930 H. The words mean

The victory of God and conquest has come to pass

⁵ ارشاد Irshād Orthodoxy ⁶ هدایت Hidāyat Guidance direction

⁶ MSS (A) (B) both omit حورود but the text seems probably correct

⁷ فتنی fatuq Religious or judicial rulings

⁸ MS (A) omits the words علوم دین ⁹ MSS (A) (B) درست

Verse.

Continual learning is requisite with application and exertion,
 Always by day argument and by night repetition.
 Piety, asceticism, worship and reverence,
 Without these, all acquisitions are wondrous vain.

After the death of his revered father, having abandoned the ordinary conversation and giving up all connection with the delusive phantoms of the world, he set himself to follow consistently the paths of obedience and austerity, firmly occupying the prayer carpet of the Shaikhs, and used to engage in the direction and instruction¹ of seekers of the right way. Nevertheless he still retained a residue of evidences of worldly desires, and in accordance with the saying, "The last thing to leave the head of the just is the love of glory,"² seeking as he did to claim superiority over his fellow-men, he was unwilling that any other Shaikh in that city should share his dignity; this he carried so far that on the day of the festivals, from his excessive jealousy³ and envy, he caused one of the leaders of the contemplative⁴ and ascetic⁵ Shaikhs of the Sūfi party to descend from his litter, thus inflicting a grievous blow to his dignity. He used to arrogate to himself alone the dignity of Shaikhdom. His other brothers, who in respect of years and experience were his superiors, used also to yield submission to him and pride themselves upon it.⁶

In the meanwhile Miyān 'Abdu-llah, a Niyāzī⁷ Afghān, who was at first one of the most noted lieutenants of Shaikh Salim Chishtī of Fathpūr, and who eventually with his permission proceeded on a pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, and performed various kind offices and favours for him, taking part with Mir Saiyyid Muhammad of Jaunpūr,⁸ *may God sanctify his holy resting-place*, who had claimed to be the promised Mahdī, and adopting the manners of a Mahdī, on his return from the Hijāz took up his

¹ MSS. (A) (B) write تلقین و ارشاد.

² "That last infirmity of noble minds."

³ Badāoni here uses غبطة *ghibbat* in a sense opposed to its classical meaning which is emulation unmixed with envy.

⁴ MS. (A) reads میتھوسم for متھوسم in the text.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read منقش for منقشہ in the text.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) read میکردنہ.

⁷ See Āin-i-Akbarī (B) I, v.

⁸ See Āin-i-Akbarī (B) I, iv.

abode in Biānah, and making his dwelling in the corner of a grove far from the haunts of men on the borders of a tank, used to cast water upon his head, and when the times of prayer came round, used to gather together certain of the labourers, hewers of wood and drawers of water who had to pass by that way, and compel them to form an assembly for prayer,¹ with such a degree of enthusiasm, that if he met any man disinclined for the meeting he would give him a few coins² and encourage him, thus not allowing the reward of the assembly³ to escape him

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When Shaikh 'Alai saw his conduct he was greatly pleased,⁴ and said to his own followers, This is religion and true faith which Miyān 'Abdu-l-lah Niyāzi has, whereas the path in which we are held is nought but idolatry and infidelity⁵

So long as a hair's breadth of existence remains to thee⁶
 The danger of idol-worship still remains for thee,
 Thou sayest I have broken my idols and my Zunnār, I am free,
 This idol however, thy slavery to self conceit, remains to thee

Abandoning the customs of his forefathers, and giving up his claims as a Shaikh and a leader of religion, trampling under foot his self esteem and conceit, he devoted himself to the care of the poor of his own neighbourhood, and with the utmost self mortification and humility gave himself up to the service of those whom he had formerly⁷ vexed, and abandoning his madad i maāsh⁸ and his alms house and monastery,⁹ entering the valley of self-renunciation and abnegation, bestowed¹⁰ all his worldly possessions

¹ MSS (A) (B) omit سعاز

² MS (A) پولی چند

³ Concerning this it is said "The prayers which are said in multitudes increase the rewards of those said alone by twenty seven degrees" See Mishkatul Ma'abah (Mathew) xxiv 1

⁴ MS (B) سیار حوش گردید

⁵ حزب پرستی و ربار داری ندست

The term Zunnar [Gk. ζωρδην (Golus) or ζωρδπον (Freytag)] is applied to the belt or girdle worn by the Christian or Magian. It also applies to the Brahminical thread and thus the wearer of any of these is to Muslims an infidel

⁶ MS (A) reads تا یات سو صوی تو از مهانی یافی است سانقاً

⁷ MS (A) reads تا یات سو صوی تو از مهانی یافی است سانقاً

⁸ Lands given for benevolent purposes see Āin-i Akbari (B) I, 270

⁹ MSS (A) (B) omit لکن

¹⁰ MSS (A) (B) read شار و ایثار کرد

even to his books upon the poor, and said to his wife,¹ "The pains of the search after God have gotten hold of me, if thou canst endure poverty and hunger come with me in God's name, but if not take² thy portion of these goods; and take the reins of choice into thine own hands, and go thy way."

Follow my fortunes, or else depart far from me

She of her own accord was highly pleased with this determination of his.³

397. There are some women who perform perhaps even better than men the duties of religion,
Just as in boldness the lioness surpasses the lion.

Then approaching Miyān 'Abdu-l-lah, with all respectful submission to him, he took instruction in the ceremonial observance of *Zikr*⁴ in the manner which obtains among that sect.

The interpretations of the Qur'ān, and the delicate points and minutiae and true meanings of that sacred book were easily revealed to him, and a large number of the friends and companions who were in accord with him, and believed in him, some of them unmarried and some with families, chose companionship with him even at the risk of their lives, and following the path of his guidance with the foot of reliance in God, three hundred householders, abandoning all other source of gain and traffic, agriculture and skilled labour, spent their time with him. And whenever anything was given by Providence they used to divide it justly, apportioning to each individual an equal share. If nothing came,⁵ comforting themselves with the sacred word, "Men whom neither merchandise nor selling divert from the remembrance of God,"⁶ even had they died of hunger, they would not have uttered a sound, and if any person abandoning his vow made according to their mutual compact engaged in any lucrative occupation, of a surety he would expend a tithe of it in the

¹ MS. (A) reads جليلة. ² MSS. (A) (B) بودار The text reads wrongly برأور. ³ This line is omitted from MS. (B).

⁴ ذکر. *Zikr*. The religious ceremony practised by the various religious orders of Faqirs. See Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, art. *Zikr*.

⁵ I read here علی و علی, MSS. (A) (B).

⁶ Qur'ān xxiv. 37. رِجَالٌ لَا تُلْهِيهِمْ تِجَارَةٌ وَلَا يَبْعَثُ عَنْ ذِكْرِ اللَّهِ.

service of Almighty God. Twice daily after the morning prayer and another prayer, great and small would gather in that assembly, and listen to an exposition of the Qur'an. Shaikh 'Alai had such a marvellous power of attraction that when he was exponning the Qur'an almost every one who heard him, of his own accord withheld his hand from all worldly occupation, and elected to join that assembly,¹ abandoning his family and relations and children, enduring the hardships of poverty, hunger and religious warfare never troubled himself again about his work or gains, and if he had not that degree of fortitude, his penitence and repentance of his sins and iniquities would certainly have availed nothing, while many a one thought it his duty to empty his cooking vessels at nightfall of all the necessities of life even to salt and flour and water, and let them remain upside down, and they kept nothing in the way of means of existence by them, from their extreme faith in the providence of Almighty God, and the saying "Each new day brings a new provision" was the basis of their practice.

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A short account of this sect is given in the *Najatu r-rashid*² which should be consulted³.

In spite of this they were in the habit of keeping arms and implements of war always with them⁴ as a protection against their enemies, so that anyone who was unacquainted with the tenth of the matter would be apt to think they were wealthy, *The ignorant think them to be rich because of their modesty*⁵. And whenever they saw any irreligious or forbidden action either in the city or the market, they went and called the offenders to account by main force,⁶ and admitted no investigation by the governor, and on most occasions they got the best of it, they aided every magistrate of the city who acted in conformity with their religious tenets and principles⁷ in carrying out his

¹ MSS (A) (B) insert ب after صعدت

² سات الرشيد *Najatu r-rashid* A MS of this work is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No E 204. Its author is Badaoni.

³ MS (A) reads دا و MS (A) reads طاو

⁴ تمسهم الشاهد اعيانه من العجاف *Qur'an n 274*

⁵ رفته for گرفته

⁷ دوامداد او می کوشیده

measures, while no one who was opposed to their views could [stand against them. Matters came to such a pass that fathers left their sons, brother left brother, and wife left husband]¹ and entered the charmed circle of the Mahdi, voluntarily submitting to poverty and extinction. Miyān ‘Abdu-llah when he saw that Shaikh ‘Alā’i had lost his influence with rich and poor alike, and that his day was over, was much vexed, and speaking with gentleness and moderation, said by way of advice, The time cannot away with affairs of this kind, and truth nowadays has become more bitter than colocynth. It were wiser for you to quit this vale (of iniquity) and either retire into obscurity or determine upon a journey to the Ḥijāz.

Verse.

Alas ! for him who escapes not from public turmoil,
 Alas ! for him who sets his heart upon the men of this world.
 The hand of the faqir holds no other coin but that of leisure,
 Alas ! for him if he abandons that also.

399.

Shaikh ‘Alā’i,² retaining that selfsame habit and conduct³ which he always had, accompanied by six or seven hundred families, set out for Gujrāt in the hope that in the companionship of the chiefs⁴ and leaders of this sect he might learn the customs of the inmates of cloisters.⁵ At the time of his arrival at the township of Basāwar from Baiāna, my late father took me, the writer of these pages, to do homage to him. In consequence of my tender years, his form remained fixed in my memory as a dream or a vision. On his arrival at Khawāspūr which is near Jodhpūr, Khawāṣṣ Khān who had been appointed to that district, at first came out to receive him and joined the circle of his adherents : but in consequence of his devotion to musical entertainments and pastimes,⁶ whereas now every Thursday night Sūfis used to assemble in his house, and Shaikh ‘Alā’i forbade music and other prohibited⁷ pastimes, and enjoined⁸ that which

¹ MS. (A) زن از شوهر (B). The words in brackets are omitted in MS. (B).

² MS. (A) omits عالئي . ³ MS. (B) omits و حالت .

⁴ MS. (A) reads wrongly باغدان .

⁵ Insert in the text را after MSS. (A) (B).

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) بسماع و صفائی مقید بود . ⁷ MSS. (A) (B) مناهی و ملاهي .

⁸ MS. (B) reads wrongly اوسو for آمر .

was lawful and opposed that which was forbidden by law, accordingly their association was not agreeable, besides which opposition and disagreement arose with regard to the upholding of the rights of the soldiery. The saying—

*Verily speaking the truth will not leave me a single friend*¹

is a well known proverb. Shaikh 'Alā'i in consequence of certain opposition which arose, turned back in the middle of the journey and returned to Bāīnā, and at the time when Islem Shāh had taken firm possession of the throne of power in Āgra, and the rumours regarding Shaikh 'Alā'i reached his ears he sent for Mir Saiyyid Rafī'u d Dīn the traditionist, and Miyan² Abul fath of Thanesar and other learned doctors of Āgra, and summoned Shaikh 'Alā'i from Buān, at the instigation of Maḥdūmu'l-mulk Maulānā 'Abdu llah of Sultanpur. He accordingly, accompanied by a party of select³ companions, all of whom wore mail and were fully armed, came to the Court, and paying no heed to the customary observances of kingly assemblies,⁴ greeted the whole assemblage in the manner appointed by the laws of Islam.⁵ Islem Shāh acknowledged his salutation with indignation, as the appearance of the Shaikh greatly displeased⁶ him and his courtiers.

Maḥdūmu'l-Mulk had fully persuaded Islem Shāh that 400 Shaikh 'Alā'i was a revolutionary who laid claim to being the Mahdi, and that the Mahdi himself would be king of the whole world consequently as he presumed to revolt he was deserving of death. Isa Khan⁷ Hajjāb who held a very confidential post, and the other Amirs, when they saw Shaikh 'Alā'i in this displeasing attire, with ragged clothes and worn out shoes said to Islem Shāh "This fellow, in this condition and with this miserable appearance, wishes to take away the kingdom from us do you imagine that we Afghāns are all corpses!"

Prior to the convening of the assembly for discussion, Shaikh 'Alā'i in accordance with his invariable custom, had expounded a

اَنْ قُولَ الْحَقِّ لَمْ يُرَكِ لِي مَدْعَى ۖ

میان (A) (B)

³ MS (B) omits مخصوص

⁴ MS (A) reads مَسْلِمٌ نَاصِيَةٌ for مَسْلِمٌ نَاصِيَةٌ and omits مَسْلِمٌ.

⁵ Omit و MSS (A) (B) مَوْدٌ

⁶ MSS (A) (B) supply حَالٌ

few verses of the Qur'ān, and delivered such a profitable discourse, in most elegant language, comprising a criticism of the world, and a description of the last judgment, and contemptuous remarks regarding the learned men of the time, and all their faults and failings,¹ that it had the most profound effect² upon Islem Shāh and the Amirs who were present in the assembly, notwithstanding their hardness of heart, so that it brought tears to their eyes and left them amazed and confounded. Islem Shāh then rose from the assembly, and giving the matter his own attention sent refreshments from inside the palace for the Shaikh and his companions.³ The Shaikh, however, refused to touch⁴ the food himself, and moreover when Islem Shāh entered⁵ he did not pay him any respect, and merely said to his friends: Any one who chooses may eat of it. When they enquired of him the reason of his abstaining from eating the food he replied: "Your food is due to Muslims because you have possessed more than was yours by right, contrary to the dictates⁶ of the law of Islām." Islem Shāh notwithstanding this repressed his anger, and referred the enquiry into the truth of that dispute,⁷ and the decision of that contention to the 'ulamā.

Shaikh 'Alā'i vanquished every one of them in argument by virtue of his quickness of intellect and clearness of apprehension, and whenever Mir Saiyyid Rafiu-d-Din (who died in the year 954 H.) was engaged⁸ in citing the traditions which existed relating to the appearance of the promised Mahdī, and the signs by which he would be known, Shaikh 'Alā'i used to say, "you are a Shāfi'iite by religion⁹ and we¹⁰ are Hanifites, the fundamentals of your traditions are different from those of our's;" How can we accept¹¹ your explanations and interpretations on this question? Nor did he spare¹² even Mulla 'Abdu-llah himself in his criticism of a single point, saying to him, "you are one of the learned men of the world and a thief of religion, and you engage in so many

¹ MS. (A) خطاییات.

² MS. (A) بسیار مؤثر افتاده و.

³ MS. (B) همراهیانش.

⁴ MS. (A) تناول کود.

⁵ MS. (A) هنگام درآمدن.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) بخلاف حکم شرع.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) آن مبحث.

⁸ MS. (B) writes عالیات آن وارد شده شیخ ommitting میشد.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) مذهب.

¹⁰ MS. (B) و یا.

¹¹ MS. (B) reads قبول داریم.

¹² MS. (B) reads و میگذاشت.

illegal practices that you have put yourself outside the pale of equity, so that even to this time the sound of pipe and fabor may be plainly heard issuing from your house, and in accordance with the true traditions of the prophet, *upon him be peace and blessing*, a fly which settles upon filth is by degrees better than learned men who have made kings and emperors the object of their ambition and gad from door to door.

L'Espresso

Learning which exists for the sake of palace and garden
Is like a lamp to the night loving thief

In accordance with these premisses he uttered so many scathing satires [on those who preach but do not practise, citing in support of his⁸ arguments examples from the Quran and Traditions] that Mulla 'Abdu'llah was not able to say a single word in defence. One day in the midst of the argument it happened that the learned Mulla Jalal Bihli⁹ of Agra having turned up that tradition which relates to the description and evidences of the promised Mahdi,¹⁰ read as follows,¹¹ *Ajallu l-jal-hah*¹² on the form of the *as'lalu-l-tas'il* derived from *jala'l*. Shaukh 'Ali¹³ smiled, and said, "Good Heavens!¹⁴ You have given yourself out to the world as a marvel of learning, and yet you cannot read with a proper pronunciation, you have no knowledge of the deficiencies,

امانت می آورد MS (A) is not in MS (B) which reads

3 MS (A) reads $\mu_{\text{eff}}^{\text{expt}}$ Tl cm

* Regarding the Match, see Blochman *Am. v. Abbott I*, in

• MSS (A) (B) خواہد کہ جلیں

6 The text here runs:

كذلك أهل السُّنَّة يفتخرون بدم وتشدّد لام تصييغٍ تفضّل مُشتّق لز حلال -

تصنفه أفعال المفعول **التحليل** - MS (A) reads more correctly

Ajallu l-jablah would have no accurate meaning. *Jalol* meaning greatness.

The superlative form with the article is applied to God جَلِيلٌ أَكْبَرُ At Ajalla

The form *asa ln* is called the **مُعَدِّل** or form of superiority, i.e., the comparative, or, combined with the article the superlative.

سُبْحَانَ اللّٰهِ *Subhan Allah* (lit.) I raise be to God! A common mode of expressing surprise or astonishment

and subtleties and minutiæ of the science of tradition.¹ The real reading is *Ajlāu-l-jabḥah*² which is the form *Afa'alu-t-tafṣīl* from *jalā*, not from *jalāl* which is your own name."

402. He was abashed and said not another word.³ They likewise relate concerning Shaikh Mubārak⁴ that he was an ally⁵ of Shaikh 'Alā'i in this assembly, and from that day⁶ he became known⁷ as Mahdawī, and Islem Shāh being deceived⁸ by his speech and explanations used to say "You must have been in the habit of expounding the meaning of the Qur'ān," he also gave a message to the Shaikh in these words "Give up this claim of yours to be the promised Mahdī,⁹ and renounce this pretension secretly¹⁰ in my hearing, and I will make you chief overseer of religion in the whole of my dominions, and whatever lawful orders you have been in the habit of issuing without my authority, continue henceforth to issue these same commands with my permission. Otherwise, the 'Ulamā of this time have given their decision that you should be killed and gibbeted, but I will revise their sentence, for I am not willing that your blood should be shed. The Shaikh, however, who had been successful at every step, and in this easy pretension and partial object of attainment had got beyond the power of even Islem Shāh,¹¹ cared nought for.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit حذف.

² اجلی اجنبة *Ajlāu-l-jabḥah*. Most wide of forehead. That is to say having that degree of baldness which is termed *Jalā*, *jala*, i.e., baldness of the fore part of the head. See Lane. Lex. s. v. اجلی.

³ و دیگر مردم نزد دیگر دم نزد MS. (A) reads incorrectly.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) have ، before the word شیخ.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) correctly read مُمِدَّد Mumidd. The text has مُهَامَّد Muhammād mad.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) omit روز reading باز ازان.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) مشهور شد.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) omit بیان فریقدہ.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) read گذشتے باز آئی before.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads آینہ for آسمان.

¹¹ MS. (B) reads بودیم for بودیم.

any ruler and addressed¹ him in these words, "why should I change² my own belief at your bidding "

If thou desirest safety, reproach is right

If safety is lost, reproach is a mistake

In the meantime tidings reached Islem Shāh³ daily "To day such and such an Afghan⁴ general has gone over to the following of the Shaikh and sided with him, giving up all worldly considerations"

The following day Bahmān and Mulla 'Abdu-llah spent every moment in urging Islem Shah to put the Shaikh to death. At last Islem Shah gave orders for his expulsion,⁵ and forbade him to remain in his kingdom, and ordered him to go to the Dakkan Shaikh 'Ala'i who had for years⁶ desired to travel in the Dakkan and to see how the Mahdawi ideas were progressing there, hearing this good tidings recited⁷ the text *Verily God's earth is wide*⁸

Then he arose and started without delay for that country

Qāsim, curtail thy speech, arise, and take thy way,

Cast the sugar to the parrots, cast the carcase to the vultures

403

On his arrival at Handiya,⁹ which is the frontier of the Dakkan, Bihār Khān, who was entitled Āzim Humāyun Suwāni, the governor of that place, kept him for some time in his own family, and having embraced his tenets used to go daily to hear his preaching, and half¹⁰ his army, nay more than half, sided with him, this news was brought to Islem Shāh by runners, and roused his indignation. Ma'hdumu-l Mulk took great pains to paint the event in glowing colours, and misrepresented it to Islem Shah so that orders were issued summoning Shaikh 'Ala'i. Just at this

¹ Omit می MS (A)

² MS (A) تغیر می دهم

³ MS (A) تسلیم

⁴ MS (A) افغان

⁵ MS (B) اخراج او کرده

⁶ MS (B) omits باز

⁷ MS (A) حوانہ د

⁸ Qur'ān iv 99 قالوا ألم تکن أرض الله واسعة فلها حرا فیها They said

was not God's earth wide enough for you to flee away therein?

⁹ See Imp Gaz V 309 Handiya is on the Narbada in the Hoshangabad District of the Central Provinces MS (A) reads هندوچیا Hinduciya and سندھ for سندھ

¹⁰ MS (B) آسہ

juncture Islem Shāh had left Agra for the Panjāb¹ with the intention of quelling the disaffection of the Niyāzī faction ; when he arrived opposite to Baiāna at the halting-place of Bahrsūr, Makhdūmu-l-Mulk said to Islem Shāh " we have earned a few days respite² from the lesser evil " by which he meant Shaikh 'Alā'i, " but the great evil, that is Shaikh 'Abdu-llah Niyāzī, who is the instructor of Shaikh 'Alā'i and the spiritual guide of the Niyāzī faction, and always remains in the hill country of Baiāna accompanied by three or four hundred men fully armed and equipped, and raises disturbances there, is still flourishing." The fire of the anger of Islem Shāh, who was thirsting for the blood of the Niyāzīs, was fanned into flame by this breath³ of suggestion, and he ordered Miyān Bahwa Lūhānī⁴ the Governor of Baiāna, who was one of the special adherents⁵ of Shaikh 'Abdu-llah, to produce the Shaikh. Miyān Bahwa went to the Shaikh and said : It seems to me to be the best course for you to hide yourself for a few days in accordance with the saying " one should avoid misfortune " and migrate from this city to some other place, then perchance the king will forget⁶ all about you and never make an attempt of this kind again,⁷ and you will have met the emergency,⁸ while I for my part shall have a good excuse.

Verse.

404.

Fear not a misfortune when the night intervenes between it and you.

Shaikh 'Abdu-llah would not agree to this suggestion⁹ of his, and said, " this is an arrogant monarch and Makhdūmu-l-Mulk is always watching for an opportunity. If they go still further away and then send for me it will cause me great annoyance ; for this reason, seeing that he is only ten *krohs* distant, I had better interview him now, and as for the question of mastery here and there, it will be all one whether it is to be now or in the future, since whatever is predestined will come to pass."

Man proposes and God disposes.

¹ MS. (B) omits پنجاب بجانب.

² MSS. (A) (B) read خلاص یافتتم.

³ MS. (B) reads نفیش.

⁴ MS. (A) کند (B) فراموش کند.

⁵ MS. (A) تو خانی (B) گرو بدگان.

⁶ MS. (B)

⁷ MS. (B) reads حروف for حروف.

⁸ MS. (A) پاشندہ.

⁹ MS. (B) omits سخن.

Verse

The reins of affairs are not in the hands of one who looks to
advisability,

Yield the reins into the hands of fate, this is the advisable
course

Accordingly he set out by night from Buana, and had an interview with Islem Shah in the morning as he was mounted ready to march, and greeted him with 'Peace be to you.' On the instant Miyan Bahwa seized him by the nape of the neck and bent his head down saying ¹ "My friend the Shaikh this is the way they salute ² kings" The Shaikh looked savagely in his direction ³ and replied "The salutation which is in accordance with the sunnat, ⁴ and which is that which the friends of the Prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, used to make, ⁵ and which he, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, used to give them in response, is this very form of salutation, I know no other." Islem Shah, with evident aversion asked ⁶ Is this the master of Shaikh 'Alâ'i ? Mulla 'Abdu llah who was lying in wait for him said The very man By order of Islem Shah he was at once seized and most unmercifully beaten with sticks and kicked and cussed, the Shaikh as long as he retained consciousness kept repeating this text of the sacred word "Lord forgive us our sins, and our extravagance in our affairs, and make firm our footing, and help us against the misbelieving folk" ⁷ Islem Shah enquired what he was saying Mulla ⁸ 'Abdu llah said He is calling you and the rest of us unbelievers, Islem Shah becoming exceeding wroth would still fiercer in his efforts to punish and torture him, ⁹ and kept his retinuo standing ¹⁰ an hour longer while they cudgelled him, and when he thought that the breath had left ¹¹ his body—

405.

¹ MS (B) omits گردنہ and اس after گفت

² MS (A) میلہ مسلم

³ MSS (A) (B) سائے

⁴ The ڈیں sunnat is the traditional law of Muhammad

⁵ MS (A) omits گردنہ MS (B) reads اس کردنہ

⁶ MSS (A) (B) insert گفت

⁷ Quran in 141 See Palmer's Translation

⁸ MS (B) omits ہو

⁹ MSS (A) (B) read تهدیت و عذریت

¹⁰ MSS (A) (B) omit اسنادہ او را MS (B) reads سواری

¹¹ MS (A) عدھیع شد

One single breath was left as a mediator (between Life and Death),
That mediator also rose and departed.

he desisted, and went on his way.

A spark of life however remained¹ in the Shaikh, so they wrapped him in a raw hide, and kept him warm for a night and a day before a fire, till he recovered. This occurrence took place in the year nine hundred and fifty-five. When he had regained his health he left Baiāna, and commenced travelling, and spent some time in Aſghanistān (Rūh), and some time among the Afḡhāns of Pattan in the Panjāb,² on the confines of Bajwāra between Ambér and Amritsar,³ and was in the habit of saying:⁴ This was the fruit of consorting with argumentative people.

Oh ye lords of contemplation, all my trust is in you,
But ye masters of discussion. I'll have none of you.

Finally he came to Sirhind,⁵ and giving up all connection with the manners and customs of the Mahdawi party (moreover he turned all the Mahdawi party from that faith) began to deal with all the followers of Islām according to the tenets of the orthodox school, till eventually in the year 993 H., at the time when the Emperor was on his way to Benares, he summoned Shaikh 'Abdu-llāh and granted him a portion of *madad-i-maāsh*⁶ land in Sirhind with remainder to his children. And in the year 1000 H., he bade farewell to this transitory world at the age of ninety or thereabout.

Rubā'ī.

If the courser of the sky give the reins into your hand,
And if the world gives you wealth as the dust under your feet.
If your wisdom surpasses the wisdom of Aflātūn,⁷
These are all as nought, at last you must die.

406.

After that Islem Shāh had overcome the Niyāzī faction, and had

¹ MS. (A) omits ماند.

² MS. (A) پتن پنجاب در سوحد. Pāk Pattan or Ajūdhān.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read here مابین انیلو و اندرسو. MS. (A) adds تین before میتو.

⁴ MS. (B) همین می گفت.

⁵ MS. (B) omits بس و خند مدن.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B).

⁷ Plato.

returned to Agra, Mulla 'Abdu-llâh set about inciting him,¹ and giving him a song which reminded him of former intoxications, again induced him to summon Shaikh 'Alâ'i from Hindiya, and to order punishment to be executed upon him, and spared no pains to remind him in the vilest possible way, that Shaikh 'Alâ'i had been condemned to banishment, whereas now Bahâr Khân had become his disciple and follower, and the whole army had shewn their leaning towards him. Seeing that his own relations had sought absolution from him and had adopted his faith, there was great probability of disturbance in the kingdom. Accordingly Islem Shâh summoned Shaikh 'Alâ'i thence, and used still more strenuous exertions than before² to bring matters to a satisfactory settlement, and knowing as he did the ambitious nature of Shaikh 'Alâ'i, and recognising that there was no other man among the learned men³ of Delhi and Agra capable of settling this dispute, he therefore directed Shaikh 'Alâ'i to be sent to Bihâr to Shaikh Budh⁴ the learned physician, in whom Sher Khân had the very utmost confidence, and who is renowned for the authoritative commentary which he wrote upon the *Irshad-i-Qâzî*,⁵ and bade him act in accordance with his directions.⁶ When Shaikh 'Alâ'i went thither, he heard the sound of singing and musical instruments proceeding from the rooms occupied by Shaikh Budh the physician, and saw in his assembly certain other things repugnant both to the natural feelings and⁷ to religious law⁸ also, the very mention of which is disgraceful, so felt constrained to enjoin⁹ what was lawful and to forbid what was prohibited. Since Shaikh Budh was very infirm¹⁰ and aged, and was not strong enough to speak, his family answered for him that certain customs and observances which have obtained vogue in Hindustân are of

¹ MSS. (A) (B) مُسْرِك شَدَّه. ² Omit خود. MS. (A).

³ MS. (B) omits ل after دیگر and inserts it after آنکه.

⁴ MS. (A) reads شیخ شایخ Shaikh Hadah (?)

⁵ See Hâjî Khalifah, 522. *Irshâd*.

⁶ MS. (A) reads فتوی او. MS. (B) reads عمل می نمایند.

⁷ MS. (B) شریعتی. ⁸ MS. (B) دین دین.

⁹ MS. (A) reads امور معروف و نبی منکرنہ کر دے which is the exact opposite of the reading in the text.

¹⁰ MS. (B) omits قلای and reads قادر for قادر and احفادش for احفادش.

such a nature that if one should forbid them in any way whatever, worldly injury, and loss both bodily and spiritual¹ would inevitably result to the prohibitor, also that the women of Hindustān who as a class are worthless, consider that loss
 407. as the result of restrictive measures, and for that reason become infidels. In any case legalising incontinence was probably a less sin than legalising infidelity.² Shaikh 'Alā'i said that this is an iniquitous conjecture,³ as is proved by the fact that, whenever worldly loss according to their belief is the result of the interference⁴ with some prohibited pleasure, and the injunction to obedience is held by them to be the cause of personal death and injury to their property and position, they have not even the fundamental properties of Muslims, so that their conformity to Islām need not even be considered. Seeing that the argument concerns the validity of Nikāh,⁵ why should one regret⁶ the fact of their not being Muslims? for it is said, *That which is based upon iniquity is most iniquitous of all.*⁷ That class therefore stand condemned. Shaikh Budh the physician however,⁸ having regard to equity became their apologist and entered a plea for them, praising⁹ Shaikh 'Alā'i and treating him with the utmost courtesy and respect.

First of all he wrote a letter to Islem Shāh in the following terms, "Seeing that the Mahdawī question is not indissolubly bound up with the faith of Islām, and very great difference of opinion exists as¹⁰ to the veritable signs by which the Mahdi is to be distin-

¹ The text varies from the MSS. (A) and (B) which read بمانع دنیوی و بدنه و جانی while MS. (B) omit.

² We should read here

مSS. (A) (B). بہر حال در تجویز فسق شاید از تجویز کفر بزه کمتر باشد

³ MS. (A) قیاس فامد.

⁴ MS. (B) reads wrongly تغیر for تغیر.

⁵ نکاح Nikāh. The marriage contract. A marriage contracted between a Muslim man and a Hindu woman is invalid in accordance with the injunction of the Qur'ān. The issue of such a marriage is however held to be legitimate. Under no circumstances can a Muslim woman marry any but a Muslim. For fuller discussion of this subject, see Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, art. Marriage.

⁶ MS. (B) reads گرد for خورد.

البناء على القاسم افسد.

⁷ MS. (B) reads در مقام انصاف for اما و omits.

⁸ MS. (B) reads کرده for نموده.

¹⁰ MS. (B) omits باب.

gushed, it is accordingly impossible to convict Shaikh¹ 'Alā'i of infidelity and impiety. At any rate, all doubts regarding him should be removed. Here books² are very scarce, whereas there are sure to be many³ books in the library of the learned men of your country, let them settle the truth of the matter."

The sons of the Shaikh impressed upon him that Makhdūmu l-Mulk⁴ was the Ṣadru s-sudur,⁵ and said, "This opposition of theirs to him has undoubtedly been the cause of your being summoned. At your great age it is far from wise for you to undertake so long a journey, and to undergo the severe fatigue incidental to it." They accordingly cancelled his first letter⁶ and, whether he would or not, secretly wrote another letter⁷ as if from Shaikh Budh, couched in terms of flattery of Mulla 'Abdu llah, and sent it to Islem Shāh, saying, "Makhdūmu l-Mulk is one of the most discriminating of the learned doctors of the day. What he says is the truth and his decision is the sound decision."

At the time when Islem Shāh was encamped in the Panjab 408 Shaikh 'Alā'i arrived at the camp of Bin Bau when Islem Shāh read the sealed letter of Shaikh Budh the physician, he called Shaikh 'Alā'i to come close to him and said to him in a low tone of voice, "Do you only⁸ say to me in my own ear that you are penitent for having made this claim, you shall then be accorded complete liberty to go where you will⁹ and do as you please." Shaikh 'Alā'i however refused to give ear to his proposals and paid no heed to him, Islem Shāh in despair¹⁰ said to Mulla 'Abdu llah, I leave him in your hands¹¹ This he said and gave orders for him to receive a certain number of stripes in his own presence¹² Shaikh 'Alā'i

١ MS (B) omits سق

٢ MS (A) reads است کمدل کفت

٣ MS (B) omits سیار

٤ MS (B) reads مقدم

٥ The Ṣadru s-sudur is the chief judge of all religious questions among Muhammadans. He was also known as Ṣadr i-kul or Ṣadr i-jahan. See *Ain-i-Akbari* (B) I 271.

٦ MS (A) reads کرد و دوست

٧ Insert طبی after MS (B) سعادتی

٨ MS (A) reads من بگو

٩ MS (A) (B) insert و before عارع الال

١٠ MS (B) reads شد

١١ Let You know and this fellow, i.e. the matter is one between you and him

١٢ MS (B) inserts حود after تقدیم، not as in the text

himself had a wound in his neck, the result of an operation for the pestilence which raged in that year throughout the whole of Hindustān, and had destroyed the greater part of the people.¹ This wound had to be kept open by a tent,² in addition to which he was suffering from the fatigue of his journey, and had hardly a breath of life left in him, so that at the third lash his lofty soul quitted its humble frame and took its flight to the abode promised in the words "In the seat of truth, in the presence of the powerful king"³ and rested in the pleasant places of which it is said "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard neither hath it entered into the heart of man."⁴ And after his death they tied his delicate body⁵ to the feet of an elephant, and trampled him to pieces⁶ in the street of the camp, and issued orders forbidding the burial of his corpse,⁷ and appointed agents (to see to this). At that very time a vehement whirlwind arose and blew with so great violence, that people thought that the last day had arrived,⁸ and great lamentation and mourning⁹ was heard throughout the whole camp, and men were in expectation of the early⁹ downfall of the power of Islem Shāh.

And they say that in the course of the night such a wealth of flowers was scattered over the body of the Shaikh that he was completely hidden beneath them and was so to speak entombed in flowers.

After this event¹⁰ the power of Islem Shāh lasted barely two

¹ MS. (A) اکثر خلائق. The bubonic plague appears to have been the epidemic here referred to.

² قبیله MS. (A) reads دُن.

³ Qur'ān lviv. 55. The full quotation is

إِنَّ الْمُتَّقِينَ فِي جَنَّاتٍ وَنَهَرٍ فِي مَقْعِدٍ صَدِيقٍ عِنْدَ مَلِيكٍ مُقْتَدِيرٍ

Verily, the pious shall be amid gardens and rivers, in the seat of truth, with the powerful king.

⁴ MS. (B) reads بَدْن.

⁵ MS. (B) reads پارا پارا.

⁶ MS. (A) reads دُن تکنند.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read قیامت.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read غلگله و ماتم.

⁹ MS. (B) omits عنقریب.

¹⁰ A footnote to the text reads قضیدہ دولت اسلام شاہی الخ MS. (A) omits these words and reads و بعد ازین دولت اسلام شاہی.

The textual reading appears to be wrong.

years. It was in fact an exact counterpart of the affair of Sultān. 409. Jalālu-d-Dīn Firoz Shāh Khiljī after the execution of Sidi Maula,¹ save that the decay of the kingdom of Salim Shāh was even more rapid than that of Jalālu-d-Dīn. People considered Mulla 'Abdullāh, who was always vexatious to the holy men, to be the cause of all this heart-burning, and this was really the case.

This event took place in the year 957 H. (1550 A.D.) the writer of these pages was at that time ten years of age, and invented the two following chronograms: The first is Zākiru-lلāh, the second Saqāhum rabbukum sharāban.²

Among the events which happened in the reign of Islem Shāh was the murder of Khawāss Khān, of which the following is a brief account. When Khawāss Khān, after the battle with the Niyāzīs fled to the foot of the hills, Islem Shāh appointed to that district Tāj Khān Karrānī who was the brother of Suleimān Karrānī, and the most learned and able of the whole Afghān line, and wrote a command from his camp at Bin Bāū, that they were to induce Khawāss Khān, even if it were by means of treaty oaths, to come down from the hills, and put an end to him. However Tāj Khān was unable to effect³ anything owing to the impregnability of that mountain retreat, and accordingly sent Khawāss Khān the message of Islem Shāh promising him safety.⁴ He, relying upon the word of a Muslim, came⁵ and had an interview with Tāj Khān, who instantly⁶ had him put to death and sent his head⁷ to Salim Shāh at the township⁸ of Bin (Bāū), and after burying his body⁹ at the township of Sarasta, in the neighbourhood of Sambal, transferred it thence to Dihli. This event happened in the year 959 H. (A.D. 1551). As a chrono-

¹ MS. (A) reads كشتن.

² ذاکر اللہ زکیر اللہ ساقہم ربهم شربا Saqāhum rabbukum sharāban. The mindful of God. May their Lord give them to drink a draught of wine.

Each of these gives the date 957. H.

³ MSS. (A) (B) ساخت ستوانست کاری.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) insert و.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) مدد و.

⁶ MS. (B) omits حکم خان و.

⁷ MS. (B) omits بـ and reads سلیمان for سلیم.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) omits قصبة.

⁹ MS. (A) وجنة.

graphical record they invented the words *Musībat ba'ālam shud*,¹ that is to say, A calamity for the world.

One of his magnanimous acts was the following. On his arrival at Kalpi in the company of Shir Shāh he gave two *laks* of rupees to the sweetmeat sellers of that city so that they might send sugarcane to Rantabhor without intermission. In the same way also he gave money to all the mango gardens of Baiāna, so that they might send mangoes day after day² to the halting-places for the poor and necessitous.

In the meantime Shir Shāh died, and Salim Shāh appointed persons who recovered the sum of twenty-four thousand rupees³ which remained of that money, and on receiving it put it into the treasury.

In this same year Shaikh 'Abdu-l-haiyy, the son of Shaikh Jamāli Kanbāwī of Dihli,⁴ who was adorned with excellencies of science and poetry,⁵ and was a devout man,⁶ and the boon companion and specially favoured intimate of Islem Shāh, delivered up the life entrusted to his keeping, and Saiyyid Shāh Mir of Āgra invented the following chronogram:—

He said —

My name in itself would furnish the *tārīkh*

At such time as 'abd (the slave) was not in the midst of it.⁷

Among the events which happened during the time that Islem Shāh was encamped at Biu was the following. One day in the

¹ A footnote to the text says that these words give the date 999 and that therefore there is some mistake.

It appears that the real reading should be مصیبت عام شد *musībat ba 'ām shud*, which would give the correct date, and this is in fact the reading in MS. (A). The text should accordingly be corrected in accordance with this, and we should translate, A general calamity.

² MSS. (A) (B) روز بروز.

³ MS. (B) omits هزار and reads لی instead of او و پیده as in the text.

⁴ MS. (A) شفیعی.

⁵ MS. (A) reads شعرای for شعری.

⁶ MS. (B) reads صاحب سخاوت صاحب سجادہ a generous man.

⁷ The lines run thus: ناصم همی شود تاریخ بندہ وقتی کہ درمیان نیوں.

If we take the name شیخ عبدالحسی and remove from it the centre word عبد 'abd which means a slave we find the remaining words give the date 959 H.

interval between two times of prayer Islem Shâh was sitting at ease upon his roadster,¹ and was proceeding with a small escort from the camp to visit the fort of Mân Gath,² which lies at a distance of five or six *krohs* or thereabouts, in accordance with his usual custom, when suddenly a man sprung up in front of him and blocking the road, holding a sword concealed in his armpit like the proverbial *Tarbiqâ Shâtan*,³ under pretence of seeking redress (for some grievance) came forward and aimed⁴ a blow at him. Salim Shâh, however, with great adroitness caught the blow upon the head of his whip. The handle of the whip was cut through and a slight wound was inflicted upon his face. When the man raised his arm to strike a second blow Salim Shâh sprang forward and hurled himself upon that ruffian, and wrested the sword from his hand. At this instant Daulat Khan Ajyâr, the son of Sigîrat Khân, who was the chosen intimate and bosom friend of Islem Shâh, galloped up and dealt a blow at that miscreant. Others also came up and enquired from him the reason for his action. Salim Shâh did not approve of this⁵ and said: 'This wretch will destroy the houses of numberless people, lose no time in taking due vengeance on him.' However he recognised that sword as the one he had given to Iqbâl Khân. This Iqbâl Khân was one of the scum and off-scourings of Hindustan who had rendered Shâh several services. He was so exceedingly ill-favoured,⁶ mean-looking, and odious in appearance that they used to call him *Rahmatu-Hîlî*, which in Hindustan is the term

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¹ Read راهوار for راهدار

² MSS (A) (B) مان گٹ

³ قبیط شریع. The surname of Hâbit bin Jibor bin Sâfyan al-Fâhmi, a famous Arab athlete and warrior, who was so called according to some because the sword never quitted him, or because he put beneath his arm pit (*batû*) a quiver of arrows, and took a bow, or put beneath his arm pit a knife and came to an assembly of Arabs and smote some of them, see Lane s.v. *batû*. According to the account in the *Aglîni*, he acquired his name from having slain a lion in a dark night in the midst of a violent storm of thunder and lightning; when morning came he brought the lion to his companions under his arm, and they said, *Lazad l taabata gharran*; "Verily he has put destruction under his arm."

⁴ MSS (A) (B) شدہ گفت ⁵ زخمی نہ اداحت

⁶ MS (B) omits *کبھی* (A) omits *کبھی* inserting it after *کبھی*

applied to a weaver.¹ Islem Shāh himself² had raised him from the very lowest of the low, and had given him a position of intimacy with the highest, so that he made him the envy of the noble Amirs,³ and would not permit him to be out of his sight for one moment. From that day forward, when he recognised that sword, he deprived him of his rank, so that⁴ he made him an example⁵ of the saying : *Everything returns to its original state*; but in spite of the incitation of the Amirs of the Afghāns that he should put him to death, he replied, "I am heartily ashamed to destroy the man of my own training."⁶

Verse.

Water cannot swallow down wood, knowest thou why ?
It is ashamed⁷ to destroy that which it has reared.

Islem Shāh, who had for this same reason become distrustful of Afghāns, now became afflicted with complications of his disease, and increased the opium in his wine,⁸ and the snake-bitten one drank a draught of poison,⁹ and thirsting for the blood of the Afghāns, became more than ever¹⁰ set upon eradicating them. The crisis was as though it was saying to him :

Verse.

Thou hast laid a foundation, which will destroy thy family,
Oh, thou whose family is destroyed, what a foundation thou
hast laid !

1 جو لاسا *jūlāha*. MS. (A) reads جو لاسا. Either reading may be accepted. If we read جو لاسا as in the text the translation will be as above, with the implied meaning of that stupidity for which weavers are proverbially noted. See Fallon's Dictionary s.v. جلاها.

If we read جو لاسا the meaning will be dull, apathetic, stupid.

2 MS. (A) inserts خود and omits اورا inserting this after آوردة.

3 MS. (A) omits مظہر here. 4 MS. (A) تا گرفت.

5 MS. (A) omits مظہر. 6 MS. (B) تربیت for تربیت for قربت.

7 MS. (A) reads شرمش for شرمٹ. MS. (B) omit ڙ.

8 MS. (A) سراب.

9 MSS. (A) (B) مارڈا. The meaning appears to be that the opium he took as an anodyne acted as a poison, and increased the effects of the disease from which he was already suffering.

10 MS. (B) بیشتر از بیشتر.

After these events Islem Shāh returned¹ towards Gwāliār, which he had made his metropolis, and had arrived at Dihlī² when tidings arrived that Muhammad Humāyūn Padshāh had reached the banks of the Indus, with the aim of conquering Hindustān. Islem Shāh just at the³ very moment when this tidings arrived, had applied a leech⁴ to his throat, but instantly took it off, dashed some water upon his head,⁵ and binding up his throat with linen rags⁶ ordered his army to proceed, and⁷ the first day covering three *krohs*, encamped, and the rank and file of his army who were at the last gasp from drunkenness, involuntarily followed him as though led by a halter round their necks. Certain of the Vazirs who were well-disposed to him⁸ represented that inasmuch as a powerful foe had come against him, and his soldiery were worthless, it would be just as well if orders were given for their pay to be issued to them. Islem Shāh replied that if⁹ he were to give them money at that particular time they would attribute it to his being weak and in straits, so I will wait, said he, till my return after this victory,¹⁰ when I will give them, with one stroke of the pen, two years pay. The soldiers had patience and without a murmur awaited what fortune Providence would bring them, at the same time expecting some sudden calamity,¹¹ and in spite of their state of unpreparedness arrived at the encampment. When it was reported to Islem Shāh that the artillery was ready, but that, as the bullocks¹² for the gun carriages had been left at Gwaliār, they awaited his orders, he replied, 'What possible use are such a crowd of thousands of infantry and cavalry, are they to get their monthly pay for nothing?' accordingly he made them all do

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¹ MS (A) omits تهودہ here and inserts it after دودھ in the next line

² MSS (A) (B) omit تهودہ چون MSS (A) (B) read
ندھلی رسدھ نوں کے خلر

³ Read در آن ساعت کے اس حدو سید MS (A) (B)

⁴ MS (A) reads probably a copyist's error for رلوور گلو چسپا بیدھ دودھ رلووا رلووا

⁵ Omits ل MS (A)

⁶ لatta MS (A) reads ملیند (?)

⁷ Insert و MS (A) (B)

⁸ MS (A) insert دع before بعض

⁹ MS (A) put اگر before درس وقت not after it as in the text.

¹⁰ MS (B) omit بارگشیدہ

¹¹ MS (A) reads دودھ for وادھ

¹² Text عربان گاروان MS (A) reads گاروان از اردان MS (B)

the work of bullocks,¹ and ordered them to drag the gun carriages, thus proving the truth of the following:—

Verso

These whom you see are not all human beings,
Most of them are tailless oxen and asses.

Some of the large mortars were of such a size that it took one or two thousand men, more or less, to drag each one.² At this rate of speed they reached the Panjāb in the course of seven days. Humāyūn Pādshāh in person, in accordance with certain advantageous plans he had formed, advanced as far as Banbhar,³ at the skirt of the mountain range to the north of the Kashmīr frontier,⁴ and then returned towards⁵ Kabul. A short resumé of these events will be given in its proper place if the Most High God so will it.⁶

Islem Shāh also upon hearing this tidings⁷ fled⁸ with all haste from Lāhor to Gwāliār. In the course of his retreat arriving in the neighbourhood of the township of Anberī,⁹ he was occupied in hunting, when a band of ruslians,¹⁰ at the instigation of certain of the Amīrs, blocked his path, and meditated doing him harm, but a messenger arrived who informed Islem Shāh of this design, and he consequently entered the city by another road,¹¹ and after putting to death¹² a number of men, among whom were Bahāu-d-Din and Maḥmūd and Madā,¹³ who were¹⁴ the fountain heads of the rebellion attempted by the

¹ Omit دختر. MSS. (A) (B). MS. (A) reads كودة اعتبار.

⁸ The text reads بکه هر کدام را هزار هزار کس دو دو هزار کس کمتر و بیشتر MS. (A) inserts after کس and omit the second کس replacing it by و.

⁸ At the foot of the Alidek range. See Rennell's map, Tieff., Vol. III: Behnbur. MSS. (A) (B) read بندھر Banbhar. The text reads بندھر Banhar.

⁴ MS. (A) omits کشمیر. ⁵ MS. (B) reads بے کابل to Kābul.

^٦ MS. (A) inserts between خود and مذکور إنشاء الله تعالى.

⁷ MS. (A) omits خبر. ⁸ MS. (A) فرار.

⁹ This is the reading of the text: but MSS. (A) (B) read انتري Antari.

بواهی دیگر (A) MS. 11. لوانید (B) MS. Text. 10. لوندان

١٢ MSS. (A) (B) سانیدة.

¹⁸ MS. (B) omits these last names and reads **وغيره** and others.

۱۴ MS. (A) بودند بوه for.

mutineers, imprisoned all persons against whom he entertained suspicion, afterwards putting them to death. Then he threw open the doors of the treasury and issued a public order directing the issue of two years pay to the soldiery,¹ and sent written despatches to the Amirs of five thousand and ten thousand to this effect. Some of the troops received the pay, others did not. At this very time the army of Fate, who is the most powerful of all powerful foes, made an onslaught upon him² *

Verse.

That man owned a single ass, but had no pack saddle,
He found a pack saddle, but in the meantime the wolf had
made off with the ass³

* Among the forces which overthrew him was, it is said, a carbuncle which appeared in the neighbourhood of his seat, others assert that it was cancer

He was beside himself with pain and⁴ had himself bled, but without relief. Whilst in this state of distress and prostration, he used from time to time to say, 'I had no idea that God was so extremely powerful,'⁵ and while in this condition, as long as he retained consciousness he ordered Daulat Khan to sit facing him, and would not cast a glance in any other direction save on his face alone⁶ 414.

Verse

Mahmud gives not a soul to the Angel (of Death)
Until he sees him in the form of Ayāz

Notwithstanding the fact that he had lapsed into unconsciousness, he would now and then open his eyes, and these words would

¹ MS (B) سپاهیاں

² A footnote directs attention to a suggested variation in the text by placing **و** after سے اجل instead of before those words. This is the reading found in MS (A) and is obviously correct

³ A proverbial saying of this kind is—

حسب چھٹے نئے نئے تب دانت نہیں حسب دانت هوئے تب چھٹے نہیں.

When I had pangs I had no teeth, now my teeth have come I have no pangs.

⁴ Omit **و** مددگار, MS (A)

⁵ Insert **و**

⁶ MSS (A) (B)

⁷ MS (B) omits **در** before حابس MS (A) reads حابس for جابس

come¹ to his lips 'Where is Ajyāra.'² They say also that although he found it excessively difficult to turn from one side to the other, yet he would not consent to their giving Daulat Khān the trouble of coming in front of him, but he would say, 'Please turn my face in his direction.'

One day he saw that Daulat Khān was absent and asked 'where can he be?' They replied he has probably gone to the house of one of his relatives. Then he knew that to all appearance he was playing a time-serving part with others. At that moment Daulat Khān arrived and Islem Shāh quoted this verse:—

Thou knowest my value, how faithful I am³

Stay! before thou seekest the companionship of other friends.

It is reported on excellent authority also that Islem Shāh had ordered⁴ the treasury-officer that he should give Daulat Khān every day for his personal expenses as much as a *lak* of tankas, as a matter of course and unasked,⁵ but that if asked for a larger sum he should produce it for his use. At last seeing that his condition became more grave day by day, nay, hour by hour, his physicians despaired of relieving him.

Verse.

In one small detail the whole of the philosophers have been found wanting,

For what can man do against the Eternal decree.⁶

When the natural causes of the pulse depart from the fundamental movement,⁷

¹ MS. (B) میگذشت.

² Daulat Khān Ajyāra, who has been before mentioned. MSS. (A) (B) read Ajyāra اجیارہ, but the text reads (۴) Haiyāra حیارہ with a note of interrogation. Ajyāra is the right reading.

³ For حکم کردا بود (MS. (A) (B) read جانم مسالم). ⁴ MSS. (A) (B) حکم کردا بود.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) read ذا پرسیده پرسد for ذا پرسیده پرسد.

⁶ کن فیکون. Qur'ān II, iii.

⁷ بَدِيعُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَإِذَا قَضَى أَمْرًا فَإِنَّمَا يَقُولُ لَهُ كَنْ فِيکون

The originator of the heavens and the earth, when he decrees a matter he doth but say unto it, BE, and it is.

⁷ The modifying causes of the pulse are classified by Sadīdī thus: (1) ماسک *māsik* or constant such as animal force in the heart and vessels, (2)

The foot of Aflaqūn himself becomes fixed in the mire of helplessness.

When the conduct of nature turns towards disorder,
The Qānūn¹ of Bu 'Ali lies useless in the hand.

At last he left this world of regrets, wounded by countless sorrows, and abandoned his kingdom to the desire of his enemies. The duration of his reign was nine years. His body was taken to Sahsarām and buried by the side of his father. This event occurred in the year 961 H.,² and by a coincidence it happened that in the course of this (self same) year,³ Sultān Maḥmud of Gujrāt, who had adorned the throne with justice⁴ and equity and the fear of God, drank the cup of martyrdom at the hands of his servant Buihan,⁵ Nizāmu-l Mulk Bahri,⁶ the King of the Dakhan, also took his way to the ocean of non existence, and Mīr Saiyyid Na'matu-llāh, whose poetical name was Rusuli,⁷ who was one of the incomparable learned men and a close companion of Islam Shāh, wrote this chronogram :—

Verse

At one time came the decline of three emperors,
Whose justice made Hindustan the abode of safety.

mughayyir or variable, such as age sex, sleeping or waking, exercise, bathing—others of this class are external or accidental, such as, feverishness, and inflammations The pulse says, he is necessary for the quieting of the natural heat, and for dispelling vapours It is opposed by rigidity of the vessels and weakness of the animal powers See Sadid, p 54, et seqq

قانون فی الطب Qanun fi 'l-tib This is the famous **قانون نوعلی** ١
Qanun fi 'l-tib, canon medicine by the celebrated Shaikh Abu 'Ali Hussain bin 'Abdu llah commonly known as Ibn Sina (Avicenna) See Haj Khalifah, No. 9354

Abu Sina was a famous Muhammadan physician who was born in Bukhara, and died at Hamadan in July 1037 A D 427 A H

(H K says 428 A H) See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p 20

² MSS (A) (B) both write **وَكَانَ** & **وَكَانَ** omitting **وَيَكُونُ** which is added in the text

۸ درمدت تک مسال MSS (A) (B) ۹ MS (B) reads نصیحت

⁵ The text reads *اَعْلَمُ يَ* a punning comment on the servant's name, which will not admit of translation

⁶ See Beale *O B D* for an account of the Nizam Shahi dynasty.

⁷ MSS (A) (B) the text reads رشوتی Rishwati

One was Mahmûd the Emperor of Gujerât,
 Who, like his empire, was still in the pride of youth;
 The second was Islem Shah, that mite of baseness,
 Whose beloved son¹ was Shor Khân;
 The third was Nizâmûl-Mulk Bahî
 Who as Emperor was seated on the throne of the Dakhan.
 If you ask of me a *târikh* for the death² of these three³
 Emperors?

I answer *Zawâl-i-khusrâan*.⁴

416. Islem Shah notwithstanding his not having read poetry had many apt quotations in his memory, and being a clever critic, used constantly to practise the art of versification with Amir Saizzîd Na'mat Rusûlî,⁵ and used to compose many elegant verses and to enjoy listening to those of his fellow poet. Moreover he was highly esteemed by the learned and religious men⁶ of his time; They say that when he reached Alwar on his way to the Panjab, he one day caught sight of Mulla 'Abdu-llâh of Sultânpur⁷ who was at some distance coming towards him; addressing his attendants he said: "Have you any idea who this is who is approaching?" They replied: "Who is it, please inform us."⁸ He said: "Bâbar Padshâh had five sons, of whom four⁹ left Hindustân and one remained." They said "and who is that one?" He replied: "This Mulla who is approaching." Sarmast Khân said: "What is the use of keeping up connection with such a vicious person?"¹⁰ He replied to "What can I do, when I can find¹¹ no better than he?" And when Mulla 'Abdu-llâh came up he ordered him to sit upon his own throne, and bestowed upon him a bead-roll of pearls, valued at twenty thousand rupees,¹² which had at that moment arrived as

¹ MS. (A) reads عزیزش.

² MS. (A) این هر مس.

³ MS. (A) زوال خسروان *Zawâl-i-khusrâan*. The decline of the Emperors. The letters of *Zawâl-i-khusrâan* give the date 961 H. See note 2 supra.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B). The text as before reads *Rishwati*.

⁵ MS. (A) omits و سلحا.

⁶ MS. (A) omits ب.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) فرمای.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) چهار.

⁹ Text reads متغیری | MS. (A) reads مفتون seditions. MS. (B) reads متغیری parasitic.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) گفت.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) نمی یابم.

¹² Omit ب before بیت. MSS. (A) (B).

aimed at securing¹ the goodwill of great and small: and he had made arrows tipped with² gold of a money value of five hundred tankahs and used to throw them. Whatever³ poor person's house they used to fall at, he then bestowed that amount in money upon him and used to take back the *Latiba-bâsh*, this fitful habit however quickly⁴ came to an end after a few days.

Verse

Inorganic matter is one thing: spontaneous growth is another.

Verse.

If the tears flow down upon the cheeks,
True weeping is easily distinguished from false .

The rank of *Fazir* and *Vakil* was bestowed upon one Shamsher Khân, a slave who was the younger brother of Khawâs Khân and Danlat Khân, the "new-Muslim," a protégé of the Lubâni⁵ faction. He also gave uncontrolled authority to Himûn the greengrocer, of the township of Rowârî in Miwâr, whom Islem Shâh had gradually elevated from the position of police superintendent of the bârârs and conserver of punishments, and had by degrees made into a trusted confidant⁶. He now gave him the superintendence of all important affairs both military and civil.

Inasmuch as 'Adlî had originally been accustomed to the profession⁷ of music and dancing, and was fond of a life of ease and luxury, and was otiose in his habits, he was by no means fitted for the conduct of military affairs, or the duties of civil administration; superadded to this was the murder of Firuz Khân and his unbounded confidence in Himûn. Accordingly these Amirs who were of true Afghân descent, evinced a great repugnance to obey him, and aroused such widespread feelings of

¹ MS. (A) ساخت

² Text کتہ باش میں MS. (B) کتہ باش

The reading of the text is unintelligible. We should read کتہ داس in the meaning of a bamboo shaft. Firuzha's reading is quite clear he says

کتہ باسی کے پیکان آن یک تولاہ طلہ بود

Bo. Text, p. 430 That is, Katah, a bamboo shaft, whose head was one tola of gold

³ MS. (A) reads بچانہ هر غردی زد برطوف شد. ⁴ MS. (A) ماحب اعتبار

⁵ MS. (A) نوحان

⁶ MS. (A) reads پیشگی ماحب اعتبار

⁷ MS. (A) reads پیشہ پیشگی

shame, that hardly had a month passed since his accession, when on all sides rebellions arose, and they became rulers of their several clans. Sedition awoko from its heavy slumber, the bonds of kinship with Sher Shāh and of orders passed by Islem Shāh

419. snapped asunder, and disorder reigned supreme :

Verse.

When the heart of the times writhes, the bond of fellowship
snaps,

When a flaw appears¹ in the string, the pearls are scattered.

One day when, having summoned the most renowned Amirs to the durbār hall of the fort of Gwāliār, 'Adli was engaged in distributing *jāgīrs*, he ordered that the Sarkār of Qannuj should be transferred from Shāh Muhammad Farmali, and given in perpetuity to Sarmast Khān Sarbāni, [Shāh Muhammad was ill],² whereupon his son Sikandar, who was a brave, handsome, and well-built youth spoke fiercely with regard to this *jāgīr*. Shāh Muhammad however admonished³ him in gentle terms and forbade him to speak thus, but he answered his father "Once Sher Shāh placed you in an iron cage and kept you a prisoner for some years, while Islem Shāh made you the captive of his kindness and by intercession and influence obtained your release. Now the Sūr faction are attempting to destroy us, and you do not understand their infamous design;⁴ thereupon he began to abuse Sarmast Khān with all the petulance of youth and the arrogant pride of race and said : "Now our affairs have come to such a pass⁵ that this dog-seller⁶ is to enjoy our *jāgīr*." Sarmast Khān, who was a tall, powerful man full of energy, placed his hand upon the shoulder of Sikandar intending to make him prisoner by underhand means, and said : "My boy, why are you saying all these bitter things," Sikandar however perceived his intention, clapped his hand to his dagger, and struck Sarmast Khān such a deadly blow over the shoulder blade, that he fell on the spot unconscious and died. Sikandar Khān also made some others of those⁷ hell-dogs so heavy of head

¹ MS. (A) reads *مُهْبَطْ بِدِيد*.

² MS. (A) adds the words in brackets *و شاہ مُحَمَّد بِيَمَارِي داشت*.

³ MS. (A) adds *نَصِيحَتْ مِنْهُ وَد*.

⁴ MS. (A) omits *دا*.

⁵ MS. (A) *بِجَائِي رَسِيدَه*.

⁶ MS. (A) *از این سگ فروش*.

⁷ Text *دو ز خیان*. MSS. (A) (B) read *دور چنان*.

and sleep stricken¹ that they will never wake² till the morn of the great assembly, and certain others remained so intoxicated that they spent the remainder of their lives in recovering from it³

Verse

420

Thine eye which was wonderful in slaying thy lovers
Would slay one and cast its glance upon another

It was currently reported that from the time when⁴ the dagger was first invented in Hindustan no person can have ever used it in the way that Sikandar Khan did. A tumult arose among the people, and 'Adli fled and entered the women's quarters and put up the chain on the inside. Sikandar after that he had killed some and wounded⁵ others, at last made towards 'Adli and⁶ aimed a blow at him with a sword which however struck a plank of the door had he attacked him in the first instance he would have despatched him. The Amirs of 'Adli's party shewed themselves in their true colours that day as most of them cast away their swords⁷ and took to flight, and were going about distractedly, till at last, after Sikandar had done as much mischief as salt in the yeast⁸ they attacked him simultaneously from all sides. This contest went on for three or four hours when⁹ Sikandar fell to a blow from the sword of Ibrahim Khan¹⁰ Sūr sister's husband to 'Adli, and Shah Muhammad was struck down by the sword of Daulat Khan Lubani,¹¹ both of them taking their way to the city of non existence. It so happened that on that day before the assembly of that meeting Taj Khan Kairum, the

¹ MS (A) سرگردان و حواب کلوده سرگردان MS (B) read صرگردان

² MS (A) بدر شود

³ Read here نعسی دیگر شو گیر ملاده This is the reading of MSS (1) (B) and is far preferable to the reading in the text

⁴ MS (A) reads از این وعای سخن می خواهد سخن می خواهد MS (A) سخن می خواهد.

⁵ MSS (A) (B) نمود و

⁶ MS (B) reads اکثری از سردووار های حودرا اندراحتل Most of them threw themselves from the walls This is also the reading given in a foot note variant to the text

⁷ The addition of salt to yeast is said to check its fermentative powers

⁸ MSS (A) (B) و

¹⁰ MS (A) omits حار

¹¹ MS (A) (B) دوحاى

brother of 'Amād and Suleimān, who eventually became the autocratic¹ ruler of the province of Bengal, and gave himself the title² of Ḥazrat Ā'alā, having left the audience hall of 'Adli was going outside the fort, when on his way he met with Shāhī Muḥammad Farmali. They asked³ after each other's affairs, and Tāj Khān said: "I see signs of mischief, and consequently I am removing my manly footsteps outside this circle,⁴ and am 421. going outside. Do you too come with me and follow my lead,⁵ for the scale has turned.

Verse.

When you see that your friends are no longer friendly,
Consider that flight is an opportunity to be seized.

But inasmuch as the hand of death had seized the skirt of Shāh Muḥammad and was dragging him to the grave,⁶ he would not consent to this advice and went to 'Adli.

Verse.

When the appointed time of the quarry comes it goes towards
the huntsman.

And that which was written in his fate befel him; Tāj Khān in full daylight fled from Gwāliār towards Bengāl and 'Adli sent an armed party in pursuit of him, and⁷ himself also started to follow him, in front of the township of Chhapramau⁸ in the district of Qanauj an engagement took place between the two parties. The stars in their courses fought for 'Adli, and his army

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read صاحب استقلال and MS. (A) reads بیگانه for صودہ بنگال.

² MSS. (A) (B) و خطاب داد و should be omitted.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read پرسند which is better than the textual reading پرسیدند.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) read (B) میروم { and (A) ازین دایرہ بدر نهاده بیرون { میروم.

⁵ MS. (A) reads wrongly مکن for بکن.

⁶ MS. (A) reads شاه محمد را and MSS. (A) (B) read کشان کشان.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) و خود نیز.

⁸ MS. (B) چھپرا موئی. The text is without dots. MS. (A) reads چھپرا موئی Chherāman.

was victorious,¹ and Tāj Khān turning in flight made the best of his way to Chhinār,² wherever he found the authorities favourable to 'Adlī he made prisoners³ of them, and laid hands on whatever cash and valuables he could find. A hundred head of elephants also fell into his hands. Thus he proceeded till he joined hands with Suleimān and 'Imād and Khwāja Ilyās who held sway over certain parganas on the banks of the Ganges and other places. Then he openly sounded the note of rebellion. 'Adlī arrived at Chunār,⁴ and the Karrānis on the banks of the river⁵ Ganges came out to fight with him. Himun asked for a haka of elephants, that is to say, a hundred elephants, and fought a desperate battle with them gaining a victory. And 'Adlī while in Chunār intended to seize⁶ Ibrāhim Khān, the son of Ghari Khān Sur, one of the cousins of Sher Khān, but the sister of 'Adlī, who was married to him, became aware of this intention, and brought him down by a secret passage⁷ from the fort. Ibrāhim Khān made his way towards Bairāna and Hindun which was his father's jāgir. 422 'Adlī despatched 'Isa Khān Niyārī after Ibrāhim Khān, and they fought a battle⁸ in the vicinity of Kalpi, the breeze of victory fanned the standards of Ibrāhim Khān, and he gained the day. Then having assembled a large following, and entering that country, he proclaimed himself sovereign.⁹ 'Adlī therenpon disengaged himself from the Karrānis, and came against Ibrāhim Khān to attack him, and when he arrived near the river Jon, Ibrāhim Khān made overtures,¹⁰ and sent a message saying "If Rāī Husain Jilwān,¹¹ and Bihār Khān Sarwān,¹² to whom Islem Shāh gave the title of Ā'zam Ilumayun, with some others¹³ of the Amirs noble and renowned, will come and reassure me,¹⁴ then will I in reliance upon their assurances agree to make

¹ The textual reading is wrong, omit فوج او عالیب احمد

² MS (A) حنار (B) چنار

⁸ دستگیر ساخته MSS (A) (B)

⁴ MS (A) (B) در بیان

⁶ دستگیر گنگ MSS (A) (B)

⁶ MS (A) مقدمہ سارہ.

⁷ MS (A) reads اور انصوب مسیح ولی از بالائی قلعہ which is better than the text

⁸ MS (A) (B) حنگ کردہ.

⁹ دم از استقلال ود MSS (A) (B)

¹⁰ MS (A) omits در میان

¹¹ MS (A) reads حلواوی

¹¹ MS (A) omits دیگر.

¹³ MS (B) reads ددهند

submission to you." 'Adlī¹ accordingly sent them, and no sooner had they arrived than they gave in their allegiance to Ibrāhīm Khān, giving him the title of Sultān Ibrāhīm, and thus putting² a different complexion upon the dispute, raised the standard of insurrection against 'Adlī.

The *Khuṭbah* was read in the name of Ibrāhīm Khān in Āgra and certain other districts, while 'Adlī, realising that he was not able to cope with him, left Gwāliar for Bhatta, and thence returned towards Chunār³ taking with him⁴ large amounts of treasure, many elephants and a large following.

After the death of Islem Shāh, at the time when the kings of clans arose,⁵ Ahmad Khān Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Shāh, who had to wife the second sister of 'Adlī, a man of distinguished bravery and endurance, sat in conference with⁶ the Amirs of the Panjāb, and implanted in their minds all sorts of evil notions regarding 'Adlī and of his unfitness, (they being already ill-disposed towards him) and with the aid and assistance of Tātār Khān Kāsī,⁷ and Ḥabīb Khān, and Nasīb Khān Tughūjī, who had attained this title from Sher Shāh,⁸ declared open war against 'Adlī, and⁹ assuming the title of Sultān Sikandar and reading the *Khuṭbah*, and entertaining hopes of still further increase of power¹⁰ proceeded to Dihli and Āgra.¹¹

On the other hand, Ibrāhīm having collected a large army confronted Sikandar at Farah,¹² which is situated at a distance of ten *krohs* from Āgra.

Most of the noted Amīrs, such as Hājī Khān Sultānī, Governor of Alwar, who was virtually a king, and Rāī Hussain Jilwānī¹³ and Mas'aūd Khān and Husain Khān Ghilzāī were on the side of Ibrāhīm. To some two hundred of them Ibrāhīm had given royal

¹ Omit و. MSS. (A) (B).

² MS. (B) قوارداده ادائی بسوی.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) omit خود در تصرف داشت.

⁵ MS. (B) omits both ملوك and نزد خود امرای.

⁷ A footnote variant reads کالپی Kālpī. ⁸ MS. (A) reads یافندہ بوندہ.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) و. ¹⁰ چشم تازہ زور روز in error.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) دش. ¹² MS. (B) مقابل دش.

¹³ MSS. (A) (B) فرة حلوايی.

tents and standards, and ensigns¹ and kettle drums, and it frequently happened that to anyone who came and brought with him ten or fifteen horsemen he gave a sort of makeshift flag staff with a bit of red rag wrapped round it, simply to gain favour and to attract people, bestowing upon him also a grant of dignity and a jagi.² In this way nearly eighty thousand men flocked to him, and on the day when Hāji Khan came from Alwar and gave in his allegiance to him, he shewed him great favour bestowing upon him a lofty and spacious tent covered on the outside with saqirlat³ of Portugal, and on the inside with Frankish velvet, had it freshly pitched for him. Moreover he lavished upon Hāji Khan magnificent carpets, and vessels of gold and silver and all other requirements on the same scale accordingly he entered the tent without hesitation and there took up his abode. This treatment occasioned great envy and jealousy⁴ among the Amirs of pure Afghan blood who became disheartened and spared not to express their discontent among themselves. Iskandar, who had a following of twelve thousand men, inasmuch as he estimated the army of Ibrāhim as being more numerous than his own, shilly shallied and made overtures for peace, and wrote a treaty in the following terms, that from Dihli to the eastern extremity of Hindustan as far as could be arranged,⁵ should belong to Ibrāhim Khan,⁶ and that the country of the Panjab and Multan as far as possible should belong to Sikandar, so that he might attain the object for which the Mughals came to Hindustan. The Afghāns of both

¹ The text here reads طوق طوق MS (A) however reads قوع قوع The true reading should evidently be قوع which according to M. Pavet de Courteilles means a standard composed of the tail of the قطاط (quates or Tibetan yak) fixed to a pole

² MSS (A) (B) وحاجندر

³ MS (B) reads سقراپ saqrlat Dozy, however gives no such form of the word and the word is probably سقلات sqqlat meaning a silken stuff brocaded with gold See Dozy s.v. See also Yule and Burnett Glossary s.v. Scolat also Sleat Etym. Dict s.v. Scarlet

⁴ Another instance of Badaoni's use of ذئب in this unusual sense

⁵ نا ایسا کم تواند شود MS (B) omits the words altogether MS (A) agrees with the text which however does not seem satisfactory

⁶ MS (A) omits حا

armies, who were blood-relations or connections of each other, were pleased at the prospect of a peaceful settlement, and Kālā Bhār¹ the brother of Sikandar, and the Amirs of the *Panj Bhaiya* which means "the five brothers," who were² with the sword the marvel of the age, made this additional stipulation that if after that Ibrāhīm (*Khān*)³ gets possession⁴ of the treasury of 'Adli and the kingdom of Bhatta, which is near being realised, he shall make us partners in both of these gains, then all well and good,⁵ but if not we will annul the peace. Sikandar agreed to this proposition,⁶ and the majority of the Amirs of Ibrāhīm (*Khān*)⁷ impressed upon him that there was no danger to be apprehended from agreeing⁸ to this proposal, inasmuch as the treasury and kingdom of Bhatta would certainly be theirs, "and then," said they, "it will require a man to oppose⁹ us (successfully), while for the present, at any rate, we shall have tided over this difficulty satisfactorily :

Verse.

Be not proud, for I hold the staff of wisdom in my hand,
The arm of riot is long (and)¹⁰ a stick has two ends.

Ibrāhīm came round to this view but Mas'ūd *Khān* and Husain *Khān Ghilzai* with some of the new Amirs said : "Seeing that in the end the matters in dispute between us and Sikandar will one day have to be decided by the sword, now that our party has increased, while his following is exceedingly small, why should we not decide¹¹ the matter at once,¹² and not desist until we have secured ourselves against a repetition of this in the future. To agree to peace now will be a confession¹³ of weakness on our part, and an admission of the bravery of our enemies."¹⁴ Upon 'Adli

1 MSS. (A) (B) so also *Firishta*. The text reads کالا پہار *Kālā Pahār*.

2 MS. (A) reads بود. 3 MS. (B) adds خان.

4 MS. (B) reads اور بدست which seems better than the text.

5 MS. (A) omits بهتر. 6 MS. (B) reads رای for معنی.

7 MS. (B) reads خان ابراهیم.

8 MS. (B) omits قبول. 9 MSS. (A) (B) read آید.

10 MSS. (A) (B) omit و. That is to say, a staff is a weapon both of offence and defence.

11 MS. (A) reads برسانیم but the textual نرسانیم is better.

12 MS. (B) reads بمقابلہ قضیہ.

13 MS. (B) omits دلیل.

14 MS. (B) reads می شود ۱۵۶۱.

also, who has crept like a rat into his hole, with all his elephants and retinue, the desire of conflict with us is creeping, and that peace which had been concluded has been confounded" Ibrāhīm Khān put off fighting till after the arrival of Miyān Yahyā Turan, governor of Sambhal, who was famous both as a warrior and as a man of sound judgment Miyan Yahyā in the year 961 H during the disturbances, gave battle in Bādān to twenty of 'Adlī's Amirs who had been appointed to the district of Sambhal, and defeated them, he then fought a great battle on the plain¹ of the township of Kandarkhi with Rājā Matar Sen Kalatariya, who was the former ruler of Sambhal and had collected a great force, and defeated him The author of this *Muntakhab*, who was at that time accompanying his father, now deceased, was in the twelfth year of his age² and had gone to Sambhal to study, wrote this chronogram *Chi bas khub karda and*³ (How well have they done)⁴ Before that he could convey the news to his teacher,⁵ the prince of learned men, the guide of connoisseurs, the exemplar of the intelligent,⁶ the master of masters, the Miyan Hātim of Sambhal, this⁷ tidings had already reached him At the time when he was by way of benediction and blessing giving instruction in the *Kanz i Fiqh*, he said, "Count the letters of this *tariikh* which I have spoken without forethought, *Fathhā i āsmāni shu'*"⁸ I replied nine hundred and sixty, which⁹ is one unit short He answered,¹⁰ I said it with the hamza of *Izāfat* that is to say, *Fathhā i asmani*, which is in conformity with the ancient spelling in respect to the value of letters and in this way it is correct¹¹ He gave his blessing, and fixed a time for the lesson, and adding

¹ MS (B) reads در موضع

² MS (B) reads در سه و دو and *شصت*

³ مس حوب کرده اند Chi bas khub karda and A footnote to the text points out that this gives the date 962 H whereas the event chronicled occurred in 961 H

⁴ Read *میادا* MS (B)

⁵ MSS (A) (B) read *میرزا* instead of *میرزا*

⁶ MS (A) *ام حضر*

⁷ *فتح* آسمانی شد *Fathhā i āsmāni shud* They were given victories Read with hamza this gives 961 H

⁸ MS (A) reads *کو* for *و* MS (B) reads *کو*

⁹ MSS (A) (B) read *کو* instead of *کو*

¹⁰ MS (A) reads wrongly *دست* According to *tl* the value of hamza is 1 and it is taken as equivalent to Alif The hamza of *izāfat* is said to be

a few pages, written with his own hand to the pages which I had
 426. written containing the instruction of the Qāzī, gave them to me
 as a souvenir, and entrusted my instruction to Miyān Shaikh
Abūl Faṭḥ, the son of Shaikh-allahdiyah¹ of Khairābād, *may God be merciful to him*, who is now seated on the throne of instruction and guidance in the room of his father; and inasmuch as Miyān Yahya after taking forcible possession of² the country of Kānt³-o-Golah and that district, going by way of Badāon had built a bridge across the Ganges at the township of Ahār,⁴ and had gone towards Ibrāhīm Khān, I accompanied my father, now departed, *may he rest in peace*, to Amroha,⁵ and was thus separated from that army;⁶ and being introduced to the presence of the late Mīr Saiyyid⁷ Muḥammad Mīr ‘Adl, *may God have mercy on him*,⁸ with whom he had some hereditary connection, remained some time under his instruction. In short on the day on which Miyān Yahya joined Ibrāhīm Khān, on that very morning Ibrāhīm Khān had drawn up his army and placed Miyān Yahya in the command of the advance guard, while he appointed Hāji Khān to the command of the left division, and Rāī Husain Jilwāni with the Ghilzais to the right division. He himself taking the centre drew up in line of battle. On the other side Sikandar Sūr

an abbreviated **س** (Platts' Persian Grammar, p. 43), but if this were the case its value would justly be 10 and not 1. It thus appears more probable that the hamza of *izāfat* is in reality hamza, and does not represent an original **س**.

¹ MS. (A) reads **وله شیخ الہدیہ**. See J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 118.

² MS (B) reads **بضبط آوردة**.

³ Kānt. Town in the Shāhjahānpur District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I. G. vii. 437. Kānt-o-Golah in Shāhjahānpur according to Blochmann, J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 122.

⁴ Abār. Ancient town in the Bulandshahr District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I. G. i. 81.

⁵ Amrohā. Town in Moradabad District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I. G. i. 266.

⁶ MS. (A) reads **و با مروهہ رفتہ ازان لشکر جدا شہ** after *after*.

⁷ See J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 126, and Āīn-i-Akbarī, (B), I. p 268. The Mīr ‘Adl was the officer entrusted with the duty of carrying out the finding of the Qāzī, see Āīn-i-Akbarī, III. (J.) 41.

⁸ MS. (A) reads **رحمۃ اللہ علیہ**.

also drew up his forces and came out¹ from his camp. The right wing of Sikandar's forces (the Panj Bhniya), carried away the left of Ibrahim's army by sheer weight and after sacking² the camp went on to Agra and pillaging the city issued a proclamation on behalf of Sikandar.³

The right of Ibrahim Khan's army, however, carried away the left of Sikandar's force, and driving them back pursued them as far as the township of Hodal⁴ and Palwal,⁵ shouting, Prosperity to Ibrahim Khan⁶ Haji Khan at the instant the two opposing ranks closed, passing by the side of his tent,⁷ and seeing it had been torn to shreds by the pillaging party,⁸ in pretended ignorance of what had occurred hastened to Alwar. A slight engagement ensued with Miyān⁹ Yahya Parīn who commanded the advanced guard of Sikandar's army, and a wound was inflicted upon the hand of Miyān Yahya and two of his fingers were cut off.¹⁰ He did not draw rein till he arrived at Sambhal. Ibrahim Khan took up a position on the lower ground with four hundred¹¹ men, and with his front facing down hill¹² awaited the attack of Sikandar, the shots from whose mortars¹³ passed over the heads of his men, so that they could not move a step.

When Ibrahim saw that the field remained empty and that his troops were scattered like motes in a sun beam,¹⁴ he realised that Sikandar himself was present with the opposing army, so yielding to necessity¹⁵ he proceeded to Itawa. His canopy and all his regalia¹⁶ were taken. Sikandar pursued him as far as Itawa,¹⁷ where he heard that Jānat Ashīzānī had reached¹⁸ Hindustan.

¹ MS (B) درآمد

² MS (B) reads نہیں کردا

³ MSS (A) (B) omit سام

⁴ MS (A) reads بودل

⁵ For Hodal and Palwal see Hultz. I G v 43^a at 1 xi 21

⁶ MS (A) omits حمل

⁷ گدائشہ MS (A)

⁸ MS (A) omits عمان سعی (B) عارت گواں

⁹ MS (A) (B) reads دوی او انگشناں او

¹⁰ Read with MSS (A) (B) دوی او انگشناں او

¹¹ Supply مو from MSS (A) (B)

¹² I am not quite clear as to the meaning of this passage

¹³ The text and both MSS seem to be incorrect we should read I think رنگها و صور دلکھای سکندرو

¹⁴ Quran xxv 25 MS (A) reads wrongly here شد MS (B)

¹⁵ MSS (A) (B) دصوروت ماد و چور خور for

¹⁶ MS (A) (B) reads چور خور

¹⁷ MSS (A) (B) ار عجائب او ازاوه رسیده

¹⁸ MS (B) ماد

retracing his steps thence he proceeded by continuous marches as far as Sihrind,¹ he eventually fought a battle there and was defeated. Ibrāhīm leaving there went to Sambal, and collecting an army procured a fresh gold-embroidered canopy, and a month later crossed (the river) with a force of three² thousand sowārs by the ford of Kistī,³ and (?) made towards Kalpi in order that having collected a fresh army,⁴ he might fight 'Adli again. At this juncture 'Adli had appointed Hīmūn the grocer, who was his vazīr and uncontrolled agent, and had sent him from Chinhār with certain eminent Amīrs, and five hundred elephants like storm clouds (for blackness), and unlimited treasure to proceed to Āgra and Dilhi.

Hīmūn, regarding Ibrāhīm as his own especial prey, considered it essential to overthrow him;⁵ Ibrāhīm came out to oppose him ready for battle, and taking up a strong position shewed a resolute determination to withstand him, such as perhaps Rustum, if anyone, displayed before.⁶ But for all this, by the decree of the Almighty⁸ he was not successful.⁸ He was the possessor of all the praiseworthy qualities which should belong to kings.⁹ He was well formed and well spoken, modest, cultured and refined,¹⁰ daring and liberal, but success in war is God-given,¹¹ and it is not in mortals to command it, it was not his fate¹² to win. Accordingly in this space of two years of disorder he must have fought¹³ sixteen or seventeen battles, and on every occasion after gaining a success met with a defeat. *God preserve us from failure after success.*¹⁴

1 MSS. (A) (B) عاقبتا.

2 MSS. (A) (B) هزار سے.

3 MS. (A) کنی kānī (?). MS. (B) گیسی gīsī (?).

4 MS. (B) جمیعتی.

5 MS. (A) reads دفع for واقع.

6 MS. (B) reads در مقابلہ بمقالہ.

7 MSS. (A) (B) read نهایتش قدر for همان.

8 MS. (A) reads بونیايد.

9 A footnote to the text says that the word بی is superfluous, MS. (A) omits بی.

10 MS. (B) reads wrongly متخلق for متخلق تواضع for تواضع.

11 MSS. (A) (B) موهبته.

12 MS. (B) reads again بصفیحه for نصیب.

13 MS. (A) supplies فقرات.

14 نعوذ بالله من الحوادث بعد الكوارث. A tradition, meaning we have recourse to God for preservation from decrease or defectiveness after increase, or redundancy. See Lane s. v. حوراء.

Ibrahim Khān after this¹ defeat, leaving Kalpi made straight for² Baiāna with all speed, and Himun pursuing him arrived at Baiāna Ibrahim Khān taking a body of the Nuhāni³ and Afghān cultivators⁴ and landholders of Baiāna, again⁵ went out to meet Himūn, and, making a night attack upon him, the following morning fought a fierce battle with him near to the township of Khānwah, ten krohs distant from Baiāna, but could not prevail against his destiny, and Himūn said 'It is easy to smite a stricken foe' and rolled him up and inflicted a defeat upon him, so that⁶ he was compelled to fortify himself in the fortress of Baiāna, which is a fort of exceeding loftiness and strength. Himun thereupon, making that fortress the centre of his operations, attacked it continuously every day, subjecting the fort to a heavy bombardment,⁷ Ghāzi Khān the father of Ibrāhim Khān⁸ kept the fort provided⁹ with supplies by way of the mountain passes to the westward of Baiāna. Himun kept up the siege of this fort for three months, and made inroads on the districts of Baiāna on all sides, pillaging and destroying¹⁰ Nearly all the books which my late father¹¹ possessed in Basāwar¹² were destroyed. A severe famine prevailed throughout the eastern¹³ portion of Hindūstān, especially in Āgra, Baiāna, and Dihlī. It was so severe a famine that one *ser* of *jairāri*¹⁴ grain had reached two *half-tankahs*, and was in fact not to be had (even at that price) Men of wealth and position had to close their houses, and died by tens or twenties or even more in one place, getting neither grave¹⁵ nor shroud. The Hindus also were in the same

¹ MS. (A) اب

² We should read here يک الاداز *yak andaz* MS. (A)

³ MSS. (A) (B) داری

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) فرمودن The text reads ارغون which has no meaning

⁵ MS. (A) داری

⁶ MS. (A) قاتالصورة

⁷ MS. (A) اکشماری

⁸ MS. (A) omits حاں

⁹ MS. (B) reads میدوستاد

¹⁰ MS. (A) میں نہود عارت کرده MS. (B)

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) وابد مورخون

¹² MS. (B) omits ساؤر

¹³ MSS. (A) (B) ممالک شرق روپہ

¹⁴ The *ser* is approximately two pounds. *Jairāri* is the Hindustani name for the small variety of millet also known as *chhota jauar* (*Andropogon sorghum*)

¹⁵ MS. (A) reads in error گور گور for گور گور

plight, and the bulk of the people were fain to live on the seeds of the *Mughailān* thorn¹ and on wild herbs,² also on the skins of the oxen which the rich slaughtered and sold from time to time; after a few days their hands and feet swelled³ and they died. As a date for that year the phrase *Khashm-i-Īzad*⁴ (Divine wrath) was invented.⁵ The writer of these pages with these guilty eyes of his saw man eating his fellow-man in those terrible days. So awful was their aspect that no one dared let his glance rest upon them; and the greater part of that country, what with scarcity of rain, and shortness of grain,⁶ and desolation, and what with the constant struggle and turmoil, and two years continual anarchy⁷ and terror, was utterly ruined, the peasantry and tenants disappeared, and lawless crowds attacked⁸ the cities of the Muslims. Among the strange⁹ incidents of the year 962 H., during the time of the war between Sikandar and Ibrāhīm, was the fire which occurred in the fort of Āgra. The following is a short account of this incident. During the time when Āgra¹⁰ was emptied of the troops of 'Adlī,¹¹ one of the Amīrs¹² of Ghāzi Khān Sūr entered the fort of Āgra and took up his abode there,¹³ to make certain preparations and to take charge of the supplies; while he was engaged in inspecting¹⁴ the rooms of the warehouses, he happened to go early one morning into one of the rooms,¹⁵ and was going round¹⁶ carrying an open lamp,¹⁷ a spark from which fell in one of the rooms which was full of

1 مغیلان *Mughailān* for غیلان *Ummu-ghailān*. According to the *Makhzanu-l-Adwīya*. This is the tree called in Hindī *kikar* or *babūl*. (*Acacia Arabica*) see also Ibn Baiṭār (South) I. 82, according to whom it is *Spina egyptiaca*. *Mimosa gummifera*. See also Drury, useful plants of India who states that the seeds and pods are used as food for sheep when grain is scarce.

2 درم می کرد و حشیش جنگلی بود MS. (B) adds بود. 3 MS. (B)

4 خشم ایزد *Khashm-i-Īzad*. Gives the date 962. H.

5 یافته شد MS. (B)

6 غله MS. (B) omits

7 فتنہ MS. (B) omits

8 تاختندہ می MS. (A) omits reading می

9 عربی (A) (B) MSS. (A)

10 آگوڑا عدل خان MS. (B) omits

11 'Adl Khān MS. (B) reads

12 اصیری از قیام می نمود و MS. (A) (B)

13 مید پد MS. (A) (B)

14 سیدری میکرد MS. (A) (B)

15 درون MS. (A) (B) 16 مید پد MS. (A) (B)

17 چراغ *chirāgh* is an open lamp with a naked flame generally consisting of a small earthenware saucer of oil with a wick.

gun powder. In the twinkling of an eye an explosion occurred,¹ and the flames shot up to the sky, attended with a violent shock, which led the people of the city to imagine that the judgment day had arrived, and starting from their sleep they began repeating the formula of *Tauhid* (Declaration of Unity),² and *Tuba*³ (Repentance), and *Istighfar* (seeking for pardon). Heavy slabs of stone and massive pillars were hurled⁴ through the air to a distance of several *krohs* across the river Jamna, and great number of people were killed,⁵ in fact human hands and feet, and the limbs of all kinds of animals were thrown five or six⁶ *krohs*. As the name of the citadel of Aga was originally Badal Gargh, the words *Atash* ¹ *Badal gark*⁷ made a chronogram to record the date.

In the days when Himun blockaded the fortress of Baiana God's people were crying for bread and taking each other's lives,⁸ a hundred thousand sacred lives were as nought for a single grain of barley, whereas the elephants of Himun's army, which numbered five hundred, were fed solely upon rice, and oil, and sugar, the senses⁹ were shattered by anguish upon anguish in that terrible time —

Verse

We cherish enemies we also destroy friends,
What mortal has the power to question our decrees

On one occasion Himun was one day presiding at a public banquet and summoning the Afghan Amirs¹⁰ into his presence,

۱ آشی در گرفت که MS (A)

² The formula of *Tauhid* is *La illaha illa Allah wahdhu la Sharika lahu* There is no god save God He is one He has no partner

The other formula is *Istaghfiru llaah wa atabu istahi* I ask pardon of God and to Him I repent

Both these formulas are used on occasions of sudden alarm and peril

³ MS (B) omits و توبه⁴ MS (B) reads instead of برباد شد

⁵ MS (A) تلف شد⁶ MS (B) omits و شش MS (A) omits و

⁷ آتش دلگارخ Atash, Badalgargh The fire of Badalgargh These words give the date 962 H

⁸ I read here with MS (A) می گرفند و حاں می گرفند Although MS (A) also reads in the margin می دارند the other reading is more probably correct and is a further statement of the terrible straits to which the garrison of Baiana were driven

⁹ A footnote variant reads حلق را.

MS (A) reads هر

¹⁰ MS (B) omits اهلان

to the head of the table¹, urged them to partake of food, saying: "Help yourselves to the largest morsels," and if he saw anyone of them eating slowly no matter who he was,² he would address him³ in terms of the foulest abuse saying: "How can such a nondescript nonentity as you who are sluggish in eating your victuals hope to contend against your own son-in-law the Mughul in battle." As the fall of the Afghan power was near at hand,⁴ they had not the courage to say a word to that foul infidel, and laying aside all that disregard of superior force⁵ for which they were renowned, swallowed his insults⁶ like sweetmeats, either from fear or hope,⁷ this had become a regular practice with them.

Verse.

Lay not your hand obsequious on my foot,
Give me but bread, and brain me with your boot!

In the meanwhile news reached Himūn that Muhammad Khān Sūr, Governor of Bangāla, had assumed the title of Sultān⁸ Jalālu-d-Dīn, and was marching with an army⁹ like the ants and locusts for multitude from Bangāla, and having reduced Jaunpūr was making for¹⁰ Kālpī and Āgra. Just at this juncture an urgent summons¹¹ arrived from 'Adli to Himūn in these words: "At all costs come to me at once as I am confronted by a powerful enemy." Himūn thereupon abandoned the siege, and when he arrived at Mandāgarh,¹² which is distant six *krohs* from Āgra, Ibrāhīm (Khān)¹³ like a hungry hawk which leaves¹⁴ its nest and pursues the crane, pounced upon him, and hurled against him in

¹ MS. (B) omits سر.

² MS. (B) omits بود می که هر کسی.

³ MS. (A) reads بزیان بر او for (Text).

⁴ MS. (B) insert و unnecessarily.

⁵ I read here دستبرد جعل. *Jahl-i-dastburd* instead of the textual reading. MS. (A) gives reason to think that this is correct, it reads جعل دستبرد which making allowance for conversion of *د* into *ذ* in writing gives the reading adopted. The textual reading has no meaning.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) دشناام اورا.

⁷ MS. A omits از.

⁸ MS. (B) omits سلطان.

⁹ MS. (A) omits عظیم.

¹⁰ MS. (A) گھنٹہ.

¹¹ Omit نیز. MS. (A).

¹² MS. (A) reads سند اکر. *Mandākar*. MS. (B) منڈ اگڑہ *Mandāgarh*.

¹³ MSS. (A) (B) omit خان.

¹⁴ MS. (B) reads پوریدہ گپت.

battle, but being defeated went towards Alwar. Then, after obtaining¹ reinforcements from Haji Khan Alwari,² he again set about³ accomplishing his own objects, and Himūn detailed⁴ his brother's son named Thar Yal⁵ with a fully equipped army to pursue him. Thar Yal⁶ marching with restless haste pursued Ibrahim for two stages, and joined Himūn. Haji Khan was not pleased at Ibrahim's coming, nor would he send him any assistance. Ibrahim being disheartened⁷ turned aside, and bidding farewell to his father, brothers, and all his blood relations left them in Hindun, and, with a small band of followers took the road to Bhatta. Eventually Ghazi Khan a short time after, fell a prisoner into the hands of Haidar Khan Chaghta in Buana, relying upon assurances⁸ and great and small of his party were put to death, and not a single one of that line was left, as will be related in its proper place,⁹ if God Most High so will it, and now that kingdom and empire, and the independence of that family have become as an idle tale. How wonderful are the ways of God!

Masnati

The world is a juggler decrepit and bowed,
 It brings to pass one thing but promises another,
 It calls you with kindness but drives you away with rancour,
 All its dealings are invariably of this nature
 If it calls you know not whether it calls you
 If it drives you forth you know not whether it drives you
 All of us, old and young are destined to death,
 No one can remain in the world for ever

Inasmuch as everyone liked Ibrahim Khan who was considered by all to have a wonderful fortune in store for him in a short time large numbers gathered to him from all parts. He fought 432 with the army¹⁰ of Ram Chand, the ruler of Bhatta but was

¹ كُوْمَكْ كُوْنَدَه MS (A) reads كُوْمَكْ كُوْنَدَه

² MS (B) omits نَحْرِيَّاً ³ MS (B) كَرْد ⁴ MS (A) كُوْنَدَه

⁵ MS (B) reads نَهْرِيَّاً Nahar pal

⁶ MS (B) reads نَهْرِيَّاً Nahar pal

⁷ Read here بَارِمَدَه MS (A) reads بَارِمَدَه ^(?) MS (B) بَوْمَدَه

⁸ MS (A) reads تَعْنَى ⁹ MS (A) reads حَكْمَه for حَكْمَه

¹⁰ Read طَوْجَه MS (A) for طَوْجَه

forced to flee¹ and was taken prisoner. Rājā Rām Chand, in accordance with the customs of landholders,² made him a present of a bow, and treated him with the utmost honour and respect,³ and in a personal interview⁴ presented him with a royal tent, with the apparatus of royalty, and attendants: then seating him upon the throne, standing humbly as a servant, performed the offices of attendance.

Ibrāhīm Khān⁵ spent⁶ some time there, till Bāz Bahādur the son of Sazāwal Khān, Ruler of Mālwa, who eventually read the *Khutbah* in that country, became involved in a quarrel with the Miyānī Afghāns, who summoned Ibrāhīm Khān⁶ and raising him to the supreme command, sent him against⁷ Bāz Bahādur. Rānī Durgāwati the ruler of the country⁸ of Kara Katanka also, who was embroiled with Bāz Bahādur on account of the proximity of her kingdom, rose up⁹ to assist Ibrāhīm, and went out to fight against Bāz Bahādur, who made overtures for peace¹⁰ and dissuaded the Rānī from assisting Ibrāhīm. She, accordingly, returned to her own country, and Ibrāhīm, not considering it advisable to remain there any longer, went off bag and baggage to Orissa, which is the boundary of Bangāla, and lived on good terms with the *zamīndārs*. Suleimān Karrānī, when he took possession¹¹ (of Orissa), made terms with the Rājā, and sending for Ibrāhīm with assurances of safety, slew him treacherously in the year 975 H.

Verse.

Fix not thy heart on this world, for it has no foundation,
 Speak not of life, for that too is ruined.
 The tent of life which thou placedst at first,
 Death¹² will surely uproot, were it of solid steel.

¹ MS. (A) omits فرار نموده.

² MS. (B) reads است for میباشد.

³ MS. (B) omits و آداب. MS. (A) reads ادب.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) یہ.

⁵ MS. (A) omits خان.

⁶ MS. (A) omits خان.

⁷ Read سوداند. MSS. (A) (B), for سپورنڈ (Text).

⁸ MS. (B) omits ولایت.

⁹ MS. (A) برشاست و.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads استیل.

¹¹ MS. (B) reads wrongly در مقامات.

¹² اجل. MS. (A) reads حل.

Himūn proceeded by rapid marches till he joined 'Adlī¹

'Adlī and Muhammad Khan Gauria were at that time sitting down over against one another, with the river Jamna between them, at a place called Chhappai Khatta, fifteen lioks from Kalpi

433

Gauria, confidently relying upon his superior force to overcome the forces of 'Adlī, had drawn up his cavalry and infantry and elephants to a number surpassing all computation, and was every moment² expecting victory, when suddenly the scale turned against him, and Himun swept down upon him like a comet, and no sooner did he reach the ranks of the picked elephants after crossing the river Jamna,³ than he swooped down upon the army of Gauria, taking them unawares as does the army of Sleep, and making a night-assault gave no one time so much as to lift his hand

They were in such utter confusion⁴ that no man knew his head from his heels, nor his turban from his shoes The greater part of his Amirs were slain, while the remnant who escaped chastisement took to flight The wretched Gauria was so effectually concealed that up to the present not a trace of him has been found, and all that retinue and paraphernalia of royalty⁵ and grandeur became 'like the scattered moths and like flocks of carded wool,'⁶ and became in a moment the portion of the enemy The kingdom is God's, the greatness is God's

Verse

In one moment, in one instant, in one breath,⁷
The condition of the world becomes altered

After this heaven given victory and unforeseen triumph, 'Adlī proceeded to Chinhar and appointed Himūn,⁸ who who was the commander in chief of his army, with abundant treasure and a countless host, elephants of renown, an ornament to the army

1 MS (A) عد 2 MSS (A) (B) read مَنْهَى The text reads در میدان

3 MS (A) omits بِلَاب

4 Literally Crying where shall I put the cup where shall I put the case?

5 MS (A) omits سلطنت و

6 Quran II 4

7 MSS (A) (B) read لَحْظَة نَكْ دم MS (B) reads لَحْظَة نَكْ for لَحْظَة

8 MS (A) شهادون را

and a terror to the enemy, to repel the forces of the Mughul which had taken possession of the country as far as Itāwa and Āgra, as will be presently related if God Most High so will it.

Just at this juncture Khizr Khān, the son¹ of Muḥammad Khān Gauria, who had been killed, succeeded his father in Kor,² issuing the currency and reading the Khuṭbah in his own name, with the style and title of Sultān (Muhammad)³ Bahādur, and collecting a huge army to revenge his father's death, came up against

434. 'Adlī, who notwithstanding his distress⁴ fought bravely on that field, and contrary to expectation met with fierce resistance. After fighting manfully 'Adlī was killed, and joined Muḥammad Khān whose life-blood was yet freshly spilled, fighting in hot blood. This event occurred in the year 962 H. and *Gauria bikush⁵* was its chronogram.

Verse.

My soul, do thou look at the world and take what it gives to thy heart's desire;

Live at thine ease therein a thousand years like Nūh.⁶

Every treasure and every store which kings have laid by,
That treasure and that store seize⁷ and take for thine own.

Every pleasure which the world contains do thou consider as made for thee;

Every fruit which grows in the world⁸ do thou taste and take.

In the final round which brings the end of thy life,
A hundred times seize the back of thy hand with thy teeth
and gnaw it (in despair).

¹ MS. (B) reads و for و.

² MS. (A) omits در کور. ⁸ MSS. (A) (B) omit مخدوم.

⁴ The text reads با وجود آن تنگدلی. MS. (A) reads تنندگی (sic.) MS. (B) reads تنندگی. The meaning is not very clear.

⁵ گوریہ بکشت *Gauria bikush*. A footnote to the text points out that these words give 963 as the date. Thomas (*Pathān Kings*, p. 416) gives 964 H. as the date of 'Adlī's death.

⁶ A footnote variant gives چرخ.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read بعالم for دست for چنگ.

'Adli was so highly skilled in singing and dancing that Miyān Tānsin, the well-known *Kalān-wat*¹ who is a past master in this art² used to own to being his pupil, and Būz Bahādr, son of Sarāwal Khān, who was also one of the most gifted men of his age and had no equal in this life-wasting accomplishment acquired the art (of music) from 'Adli.

Verse.

They owned no rival, but surpassed them all,
May God He is exalted and glorified, pardon them.

One day a performer from the Dakhni brought into his assembly an instrument called *pakhāwaj*,³ which is in length⁴ equal to the height of a man, so large that the hands of no man could reach⁵ the two ends of it, as a sort of challenge to those who were present, and all⁶ the performers of the kingdom of Dihlī were unable to play it; 'Adli, however, found out by his knowledge of other instruments⁷ how to play it, and placing a cushion on the floor beat⁸ the drum now with his hand and now with his foot. The assembled people raised a shout and all the skilled musicians owned their allegiance to him, and praised him exceedingly; and at the time when he was an *Amir*, and as a commander of twenty-thousand held a *jāgir*,⁹ a Bhagat boy¹⁰ handsome and comely who had acquired perfection in his art, used to come to his assembly from some of the villages near Badāon, and used to play.¹¹ 'Adli was so fascinated by his beauty and skill that he kept him in his own service and took pains to educate him, giving him the name of *Mujāhid Khān*.¹² When he attained to kingly power

¹ See *Ain-i-Akbari* I, (B) 612, note 1. *Kalān-wat* or *Kalān-want* is a Hindi word meaning a singer or musician MS. (A) reads کالان ونٹ *Kalān want*.

² Badāoni uses the word *wādi* وادی to indicate a valley or desert, apparently to show his disapproval of the art.

³ A large kind of drum. See *Ain-i-Akbari* (J.) III, 255

⁴ MS. (B) reads کلانی for درایی دارا. ⁵ MS. (A) reads مسدود.

⁶ MS. (A) omits ام. ⁷ MS. (A) omits میں.

⁸ MS. (A) reads here احوازن *Ahwazan* MS. (B) reads اجاون *Ajauan*. So also footnote variant to text.

⁹ بھگت پسری. The Bhagatlyas are "a caste of loose people who pass their time in buffoonery, singing and dancing." Sherring I, 276.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) باری کرد. ¹¹ MS. (A) خات.

he made him a commander of ten thousand. His natural elegance and refinement were such that one day upon returning from the polo ground of Badaon¹ he said, "I am hungry." Ghāzi Khān Sūr whose tent² was at the head of the road said "What I have ready is at your service." 'Adli, for politeness sake, felt constrained to accept his hospitality; first they brought some fried sheep's liver.³ No sooner had he smelt it than he leapt from his seat, and was so disgusted that he left the company⁴ and drew rein nowhere till he reached his house; they say also that the sweepers used to gather up the remains of camphor of the finest quality two or three times daily from his dressing-room, and whenever a necessity arose⁵ he would first grow red, then pale and livid,⁶ and would faint while his countenance changed. In spite of all this leisure and luxuriousness, his fasts and prayers were never duly performed;⁷ he had entirely given up the use of intoxicants, and the day he left the world the treacherous time even grudged him two yards of cloth, and it was never known where his corpse went.⁸

436.

Verse.

Oh ye lords of wealth beware ! beware !
And you, ye lords of state, beware ! beware !⁹

After him, the kingdom fell away from the race of Afghāns and returned to its original holders, and right once more became established.

¹ The text reads اجاون with a footnote variant بدواون. MSS. (A) (B) read بدواون.

² MS. (B) omits قلیہ پوتی &c.

³ MS. (A) قلیہ پوتی. The text reads بدوی meaning scraps of meat.

⁴ The text reads غشیدان *għashyān*. MS. (A) reads غشیان *għasayān*. If we take the reading of the text it will be 'he felt faint.'

⁵ تغاضای گرفت ⁶ برمی آمد MS. (A).

⁷ MS. (A) قضانشاد.

⁸ He was, as has been described, killed in battle.

⁹ MS. (A) reads خداوند مال in the first line, and حال in the second. MS. (B) reads حال in the first and مال in the second.

In this year, 948 H.,¹ Humāyūn married Ḥamīda Bānū Begam, and coming to Pāñtar returned to Lohrī. Mirzā Hindāl started for Qandahār in answer to the summons of Qarācha Beg,² the governor of that district, and Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā, who had encamped at a distance of ten *krohs* from (Humāyūn's) camp also intended to proceed to Qandahār. Humāyūn thereupon sent Mīr Abūl-Baqā,³ who was one of the most distinguished of the learned men of the time, Persian commentator on Mir Saiyyid Sharīf, and author of other compositions, to advise him and dissuade him from his purpose.⁴ At the time of crossing the river a party sallied out from the fortress of Bakkar and rained showers of arrows upon the people in the boats. The sainted Mir was struck by the soul-melting arrow of Fate, and was drowned⁵ in the ocean of martyrdom. This event took place in the year 948 H. and the chronogram *Surūr-i-kāināt*⁶ was invented to commemorate it.

Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir hearkened to this advice and counsel and remained in Bakkar, and Humāyūn proceeded to Tatta, whereupon many of his soldiers left his camp and joined Mirzā (Yādgār) and spent their days⁷ in comfort by reason of the increased pay they received. In this way Mirzā gathered strength, and Humāyūn crossing the river laid siege to the fortress of Siyāhwān.⁸ Mirzā Shāh Husain kept sending⁹ reinforcements

¹ The text reads 947 H. (۹۴۷) نھصہ و چھل و هفت with a footnote saying that one MS. reads 948 H. and another نھصہ و چھل و هشت و هشت and this is the correct date. 947-948. MSS. (A) (B) both read 948 H. and this is the correct date.

² MSS. (A) (B) روان شد. *Firishta*, Qarācha Khān, Bombay text, p. 409.

³ MSS. (A) (B) read میر ابوالباقا MS. (A) omits وا.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) add و.

⁵ MS. (A) دم.

⁶ سوور کائنات *Surūr-i-kāināt*. Joy of created things. These words give the date 948 H.

⁷ MS. (A) گذرانیده MS. (B) گذرانیدند.

⁸ *Firishta* says سہوان Sihwān.. Sihwān or Sehwān is in the Karāchī district of Sind, lat 26° 26' N. long 67° 54' E. The river Indus formerly flowed close to the town but has now quite deserted it. The fort of Sehwān is ascribed to Alexander the Great. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, XII. 305; but Tiefenthaler (I. 128) attributes it to Husain, son of Shāhbeg Arghūn.

⁹ MSS. (A) (B) آزوقة.

and supplies¹ to the garrison,² and embarking on a boat, and³ coming near to the camp blocked the avenues of supplies (to Humāyūn) The siege lasted for seven months, and victory seemed as far off as ever, while great distress was felt from scarcity of 433. grain⁴ and want of salt.⁵

Verse.

Every feast which is prepared⁶ by the hand of heaven
Is either altogether without salt or is altogether so salt (as
to be uneatable).

The soldiers were reduced to such extremities,⁷ that they were forced to give up grain and content themselves with the flesh of animals, and finally⁸ they had to abandon the hope of even this.

Verse

The hungry-bellied fastened his eyes on skins,
For fur is the near neighbour of flesh

Then he sent messengers a second time to Bakkar to summon Mirzā⁹ Yādgār Nāsh, so that in conjunction with him he might repel Mirzā Shah Husain and gain possession of the fort He sent a reinforcement, which was however of no service,¹⁰ and hearing of the distress which prevailed in the camp he saw no good in going there, so remained in Bakkar¹¹ Mirza Shāh Husain played upon his ambition by false promises of the rule of that kingdom, and of having the *Khuṭbah* read and the currency issued in his name , he also promised to obey him, and also that he would give him his daughter in marriage, and thus misled him into

¹ MS (B) می فروستاد

² This is the statement of one author, but Firūzta says "The siege lasted for seven months Mirza Shāh Husain Arghun also came with boats and blocked the road by which supplies of grain came, in consequence of so great scarcity of food ensued that they had to live on the flesh of animals" Bombay text 409

³ MSS (A)(B) و

⁴ MS (B) علی سبزی.

⁵ می نمکی

⁶ Footnote variant دست ماز

⁷ MS (A) omits می

⁸ Text reads آخر MS (B) reads اکثرے را most of them

⁹ MS (B) omits میرزا

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) read پیادہ

¹¹ Footnote variant دھکر Bakkar

opposing Humāyūn.¹ He further took possession of all² the boats belonging to Humāyūn, who, in consequence of all these obstacles, any one of which was a sufficient reason,³ seeing the distress and misery of his army, abandoned the siege⁴ of the fortress, and all unwillingly saying, "Retreat is the wisest course," turned back towards Bakkar, and remaining several days inactive for want of boats, at last by the help of two zamīndārs recovered two boats which Mirzā had sunk, and reached⁵ Bakkar. Mirzā, as a means of covering⁶ the shame he felt, before he came to pay his

439. respects,⁷ marched by forced marches against Mirzā Shāh Husain, and putting to death or taking captive large number of the people of Tatta, who in ignorance of his intentions had left their boats,⁸ did a good deal to repair⁹ his former defections. Then with shame and confusion he came and had an interview (with Humāyūn) and brought in countless heads of the enemy. His faults were overlooked, but in consequence of certain events which occurred, he again became rebellious, and being deceived by the wiles of Mirzā Shāh Husain, prepared for war. Muṇīm Khān who eventually became Khān-i-Khānān also meditated¹⁰ flight. Both of them, however, became¹¹ aware of the folly of their design, and realising its heinousness abandoned their iniquitous intention. The men of Humāyūn's force were day by day going over to the side¹² of Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir. In the meantime Maldeo, Rāja of the kingdom¹³ of Mārwār, who was distinguished above all the zamīndārs of Hindūstān on account of the strength of his following¹⁴ and his exceeding grandeur, again sent letters of summons. Humāyūn not thinking it advisable to remain¹⁵ any longer in the vicinity of Bakkar and Tatta, proceeded by way of Jaisalmir towards Mārwār. The Rāja of

¹ MS. (A) reads بادشاہ مخالفت ساخت.

² MS. (A) omits بتمام.

³ کدام علیٰ مستقل بود از برائی و برائی لشکر.

⁴ MS. (A) از سر قلعہ.

⁵ MS. (B) رسید

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) دفع.

⁷ Footnote variant بدفع.

⁸ MS. (B) reads از کشتی یدر آمدہ بودند.

⁹ MS. (B) reads تلافی.

¹⁰ MS. (B) ارادۂ.

¹¹ MS. (B) مطلع شد.

¹² MS. (B) جانب.

¹² MSS. (A) (B) ملک.

¹⁴ Omit قوت چمیت و read MSS. (A) (B).

¹⁵ MS. (A) omits خود after بودن.

aware of their treachery from its outset]¹ returned without asking permission, and informed Humāyūn of the real state of affairs. He on the instant started with all haste for Amarkot. It so chanced that two of Māldeo's spies had arrived at that same place, and Humāyūn gave orders for them both to be put to death. In their despair one drew a knife, and the other a dagger,² and fell upon (their enemies) like boars wounded by arrows, and killed³ a large number of living things,⁴ men, women and horses, whatever came in their way.⁵ Among the number was Humāyūn's charger: Humāyūn thereupon asked Tardī Beg for a few horses and camels,⁶ he however behaved meanly, and Humāyūn mounted a camel. After a while⁷ Nadīm, his foster-brother,⁸ gave the horse which his mother was riding to the king, he himself going on foot in his mother's retinue through that bare desert, which was like an oven for heat.⁹ His mother afterwards rode on the camel, and they traversed that road¹⁰ which was so terribly difficult, amid constant¹¹ alarms of the attack of Māldeo, [and with intense labour and distress].¹² In the middle of 41. the night they reached a place of safety; by chance the Hindūs of Māldeo's army]¹³ pursuing them through the night, missed their

¹ The words in brackets are not in MSS. (A) (B).

² Read کارہ یکی و خنجر دیگری گشیدنے. MS. (A).

³ هلاک ساختند و بقتل رسانیدند. MS. (A). This is the preferable reading.

⁴ Read معاند ان for چاند اران. MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ هرچھہ پیش میں آمد. MS. (B) آئی. MS. (A).

⁶ This is the reading of the text. MS. (A) reads جند است شیو (sic).

Firishta says that Humāyūn's horse shewed signs of tiring, (مسنتی نمود) so that he asked Tardī Beg for a horse, who unkindly refused, and as every moment tidings kept arriving that Māldeo's army was near at hand, Humāyūn had no alternative but to mount a camel (Bo. Text, p. 410.)

⁷ Text تا ایکی. MS. (A) omits. Firishta writes تا کیا ہے whereupon.

⁸ Firishta writes ندیم کو کوئی خود.

⁹ Firishta gives a slightly different version of this: stating that Nadīm himself went on foot and placed his mother on his own horse leading it, afterwards mounting her on a camel. (Bo. text loc cit).

¹⁰ MS. (A) آٹ را را. MS. (B) reads روز را.

¹¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit و هر دم. ¹² Omit ہے after مشقت. MS. (A).

¹³ All this passage from بود to ماسنے is omitted in MS. (B).

way,¹ and in the morning, in a narrow pass, came upon the rearguard of the army, who were two and twenty in number. Mumtum Khan and Roshan Beg² Koka, and another³ party of men who belonged to that side having arrived, a battle ensued. In the very first onset the leader of the Hindus went to hell from an arrow-wound, and a large number were killed. They could not withstand the attack, and many camels fell into the hands of the Muslims. This victory was the occasion of great rejoicing.⁴ Marching from thence and being without water,⁵ after three days they arrived at a halting-place, where, on account of its depth⁶ a drum had to be beaten at the mouth of the well, so that its sound might reach the place where the oxen for drawing the water were.⁷ For lack of water, a crowd of people in their distress were lost, and⁸ disappeared like water in that sandy plain, which was a very river of quicksand, while many horses and camels

¹ According to our author's account it seems as though Maldeo's men lost their way, but Firuzta's account is as follows: "When the tilings of the approach of the infidels arrived Humayun ordered certain of his fleets who were with him to follow him in close succession, while he himself started with a small party of not more than twenty five; when night came on the officers lost their way and went in another direction towards morning the ranks of the enemy's army became visible, and in accordance with (Humayun's) orders Shaikh Ali and the rest who were in all not more than twenty five men repeated the creed, then turned and with stout heart gave battle. Fortunately the very first arrow struck the leader of the infidels in the breast, he fell headlong to the earth and the rest fled. The Muslims pursued them and captured many camels. Humayun returned thanks to God and alighted at a well which contained a little water where the Amirs who had lost their way came up."

² MS (A) omits سک

³ MS (A) omits دوکر

⁴ MS (A) reads حوش قنی.

⁵ آپ بردائشہ, is the reading of the text and both MSS (A) (B) but it does not tally with Firuzta who writes "Marching thence, for three stages water was absolutely un procurable, and the people were in great distress, on the fourth day they reached a well, &c." Perhaps we should read آپ بردائشہ. Putting up with the want of water

⁶ MS (A) omits ک.

⁷ The rope was so long that before the bucket reached the mouth of the well the oxen used to draw it up, had gone so far that the sound of a drum was necessary to warn their drivers that they must stop. MS (A) reads دی گروکش بود میرسند also داس for داس

⁸ MS (B) omits و ماء

drinking water after their long and unaccustomed drouth, died¹ from surfeit of water. And inasmuch as that desert, like the midday mirage,² was as interminable as the troubles of the hapless³ wretches of the army, perforce they turned aside by a circuitous route⁴ towards Amarkot, which lies at a distance of a hundred *krohs* from Tatta. The governor of Amarkot, named Rānā, came out to meet them accompanied by his sons, and did all in his power⁵ to render fitting service.

Humāyūn bestowed⁶ all that he had in the treasury upon his followers, while to supply the party who had not yet arrived,⁷ he borrowed from Tardi Beg and others by way of assistance, and gave it them. He also made presents of money, and sword-belts⁸ to the sons of Rānā, who, for the reason that his father had been put to death by Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, collected a large force⁹ from the surrounding country,¹⁰ entered the service of Humāyūn, and leaving his baggage and camp equipage in¹¹ Amarkot under the care and protection of Khwāja Mu'zam, the brother of Begam,¹² he (Humāyūn) proceeded towards Bakkar.¹³

442. On Sunday, the fifth of the month Rajab, in the year 949 H. the auspicious birth of the Khalifah of the age Akbar Pādshāh occurred in a fortunate moment at Amarkot. Tardi Beg Khān conveyed this joyful tidings to Humāyūn at that halting-place, who after giving (the child) that auspicious name,¹⁴ proceeded

1 MS. (A) هلاک گشتنہ.

2 سراب MS. (A) reads سیراب.

3 بلا دیدگان اردو. The calamity-stricken of the army.

4 را گردانیده. I can see no other meaning for this expression.

5 MS. (A) reads حسب المقدار. MS. (B) reads حسب.

6 MSS. (A) (B) بخش فرمودند.

7 MS. (A) نرسیده.

8 کمر خنجر. MS. (A).

9 MSS. (A) (B) omit ب.

10 از اطراف کرده اور داشت. MS. (B). The text is correct.

11 MSS. (A) (B) در (د).

12 MSS. (A) (B) omit پادشاه.

13 It was now that Akbar was born, according to Firishta, before Humāyūn left for Bakkar. See Bo. text, p. 411. Briggs, II. 95; but from our author's text it appears that Humāyūn had left Amarkot before his son was born, and only saw him at Chaul.

14 The text and both MSS. (A) (B) read فرجام ماند which is not capable of satisfactory interpretation. It is suggested that we should read ماند instead of فرجام.

with all haste towards Bakkar At the camp of Chaul¹ he sent for the Prince of auspicious mien, and was rejoiced by the well-omened sight of his son His soldiers, in whose nature the craft of unfaithfulness was as firmly planted as is deceit in the nature of the times, were one by one, including even Mun'im Khan, deserting² At this time Buram Khan³ came from Gujrat and tendered his allegiance Considering it unadvisable to remain in that country Humayun determined to make for Qandahar Mirza Shah Husain thinking this an opportunity not to be lost, in accordance with a requisition⁴ sent thirty boats and three hundred camels, and Humayun crossed the river Indus At that time Mirzā Kamrān⁵ had taken Qandahar⁶ from Mirzā Hindal and had left it in charge of Mirza 'Askari, and having given Ghazni to Mirza Hindal had read the Khutbah in his own name After some time, however, he changed that also⁷ Mirzā Hindal having given up all royal dignity in Kabul used to live like a dāriresh,⁸ and Muza Kamrān yielding to the instigation of Mirza Shah Husain wrote to Mirzā 'Askari saying, ' Seize the road by which the Pādshah will proceed and take him prisoner in any way you can contrive' Accordingly when he arrived at the camp of Shal Mastāng⁹ Mirza 'Askari¹⁰ marched by forced marches from

چول ۱ Chaul or Chore a village situated on the route from Amarkot to Jaisalmer, eight miles north east of the former place See Thornton's Gazetteer, I p 143 and map Lat 25° 25 Long 69° 51 See also Keith Johnston's Atlas

² MSS (A) حاں بیر بگان فاراری نمودند (B) So also Firīghta who says But after a short time the army began to scatter and nothing could be accomplished Mun'im Khan also fled &c.

³ See Ām-i Akbari I (B) 315 No 10

⁴ MS (B) omits حسب

⁵ MS (B) omits میرزا کامران

⁶ MS (A) omits برا

⁷ MS (A) reads آنرا تغیر نمودند MS (B) reads آنرا تغیر نموده

⁸

⁹ The text reads شال مشانگ Shal Mashang but both MSS (A)(B) read سال مستان Sal Mastan manzil : Urd : bud Firīghta Bo text, p 411, line 10 reads سال و مستان Sal Wahsanān which is probably a copyist's error for شال و مستان Shal o Mastan We should therefore read Shal o Mastang understanding by it Mustung which lies S S W of Quetta or Shal at a distance of about 25 miles See Thornton's Gazetteer, II pp 66 and 188 The distance from Qandahar to Shal is about 150 miles

¹⁰ A footnote variant reads میرزا هندان Mirza Hindal Not in MS (A) or (B)

Qandahär and sent Chūlī¹ Bahādur Uzbaki to reconnoitre.² He however, went straight off and informed Bairām Khān, whose camp he reached at midnight, and Bairām Khān went with all haste behind the royal tent and represented the state of affairs. Accordingly he gave up all idea of Qandahär and Kābul, and in opposition to his brothers, uttering the formula³ of separation, took the road to 'Irāq, accompanied by twenty-two men, among whom were Bairām Khān and Khwāja Mu'azzam. These two he sent to bring the Queen-consort and the young prince, asking Tardi Beg for the loan of a few horses, who, however, again branding himself⁴ with the stigma of meanness and disgrace, refused to comply with this request, and further declined to accompany him. Humāyūn left the young Prince, who was an infant of only one year, in the camp under the charge⁵ of Atkah⁶ Khān⁶ on account of the great heat and the scarcity of water along his route, but took the Queen-consort⁷ with him and journeyed by way of Sistān.

Mirzā 'Askarī just then arrived at the royal camp,⁸ and alighting and tearing the veil of humanity from the face of modesty, set about appropriating the valuables. He also placed Tardi Beg⁹ in rigorous confinement, and carried off the young

¹ Footnote variant جوکی Jūkī.

² MSS. (A) (B) فوستاده. MS. (B) omits گیری.

³ MS. (A) omits کلمة. See Qur'ān xviii. 77.

⁴ MS. (B) reads گشوده for گشیده.

⁵ اتابکی atabakī. The word atābak or atābek is a Turkī word signifying "grand-père, précepteur, instituteur du fils des Sultāns." (Pavet de Courteille),

⁶ Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atgah Khān. See Āīn-i-Akbarī I. (Bl.) 321. No: 15, where we learn that it was he who assisted Humāyūn to escape drowning after the defeat of Qanauj. Humāyūn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (*anāgah*) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of Jī Jī Anāgah."

The word لی anā means a mother in Turkī, while دکلی anākah or گلی anākā means a nurse, as لی atā means a father; the word دکلی atākah would mean foster father, and this is probably the name given to Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, not Atgah or Atka.

⁷ MS. (B) omits گلاداپ after بیگم. MSS. (A) (B) read بودند گرفتند for گرفتند.

⁸ دیوان خاندان عالی Dīwān Khāna-i-'Alī.

⁹ The words حکم do not seem to convey any definite meaning, we should perhaps read حکم be-hilm.

Prince¹ to Qandahār, and handed him over to Sultān Begam, his own wife, with injunctions to take every care for his kind treatment and protection.² In that journey important events took place,³ which, although they were fully and elaborately detailed in the original,⁴ do not admit of relation in this place, and must be rapidly passed over as he did that long stretch of road. These events took place in the year 930 H. (1543 A.D.) In short, leaving Sistān and journeying to the city of Khurāsān, he had an interview with Sultān Muhammad Mirzā, the elder son of Shāh Tahmasp, who held the rule of that country under the tutelage⁵ of Muhammad Khān Taklū,⁶ and receiving all the necessities of royalty, and requisites for his journey,⁷ with all honour and ceremony reached the sacred city of Maṣḥid (Meshed), and at each successive stage, by order of the Shāh, the governors of the provinces hastened to welcome him, and made all preparations for entertaining him and showing him hospitality, escorting him from stage to stage. Bairām Khān proceeded to do homage to the Shāh, and brought with him thence a letter congratulating Humāyūn upon his arrival. The two monarchs met at Pulāq-Suriq⁸ and exchanged the customary honours and courtesies.

In the course of conversation the Shāh asked what had led to his descent, Humāyūn ineptuously⁹ replied 'The opposition of my brothers.' Bahiām Mirzā, the brother of the Shāh, who was

¹ MSS (A) (B) omit b

² Omit و MSS (A) (B)

³ داد روی MS (A)

⁴ MSS (A) (B) تابع در تابع That is to say, in the *Tabaqat-i-Albari*. See Elliot and Douson, V 217, et seqq.

⁵ اتالیقی Atalīqī. The termination *liq*, *ligh*, *linq* or *lugh* indicates either relationship, as in this instance; an abstraction, as in چو فرق chūq̄lq̄, abundance; or possession. See Pavot de Courteille &c.

The word patronage would more etymologically represent *atliq*, but in modern usage this word has become perverted from its true sense.

⁶ Called by Nūrūmu d Dīn, Ahmad Muhammad Khān Sharfu d Dīn Ughlu Taklu (F and D, v 217) The word تکلو Taklu means "eau qui coule d'une vallée et des flancs d'une montagne, lieux humides et verdoyants" (P de C.)

⁷ MS (B) reads دار و ما بحتاج سلطنت گرفته This reading is also given as a variant in a footnote to the text

⁸ The text has ئيلانى سورقى (Sic) ايلانق (?) Ilaq Burraq, but both MSS (A) (B) read پلاق سورق Pulaq Suriq

⁹ MSS (A) (B) omit the article, reading خاری دهن

present, was grieved at this speech, and from that day¹ forth sowed the seeds of enmity against Humāyūn in his heart, and set himself to overthrow his enterprise, [nay more to overthrow Humāyūn himself as well],² and impressed upon Shāh Tahmasp, saying, "This is the son of that self-same father who taking so many thousand Qizilbāsh soldiers to reinforce his army, caused them to be trampled under foot by the Özbaks, so that not one of them escaped alive."³ This was a reference⁴ to that affair in which Bābar Pādshāh took Najm-i-Awwal from Shāh Isma'il⁵ with seventeen thousand Qizilbāsh cavalry,⁶ and led them as an auxiliary force against the Özbaks, and at the time of the siege of the fortress of Nakhshab, otherwise known as Kash,⁷ (?) wrote the following verse upon an arrow and discharged it into the fort:

Verse.

I made Najm Shāh to turn the Özbaks from their path,
If I did wrong, (at any rate) I cleared (my own) path.

The following day when the two armies met⁸ he withdrew⁹ to one side, and the Qizilbāsh troops met with the treatment which was in store for them; that circumstance¹⁰ is notorious.

However, to return from this digression, Sultān Begam¹¹ the sister of the Shāh, whom he regarded as an adviser equal to the

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read روز باز از ایام.

² MS. (B) omits the words in brackets. MS. (A) reads ضایع ساختن cf. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Elliot, v. 218.

³ MSS. (A) (B) بدر نیامد زندہ.

⁴ The text is correct تلمیح MS. (A) reads بیلمنج.

⁵ In the Memoirs of Bāber, (Erskine, p. 243), he is called Nijim Sani ·Isfahāni. (Najam-i-Sāni Isfahāni).

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) omit سوار.

For an account of this see Erskine (Memoirs of Bāber), pp. 242, 243.

⁷ MS. (A) reads کس kas (?).

نخشب Nakhshab. "In Mawarān-nahr between the Jaihūn and Samārqand, but not lying on the road to Bokhārā, is kept on the left in journeying from Bokhārā to Samārqand, also called Nasaf, situated three stages from Samārqand." See Yāqūt, s. v.v. نخشب and نسف. In Bokhārā, see Kesh (Keith Johnston's Atlas), or Shehr-i-Sabz.

⁸ MS. (B) reads تلafi for التلقی.

⁹ MS. (A) كشیده.

¹⁰ MSS. (A) (B) قصیدة. Text reads مقصود.

¹¹ MS. (A) reads سلطانام Sulṭānam. So also *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

promised Mahdi,¹ (who in the belief of the Shī'ahs lies concealed in a subterranean dwelling in the city of Samirah, otherwise known by the name of *Surrā man rā's*,² and when necessity arises will emerge from thence and inaugurate an era of equity), and with whose opinion and advice all the affairs³ of State were bound up,⁴ dissuaded him from that mistaken step,⁵ and by the use of rational argument brought him back⁶ to an attitude of kindness and manhood, and induced him to help and assist His Majesty (Humāyūn) wrote a *rubā'i* (quatrain) of which the following is the last verse⁷

Verse

All kings desire the shadow of the Humā,⁸
Behold! the Humā has sought thy shadow

On a certain occasion he interpolated this verse into a fragment from Salmān,⁹ and sent it to the Shah

1 The promised Mahdi, or Leader who is to appear before the Resurrection
See *Mīqādītu l-Maqdīs*, xxii; also Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, 305

2 Samarrā, in 'Iraq. Founded by Al Mu'tasim b. Illahī eighth Khālidah of the house of Abīs. See *History of the Caliphs* (Jarrett), p. 350

Its name was changed by Al Mu'tasim for the sake of good augury into *Surrā man rā's* meaning 'Who sees it rejoices'. Samarrā was at one time the capital of the Caliphate, but became once more merely a provincial town when the seat of government was removed to Būkhārah remaining however a place of pilgrimage to the Shī'ah Muslims for here were to be seen the tombs of two of their Imāms, also the Mosque with the underground chamber, from which the promised Mahdi Al Qāim is to appear. See J. R. A. S., 1895, p. 76, for the article from which this note is abridged - a translation from the Arabic of Ibn Serapion, by Mr. Lo Strange.

3 MS (A) سعادت.

4 MS (B) omits دود

5 Text از وادی گردیده (?) MS (A) reads از وادی گردیده (?)

6 MS (A) آورده

7 MSS (A) (B) سنت آخرين اسست

8 هم Huma, see p. 57 of this work and note 2

There is an allusion here to the name Humayūn in its etymological sense of relation to the *Huma* or bird of royal augury

9 Read بـ سـ لـ مـ اـ نـ طـ عـ سـ لـ مـ MS (A)

Salmān Sawājī Jamālū d-Dīn, a native of Sawāh. Shāikh 'Alā' d-Dawlah of Samān said, "I have never seen in all the world the equal of the verses of Salman or the pomegranates of Samān." He died in the year 669 H. *Majmā'u l-Fusūlā*, II. 19. See Beale O. B. D. p. 235, where Salmān is said to have died in 770 A. H. See also H. K. 8916 *Firaqnāma*. The date of his death given in the *Majmā'u l-Fusūlā* must be incorrect, as Salmān was the panegyrist of Amir Shāikh Ḥasan and of his son Sultan Awāṣī Jalayer the latter of whom died in 716 A. H. See *Ain-i Akbari* I (B) 100 n. 6

Verse.

I hope that the Shāh will out of kindness treat me,
As ‘Alī treated Salmān in the desert of Arzhan.¹

The Shāh was extremely pleased, and after innumerable banquets and associations in travelling, and hunting expeditions,² arranged all preparations on a scale of regal magnificence in Humāyūn's honour, and took much trouble in giving his assent to the religious tenets of the Shī'ahs, and to that which the later writers of that persuasion say regarding the blessed companions of Muḥammad, *may God be pleased with them*, and Humāyūn after³ much ado said "Bring them written upon a sheet of paper." Accordingly they wrote down all their religious beliefs, and Humāyūn read them with a view to copying them, and gave precedence⁴ in the Khuṭbah, after the custom of ‘Irāq, to the recital of the twelve Imāms.⁵ Shāh Murād, the son of the Shāh, an infant at the breast, with ten thousand⁶ cavalry under the command⁷ of Bidāgh Khān Qizilbāsh Afshār,⁸ was nominated⁹ to reinforce Humāyūn, and it was determined that the Qizilbāsh should march

¹ One day Salmān was in the desert of Arzhan which is between Bushire and Shīrāz and swarms with lions. Suddenly a lion confronted him, and in his helplessness he called upon ‘Alī for aid who appeared and drove away the lion. There is a spot known to this day as the *Muqām-i-Salmān*. He is buried at Madām. See *Isābah*, II. p. 224. Salmān Abū ‘Abdi-l-lah al Fārsī, called in Persian Rūzbih.

MS. (A) reads instead of the first line given in the text

میہد وارم آنکه لطف با ما آن کند. MS. (B) reads میہد وارم آنکه لطف با ما آن کند.

² Omit ترتیب داد و and read بعد التیا والمتی. MS. (A).

⁴ Read here نقل نمودند for تقبل نمودند. MSS. (A) (B).

⁵ The Shī'ahs apply the term *Imām* to the twelve leaders of their sect whom they call the true *Imāms*. They are on this account called the *Imāmiyah* and the *Isnā 'Asharīyah*. See Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, 203 and 572.

⁶ MS. (B) reads دوازده هزار 12,000.

⁷ Bidāgh Khān was according to *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* the Prince's tutor. Hence apparently the use of this word.

⁸ See *Tārikh-i-Rashidī* (Elias and Ross), p. 214 n. Afshār is the name of one of the seven Turkī tribes who had been the chief supporters of Shāh Ismail, and whom he distinguished by a particular dress, including the red cap from which the Qizilbāsh derive their name.

⁹ MS. (A) نامزد داش.

by one route and Humāyun by another,¹ and that Humayūn should, after gaining the victory, hand over Qandahār to Shah Murād. Taking leave, and marching rapidly through Aīdabil and Tabriz, (Humāyun) again went to Mashhad the holy city,² and succeeded in visiting the shrine of the fountain head of light³

At the time when one night he was walking alone in that sacred 446. enclosure, one of the pilgrims said in a low voice⁴ to his fellow, "This is not Humayun Padshāh"⁵ The other replied "Yes it is" Then coming close, he said in the ear of Humāyun "So⁶ you are again laying claim to omnipotence!" This was a reference to the circumstance that Humayun used generally in Bangāla to cast⁶ a veil over his crown, and when he removed it⁷ the people used to say, Light has shined forth! He also washed his sword in the river and said⁸ "Upon whom shall I gird the sword?" When he arrived at Āgra he imposed upon the populace a new self-invented form of salutation, and wished them to kiss the ground (before him) At last Mīr Abul Baqā with the Amirs and Vazirs paid the due respects, and the Amirs of the Qizilbāsh coming (by another road)⁹ arrived at Gairmsir and took possession of the whole of that territory, and had encamped within view¹⁰ of Qandahār, when¹¹ after five days Humāyun arrived, and Mīrzā 'Askari was besieged, and for three months continuously¹² fighting was kept up, and a large number were daily killed on both sides Thereupon Bairam Khan was sent to Kabul as an ambassador to

¹ MS (A) reads گهار یاوت که پادشاه قندھار را ... It was settled that Humayun should hand over Qandahar (to Shah Murad) MS (A) omits صواب

² MS (A) inserts مسجد مقدس

³ At Mashhad (Meshed) is the tomb of 'Alī, son of Musa ar Rezā See Meynard Dict de la Perse, p 396 s v طوس See also Āin i Akbari, (J) III, 86 Firishta reads (Bo Text, p 212)

متوجه مشهد مقدس امام علیہ الاف التحکیم

⁴ Insert دیگری after دران instead of after دیگری MSS (A) (B)

⁵ MS (A) reads بیست

⁶ MSS (A) (B) می اند احتد Read MSS (A) (B)

⁷ Supply در MS (A) (B) از راه دیگر MS (A)

¹⁰ MS (B) reads در طاف ساختند and MS (A) (B) ایسا

¹¹ Omit ناسخ پیانی MS (A) (B)

Mirzā¹ [Kāmrān in whose behalf Mirzā 'Askarī was fighting and Mirzā Hindāl and Mirzā] Suleimān Badakshī and Mirzā Yadgār Nāsir² who had arrived from Bakkar in a wretched plighted; and [since]³ the idea of the Qizilbāsh was that no sooner would Humāyūn arrive than the Chaghatai would submit to him⁴ and would all come in.⁵ This, however, did not happen, and the siege became very protracted, and a large⁶ number were killed. It was also currently reported that Mirzā Kāmrān was coming to the assistance of Mirzā 'Askarī, they accordingly lost heart and meditated a return to their own country.⁷ It so happened that just at that very time certain Amirs deserted from Mirzā Kāmrān, namely, Muhammad Sultān Mirzā, Ulugh Mirzā, and Mirzā Ihsain Khān with other noted commanders, and offered their services to Humāyūn. Mu'yd Beg, who was a prisoner in the fortress of 47. Qandahār, escaped⁸ from the fort and had an interview with him, meeting with very kind treatment. Mirzā 'Askarī in his alarm, sued for quarter, and joined⁹ the ranks of Humāyūn's followers; his faults were pardoned and he was distinguished by especial marks of favour.

¹ The words within brackets occur in both MSS. (A) (B) which read

میرزا کامران که میرزا عسکری از جانب او مختار بھے
می کرد فرستادند و میرزا هنداں و میرزا سلیمان الخ

This also tallies with the *Tubaqāt-i-Akbarī*. See Elliot and Dowson, V. 219.

² MS. (A) reads ہ but it seems to be in error.

³ Omit فرستاد in this place, MS. (A). ⁴ MS. (A) omits چون.

⁵ ایل شدن - چغتیہ ایل خواهند شد *Il shudan*. To become submissive. See Pavet de Courteille, s v. ایل.

⁶ Read here. و همه خواهند در آمد. MSS. (A) (B). The word seems unnecessary and tautological; possibly it is an interpolation by a scribe who failed to understand the word ایل *il*, taking it in its ordinary sense of "tribe."

Regarding the Chaghatai, see *Tārikh-i-Rashīdī*, (Elias and Ross, pp. 2, 3.)

⁷ MS. (A).

⁸ MS. (A) omits می before خواستند and reads

کہ بدیاں خود مراجعت نہایند.

⁹ The text read پایان آمد having come down. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* says "managed to escape by stratagem, and let himself down from the walls by a rope." E. and D. loc cit.

¹⁰ MS. (A) آمد.

Verse

There's a sweetness in forgiveness which there is not in revenge

He also ordered the Amirs of Qizilbash that for the space of three days they should abstain from interference with the families of the Chaghta tribe,¹ and the inhabitants of the city, so as² to allow of their all coming out, and although Humayun had no territory in his possession yet on account of the promise which had gone forth he brought Bidagh Khan and Mirzā Murad into the fort and made over the whole of that country to them

Verse

If a man fulfils the obligation of his promise

That man rises superior to any estimate you may form of him

With the exception of Bidagh Khan and two or three other Amirs,³ no one remained in the service of Mirzā Murād, while the remaining Amirs of the auxiliaries, all returned to 'Iraq

Humayun was induced by the coming on of the winter winds, to ask Bidagh Khan to provide shelter for the followers of his army within the walls of the city, but that inhuman being invariably sent strangely rough answers.⁴ On this account some of the Chaghatai Amirs began⁵ to take to flight towards Kabul, among them was Muza 'Askari, who was seized in the way and brought to Humayun, who imprisoned him. Many stirring events⁶ happened in those days, which⁷ led to the delivery of Qandahar from the hands of the Qizilbāsh. First among these was this, that the Chaghatai Amirs urged upon Hamayūn the necessity of seizing Qandahār, on account of the coldness of the weather, saying

¹ الورس چوتا Ulus : Chaghtā. The word Ulus is a Turkish word it is not found in Pedhouse's dictionary. In Fażlullah Khan's Turkish Persian Dictionary its meaning is given as قبیله بزرگ qabilah : burzug a large tribe

The title of Ulusbegi 'chief of the tribe' was a very old one among the Mughals. See Tarikh-i-Rashdi (Elles and Ross) p 132 n 1

² MS (A) reads wrongly ل for ل

³ Bidagh Khan + Abul Fath Sultan Afshar and Sufi Wah Sultan Kadamu + Tabaqat-i-Akbari E and D, v 221

⁴ Read مخدان بادر MSS (A)(B)

⁵ MS (B) reads بادن کردند

⁶ MS (A) reads اوقاع صای چند The text is correct

⁷ Omit نعمتی MS (A)

that after the conquest of Kābul and Badakhshān he ought¹ to
 448. bestow the greater portion of that place again upon the Qizilbāsh
 as compensation, so that due requital might be made them.

Secondly, the passing of Mirzā Murād on that very day,² by
 a natural death, from the world of existence and trouble.

Thirdly, the tyranny and oppression inflicted by Qizilbāsh
canaille on³ the inhabitants of the city, and their preventing the
 Chaghatai from entering the fort, upon any pretext whatever.⁴

Fourthly, this incident, that a fierce⁵ *Tabarrā*, in accordance with

¹ MSS. (A) (B) omit باید but it seems to be necessary.

² MS. (A) inserts ام قرار داد روز "the very day of the agreement."

³ Omit نسبت MS. (B). ⁴ MS. (B) omits علبو.

⁵ MS. (A) reads تبرای تندي. The word here seems to mean one who is
 anathema, i. e., a Sunnī.

The following long note is necessary as no book I can find explains the word
 تبرای *Tabarrā*: This word means enmity (as opposed to تعلق *Tawallā*,
 affection) and is a technical term in use among the Shī'ahs. In defining
tabarrā a distinction is to be made between مخالفت *mukhālafat* opposition,
 and عداوت 'adāwat enmity, the former not necessarily involving the latter,
 for instance two men may be in opposition (*mukhālafat*) on worldly matters,
 and yet be in thorough amity (*maḥabbat*) in matters of faith, or may be
 opposed to one another in questions of philosophy and yet be unanimous in
 religious questions. Thus enmity includes opposition, but opposition does not
 necessarily imply enmity. And yet it is held that حب *maḥabbat*, affection,
 and عداوت 'adāwat enmity may occasionally co-exist: for the reason that
 عداوت 'adāwat is of two kinds, religious, as for instance the 'adāwat of
 Muslims and Infidels, who regard each other as enemies on the ground of the
 fundamental differences in their faith: and, worldly, as the 'adāwat between
 one Muslim and his fellow Muslim on account of some conflict of worldly
 interests. Thus it is conceivable that 'adāwat and *maḥabbat* may co-exist. Or
 again one Muslim may have an affection for another Muslim *qua* Muslim, but
 entertain a hatred for him as an adulterer, while he may love even a kāfir
 (Non-Muslim) for his good works such as alms, &c., while he hates him as an
 Infidel: his love being merely of a worldly nature in no way connected with
 religion.

The co-existence of 'adārat and *maḥabbat* in one person due to one con-
 sideration is however impossible.

Again, the 'adārat which true believers entertain against each other on
 account of worldly considerations is not injurious to the faith, however
 reprehensible it may be.

Moreover, the essential origin of 'adārat in religious matters is *kufr*
 (infidelity), therefore one must consider every *kāfir* as an enemy: thus
 although there may be lawful ties of worldly affection (*maḥabbat*) between a

Muslim and a Kafir, such as the relation of father and son, or brotherhood other blood relationship or friendship, get all these considerations must be cast aside from the exigencies of religion, and 'a laicat must be based upon their *kufr*. Again religious affection is centred in *imān* (faith of Islam), we must therefore from religious considerations lose all the brethren of this faith whether they are obedient or contumacious.

Makabbat and 'adīqat between a true believer and an unbeliever (*Kafir*) has different degrees, just as there are differences of degree in the love which any reasonable being entertains for his different relations. So also in religious love there are degrees. The highest is that for the Prophet Muhammad, next to this love for the assembly of believers who have close connection and intimate relation to the Prophet; and that assembly is confined to three parties. First, the children and relations of the Prophet who are his members; secondly, his pure spouses who are in a way his members, thirdly, his companions who elected to serve him and gave their lives for his cause.

If among the believers there be any devoid of faith (*imān*), or guilty of any sin which destroys their former works, and in accordance with the dictates of the Qur'an become worthy of 'adīqat (عذاب حاتم) they are excepted (from the rights of *makabbat*) and enquiry should be made into their faith or absence of faith. Inasmuch as *fisq* (immorality) does not necessarily exclude *Imān* (faith) it is not lawful to curse such an one, nor to display تبرّأ tabarrā against him, but rather to pray for his pardon, as long as he retains *Imān* it is lawful to entertain صحبة makabbat for him, and 'adīqat on religious grounds is unlawful, inasmuch as tabarrā and سبّ sabb (reviling) are only justifiable when makabbat for a person no longer remains, which is restricted to death in infidelity.

Now we must consider the words of the *Sūfī* divines who consider opposition to and contention regarding the Khilafat of 'Ali as *kufr*, according to the words of Khwaja Nasir Tusi "Muhibbūshu fasaqah wa muhibbūshu kafarah" "Those who oppose him are immoral and those who fight against him are infidels."

Accordingly a section who have contented themselves with opposition are not deserving of tabarrā, because their extreme fault is *fisq* (immorality) and the *fasiq* (immoral man) may be a true believer.

The above is translated from the *Tuhfa-i-Iṣṭiqāṣ* of Shāh 'Abdu'l 'Aziz of Dihlī.

The gist of the matter appears to be this that Tabarrā is not justifiable for immorality, but only for infidelity. It seems therefore to take the place in Muslim Theology of the ḍarbāra of the Christian Code. It is more than excommunication, inasmuch as death in infidelity is made the test of tabarrā which thus implies final separation and curse.

The use of foul abusive language against the companions of the Prophet would be held to be loss of إيمان (*Imān*) and hence to render the reviler liable to تبرّأ tabarrā provided he died in that state. As the person referred to in the story was killed by Mirza Yadgar Nāṣir he is called تبرّأ tabarrā accused.

part of the inhabitants of the world¹ are like a flock of sheep, whichever one goes, the others immediately follow.² Mirzā 449. Kāmrūn, losing the clue of all independent action, availed himself of the services of the *Shaikhs* and 'Ulamā to sue for pardon. Humāyūn, upon condition of personal submission, effaced the record of his transgressions from the page of his mind with the water of forgiveness. Mirzā, in accordance with the saying "The traitor is a coward,"³ would not consent to an interview, and took refuge in the citadel of Kābul, where he entrenched himself, and fled thence in the dead of night to Ghaznīn. The whole of his army⁴ came over to the camp of Humāyūn, who appointed Mirzā Hindāl to pursue him, and came himself to Kābul, and the hidden meaning of the sacred word "Verily, He who hath ordained the Qur'ān for thee will restore thee to thy returning place"⁵ was revealed, and he refreshed to the full his eyes with the sight of the noble Prince his son. This victory was gained on the tenth of the month of Ramazān the blessed,⁶ in the year 952 H. (A.D. 1545),⁷ and the following hemistich was written as a record of the date:—

*Be jang girift mulk-i-Kābul az wai.*⁸

"He took the kingdom of Kābul from him without fighting." And inasmuch as others are responsible for the relation of these events, and the compiler of this *Muntakhab* has only adapted his record from them, now however much he may desire to epitomise,⁹

1 MS. (A) موردم عالم ; MS. (B) omits حکم عالم

2 MS. (B) می آوردند

3 MS. (B) مخایل و اخباریف Al-Māliku l-khayr. MS. (B) reads مخایل خیر

4 MS. (A) reads سپاهیانش

5 Qur'ān xxviii. 85. 6 MS. (A) omits المبارک.

7 The *Tabaqat-i-Akbarī* (Elliot and Dowson, v. p. 222) says. "The victory was accomplished on the 10th Ramazān, 953 H. when the Prince was four years, two months and five days old. Some place the event in the year 952: but God knows the truth." A footnote (I, page 223) states that the *Akbar-nāma* (vol. I. p. 823) makes the date 12th Ramazān, 952.

8 بی جنگ گرفت ملک کابل از وی. These words give 952 H. *Firishta* also gives this same hemistich. (Bo. text, p. 448).

9 Text گه طناب اطناب را کشیده دارد. Lit. to draw tight the tent cords of prolixity. MSS. (A) (B) omit را ; MS. (B) reads سخن fer اطناب.

the thread of his discourse¹ has involuntarily become lengthened (in accordance with the saying). *Narration has many bye-paths.*¹

To make a long story short when Mirzā Kāmrān proceeded to Ghaznin and was unable to enter it,² he departed towards Bakkar, and Mirzā Shāh Husain, who had given him his daughter (in marriage), came forward to assist him.

Humāyūn put to death Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir who was meditating flight, and proceeded with the intention of conquering Badakhshān. Suleimān Mirzā gave him battle, and was defeated, and

450. Kāmrān Mirzā coming up in Humāyūn's absence took possession of Kābul, placing guards over the ladies³ of high degree, and over the young Prince.

Humāyūn, after relieving Mirzā Hindāl of the government of Badakhshān, wrote a patent conferring it upon Mirzā Suleimān, and making over⁴ the government of that country to him returned with all speed to Kābul. Mirzā Kāmrān, after the defeat of his forces, remained entrenched in Kābul, and when he found himself in straits, out of sheer cruelty several times gave orders for the young Prince to be placed upon the ramparts of the fort within range of both artillery and musketry fire, but Māham Ānka⁵ made her own body a shield for him against the arrows of calamity..

Verse.

The Sūdārs and Amirs, on account of the heat of the contest in which they were engaged, began to traffic in hypocrisy,¹ and kept coming backwards and forwards, now in one direction now in another. Many of them on both sides were killed. At last,² Mīrzā,³ having made a hole in the wall of the fort, came out in disguise,⁴ and when Hājī Muhammad Khān, who had been detailed with a party of men to pursue him, came up with Mīrzā,⁵ Mīrzā said to him "What if I have killed your father Baba Qashaqa?" Hājī Muhammad Khan, who was a veteran soldier, energetic and experienced, pretending not to understand him, returned, and the Prince reached his father Humāyun safe and sound, and the party returned to the whole.⁶

Mayest thou live a thousand years, and a thousand years?
beside,

For in the prolongation of thy life are a thousand advantages

And Mīrzā Kamrān took refuge with Pīr Muhammad Khan, 451 Governor of Balkh, and asking his assistance⁸ seized certain of the provinces of Badakhshān without a struggle from Suleiman Mīrzā and his son Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, and took possession of them, and Quracha Khan,⁹ who had done notable service, together with certain other grasping¹⁰ Amirs, entertained extravagant expectations from Humāyun, and when their iniquitous desires were not realised betook themselves to Badakhshān and Kabul.

Within those few years the earth had quitted its accustomed state of repose, and had undergone tremblings and agitations. A certain witty writer¹¹ says with reference to this

¹ MS (A) omits را، و ا to make feints

² Read میرزا میرزا MS (A) ³ Mirza Kamran

⁴ Text ناشناشان MSS (A) (B) read تصویرت ناشناشان

⁵ میرزا رسیده

⁶ Text reads حز و کل رخوع نموده MS (A) has the better reading حز و کل رخوع نمود

⁷ A footnote variant reads هزار معنی را for a thousand objects, so also MS (A)

⁸ Text مدد طلبیده MSS (A) (B) ⁹ مدد خواسته MS (A) reads حام

¹⁰ MS (A) reads نهودند و اعراضی ... حام طمع شدند

¹¹ Text طریقی دران داب گفتند This admits of translation also "a certain

The fortress of Kābul which in height surpasses the seventh heaven;¹

Like the Kite which is six months female and six months² male.

On several occasions it happened that Mirzā Kāmrān came to pay his respects to Humāyūn and had a personal interview with him. Humāyūn, out of natural kindness and innate good-will pardoned his shortcomings, and cleared his heart of all rancour against him,³ and after he had sought permission to leave to make the pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, bestowed upon him the country of Badakhshān,⁴ and himself going up against Balkh, fought with Pir Muḥammad Khān and ‘Abu-l-‘Aziz Khān, the son of ‘Abdu-llah Khān,⁵ the Ozbak king, and defeated them after a sharp engagement. But following the bad advice of his Amīrs, who were treacherous hypocrites,⁶ and in alarm about Mirzā Kāmrān, he turned back and came to Kābul.⁷ Mirzā Kāmrān⁸ once more broke⁹ his treaty obligations, and inasmuch as the untrustworthy leaders on both sides began to practise unfaithfulness, and led him out of the way,¹⁰ and he had to fight numerous battles,¹¹ he eventually sought

Zarif.” There was a poet of that name, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan of Iṣpahān. See *Majma’u-l-Fuṣūlā*, II. 345.

کیوان Kaiwān. The planet Saturn which is in the seventh heaven.

² See *ante p. 352 n. 1.* و سینه صاف زندگانی.

⁴ See Elliot, v. 229, 230.

⁵ MS. (A) reads عبید اللہ خان. ‘Ubaidu-llāh Khān.

The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* calls him ‘Abid Khān, Elliot, v. p. 230.

⁶ MS. (A) reads امرای مُراثی منافق.

⁷ The account given by our author is explained by that of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* which says that on the night before Balkh would have fallen, some of the Chaghatai chiefs whose wives and families were in Kābul, became alarmed because Mīrzā Kāmrān had not joined the army, so they met together and advised Humāyūn not to cross the river of Balkh, but to fall back upon Darra Gaz taking up a strong position: then, after a short time the garrison of Balkh would surrender. Humāyūn agreed to this, and both friends and foes imagined that a retreat to Kābul was intended. The Ozbaks took courage and followed in pursuit. A battle ensued in which Humāyūn was personally engaged, but cut his way out, and reached Kābul in safety. See Elliot, v. p. 231.

⁸ MS. (A) omits کامران.

او را از راه میبرندند¹⁰

کردند

⁹ MS. (A). Read نمودند for نمودند

aid from Islem Shāh, but, meeting with disappointment,¹ and returning thence, was delivered into the hands of Humāyūn by the machinations of Sultān Adīm Ghakkār at Pashala.² Notwithstanding all his repeated rebellions his life was spared, but the jewel of sight was taken from him,³ (as has already been stated), and he was permitted to depart for the sacred Makkā. He had the good fortune to make the *Hajj* four times, and thus made amends for his past evil deeds, and thereto delivered up the life that had been entrusted to him

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Verse 4

Never in the garden of Faith has a blade fulfilled its promise,
Never has a shaft aimed by Heaven failed to strike the mark
The tailor of Fate has never clothed any man in a garment
which it has not afterwards torn from him
The Age has never given any coin which it has not changed.
The Time has never played any piece without practising
deception with it.
Whom has the Heaven placed in safety beneath the Sun,
That it has not made short-lived like the shining dawn
Khāqān¹ cast dust into the eyes of the world,
For it has caused thee pain in the eyes and has given thee
no remedy

¹ MS (B) reads مایوس گشت شہزادی از اسلام

² Our author is very brief in his recital of this portion of the history, for a fuller account see Elliot, v 232 to 234. MS (A) reads فرخلا Farhala

³ Mīrzā Kamrān was blinded by the stroke of a lancet, see Elliot, v 146 and 235 in the year 960 II. Firīghtā gives the *tārikh* written to commemorate it چشم پوشید ریداد سپهر Chashm poshid e bedā l : siphir. He closed his eyes to the injustices of heaven. It is clear that Humāyūn in destroying his brother's eyesight was only choosing the lesser of two evils, the Chaghatai leaders clamouring for his death. Firīghtā also says that he made three pilgrimages (*Hajj*) three times, dying on the 11th of Zu'l-Hijjah 964 II (See Text, p 455) October, 1557 A.D.

⁴ Khāqānī, whose name was Afzalū d Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī an Najjār, a famous poet, was originally a pupil of Abul 'Alā Ganjavī, he took the name Haqqānī, as his *takhallus* and entered the service of Shāhrukh the great Khāqān Mānchūhr, from whom he received the title of Khāqānī. Having absented himself without permission, he was captured and imprisoned in the fortress of Shādarwan, where he wrote many poems. After his release he hastened to Makkā and wrote the *Tuhfatu l'Iraqain* while on the way. He

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī¹ wrote this *tārīkh*.

Verse.

Kāmrān,² than whom no man has been found more fitted for sovereignty,

Went from Kābul to the Ka'bah, and there committed his soul to God, and his body to the dust.

Kāhī spake this as a *tārīkh* to commemorate his death,
*Pādshāh Kāmrān died at the Ka'bah.*³

And the poet Waisī⁴ wrote :

Verse.

Shāh Kāmrān the renowned Khusrū,
Who in majesty raised his head to Kaiwān.

Faithfully served the holy temple four years
And entirely freed his heart from worldly bonds.

After performing his fourth pilgrimage
In pilgrim garb, he yielded up his soul to his Lord.

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died soon after his return, and was buried in the cemetery of Sorkhāb in Tabriz in the year 582 H.

Majma'u-l-Fuṣḥa, I, p. 200. See also Beale, *O.B.D.* s. v. Khāqāñi.

¹ MS. (B) reads عوّل. MS. (A) reads وَمُوّل قَاسِمْ كَاتِبِي.

² This also means, Happy is he than whom &c.

³ *Pādshāh Kāmrān baka'bah bimurd*. The letters of this line give the date 968 H. instead of 964 H.

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī otherwise known as Miyān Kālī Kābulī. Our author (see vol. III. p. 172 of the text), stigmatises his poetry as crude and wanting in originality, although he acknowledges that it possesses a peculiar quality unshared by any other author. He was skilled in astronomy, as well as in rhetoric and Sufism, and had also some skill as a composer of music. Badāoni laments the fact that notwithstanding all his advantages Kāhī spent his life in infidelity and impiety. The *Atash-Kada* (p. 190, Bombay Edition) says, that he sprang from the Gulistān Saiyyids; one of his ancestors came out of the city to pay his respects to Timūr and joined his army, whose fortunes he followed until the birth of the Saiyyid aforesaid in Tarkistān. He was brought up in Kābul whence he acquired his name. He went to Hindustān in the time of the Emperor Humāyūn, where he held a position of trust and honour. No date is there given for his death, which occurred in 988 H. See *Ain-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 566 n. 1; also Beale, *O.B.D.*, p. 144.

⁴ MS. (B) reads دَبْسِي *Dabsī* for وَسِي *Waisī* (Text).

One night as Waṣī was holden with sleep,
He visited him and called him towards himself,
And said, "If they ask thee concerning my death
Reply, "The pardoned Shāh remained in Makka" 1

Mirzā Kāmrān was as a king, brave and ambitious, liberal and good natured, sound of religion and clear of faith. He used always to associate with the 'Ulamā and learned doctors. His poems are well-known. At one time he held such strong views of probity that he gave orders to exterminate grapes from his kingdom, but afterwards became such a slave to wine that he was not ashamed of the after effects of debauch, eventually he left the world penitent and devout. All's well that ends well 2

This event took place in the year³ 964 H.

Mirzā 'Ashkārī, after Qurrāchā Khān was slain in the last battle before Kabul, fell a prisoner into the hands of Humājūn's soldiery, and Khwāja Jalālā d-Dīn⁴ Mahmūd Dīwān conveyed him to Badakshān and made him over to Mirzā Suleiman. He was kept in confinement for some time,⁵ and then was released, and Mirzā Suleiman despatched him to Ballāh, by which route he purposed journeying to the two sacred cities⁶. When he reached a valley which lies between Shām⁷ and the sacred city of Makka, without accomplishing his object he hastened from⁸ that desert to the true Ka'bah which is the bourn of all mankind. The following is the *tārikh* of that event —

'Ashkārī pādshāh i daryādil⁹

Verse

Why dost thou soil thy fingers with the blood of the world?
For honey is oft mingled with deadly poison¹⁰

1 Shāh + marhum dar Makka mand. This line gives the date 964 H.

2 الاعور فالواقف ^ع Al umru bil 'auaqib Lit. Events are according to their terminations

3 MS (A) omits سال 4 MSS (A) (B) 5 MS (A) دود

6 حرميں شریعتیں Haramain : Sharifain Mecca and Medina

7 Syria Nizamu d Din Ahmad says "in the country of Rum," Elliot v. 234

8 MS (A) reads بی بی

9 : e 'Ashkārī the bountiful king These letters give the date 922 H :

10 In the *Mīqāt* (xxi Part I) we read that honey was prescribed by Muhammad. 'A man came to his majesty and said 'Verily my brother has a

454. The end of Mirzā Hindāl was on this wise, that after Mirzā Kāmrān had suffered defeat in the final engagement, and had taken refuge with the Afghāns, and Hāji Muḥammad Khān¹ Kūki was executed² on account of his numerous misdeeds, one night Mirzā Kāmrān made a night attack upon the camp.³ By chance that night the dart of death struck Mirzā Hindāl in a vital spot, and he drank the draught of martyrdom. This event took place⁴ in the year 958 H. and *Shabkhūn* was found to give the date.⁵

purgings.' And his highness said : ' Give him honey to drink' and it was done. Then the man came to his highness and said : ' I gave him honey to drink, which has increased the purging,' then his majesty said to him thrice : ' Give him honey.' And the man came a fourth time and said : ' it increaseth the purging.' And his highness said : ' give him honey.' Then the man said : ' I have and it increaseth the purging.' Then his highness said : ' God has said truly, there is a cure for man in honey, and your brother's belly lied, by not accepting of the cure.' Then the man gave his brother honey to drink again and he got well."

Honey was held in high estimation as a drug among ancient physicians. The poisonous qualities of honey gathered from certain plants is well known; for instance, we find in the *Makhranu-l-Adwīya* that honey shed by bees which have lighted in the herb *Absantīn* (*Absinthium*) and the like acquires a bitter taste, and causes diseases of the stomach and liver, while another kind of honey causes fainting and cold sweats and loss of consciousness. So also the poisonous honey of *Heraclea*, supposed to owe its poisonous properties to the aconite plant.

Quite recently well authenticated cases of honey poisoning have been reported in the United States. The honey in one instance was found to be impregnated with gelsemine. It is generally believed that two varieties of aconite, *Kalmia latifolia* some Rhododendrons *Azalea pontica* and certain other plants of the N. O. Ericaceæ, have poisonous properties which are communicated to the honey of bees lighting on them. It is said that the *Azalea pontica* was the plant which yielded the poisonous honey noticed by Xenophon in his account of the retreat of the Ten Thousand. The active poison *andromedotoxin* has been found in many Ericaceæ. The symptoms of honey poisoning are briefly described as vomiting, purging, acute gastric and abdominal pain and cramps, with surface coldness and pallor, and the general signs of collapse. See *Ind. Med. Gaz.*, January, 1897, p. 27. See also *Med. and Surg. Rep.* September, 1896.

¹ MS. (A) omits خان. ² MSS. (A) (B) omit پادشاهی after سیاست.

³ Read شبخون برادری آورده. ⁴ MS. (A) نهود روی.

⁵ شبخون. *Shabkhūn*. Night assault. The letters of this word give the date 958 H. The *Tabaqat-i-Akbarī* gives another *tārīkh*. See Elliot, v. 234, which however gives 959 H.

Verse

When Fate made such a night attack¹ with the forces of the world

That the zenith became red like the twilight from bloodshed,
Hindal the world conqueror left the world,
And abandoned the world to Shāh Humāyun,
The young plant like stature of that shapely palm tree
Was like a lamp to the sleeping apartment of the sky
Wisdom sought for a *tārīkh* of his death,² I said,
Alas³ a lamp has been extinguished by reason of a *night attack*

Mirzā Amāni also wrote⁴ the following —

Shāh Hindāl the cypress of the rose garden of beauty,
When he left this garden for that of Paradise,⁵
The wailing ring dove uttered this *tārīkh*,
“A cypress has gone from the garden of glory.”⁶

And Maulānā Hasan ‘Alī Kharjs⁷ wrote

Verse

Hindal Muhammad Shāh of auspicious title

Suddenly was martyred by Fate in the heart of the night, 455
Since a night assault (*shabkhun*) caused his martyrdom,
Seek the *tārīkh* of his martyrdom in *shabkhun*

Humāyun bestowed the horses and retinue of Mirzā Hindal upon the young Prince, the asylum of the world, and confirmed to them Ghaznīn with its dependencies as *Iqṭā’* grants⁸

¹ MSS (A) (B) read شاھ خودی

² MSS (A) (B) omit و

³ MS. (A) reads مانی Manī for مانی Amāni (Text) MSS (A) (B) read ایں for آئندہ (Text)

⁴ Read بست for بستَ MSS (A) (B)

⁵ سروی ار دوستان دولت رفت Sarve as *bustan* + *daulat raft*

To arrive at this *tārīkh* we take the value of the words *Bustan* + *daulat* which is 959 and then take from this the value of the *sarve* (a cypress) used here for the letter Alif, which is straight and erect like the cypress, and has the value 1, thus we obtain 958 II

⁶ MS (A) reads ایں

⁷ See *Ain* + *Akbār* (Jarrett) II 115

The Afghāns could no longer protect Mirzā Kāmrān, and it so happened that Mirzā went to Islem¹ Shāh; in the meanwhile the hidden purposes of Heaven were made manifest, so that after hearing the tidings of the death of Islem Shāh, and of the occurrence of extreme confusion and turmoil between the Afghāns of Hindustān and the tribal chiefs, Humāyūn definitely determined upon the attempt of the conquest of Hindustān.² In the meantime the lovers of contumacy, that is to say, the envious and riotous, so distorted the appearance of the sincere loyalty of Bairām Khān, in the clear mirror of the mind of Humāyūn, that it was inverted and he was represented by them as hostile. Accordingly an attack was ordered in the direction of Qandahār. Bairām Khān came out in person to receive³ Humāyūn and with all ceremony offered due service. Thereupon the disloyalty of his traducers became apparent. On this occasion Humāyūn was furnished, by the good offices of Bairām Khān, with the opportunity of meeting that Scion of the Walis, the offspring of the Saints, the seal of the Shaikhs of the Naqshbandī⁴ sect, Maulānā Zainu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar.

The following is a fuller account:—

The aforesaid Maulavi was from Bahdā,⁵ which is a village of the dependencies of Khurāsān,⁶ and had attained to the companionship of many of the Shaikhs, may God sanctify their spirits, especially Maulavi Makhdūmī ‘Arif Jāmī, and Maulavi ‘Abdu-l-Ghafūr Lārī, may God exalt⁷ sanctify their spirits, who supported themselves by giving instruction and making illustrations, and Bairām Khān having opened tutorial relations with him, used to go to take lessons from him, and now and then when he was reading Yusuf and Zulaikha and other books, they used to say,

¹ MS. (A) reads سَلِيمٌ Salīm Shāh. ² MS. (A) هندوستان.

³ MS. (A) بِرْ آمَنْ باستقبال.

⁴ The Naqshbandī Shaikhs were the followers of the renowned saint Khwāja Bahāu-d-Dīn Naqshband of Bokhārā. See Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I, 423 n. 2 where the meaning of Naqshband is said to be the occupation of this man and his parents, who used to weave Kamkhab̄s adorned with figures (*naqsh*). See also for a long account of the Naqshbandī School. Āīn-i-Akbarī (J.) III, 358, et seqq.

Kamāngar means a bowmaker.

⁵ Footnote variant بهداين Bahdāyan.

⁶ MS. (A) reads قندھار Qandahār.

⁷ MS. (B) omits تعالیٰ.

"Oh, Bairam what is your wish! You yourself are as Yusuf and Zulaykha¹ in the world" And Humayun having ordered a banquet in honour of the sacred illuminated spirit of the asylum of the seal of prophecy, *may the blessing and peace of God be upon him*, invited the *Akhund*,² and with his own hands took the ewer, while Bairam Khan took the basin, intending to pour the water over his hands, seeing this the Akhund indicated Mu Habibullah, the grandson of Mir Sayyid Jamalu d Din the traditionist, and said,³ "Do you not know who that person is?" Humayun thereupon perforce carried the ewer to the Mir, who, with the utmost confusion, poured half of the entire contents of the ewer over his hands, after which the Akhund without scruple washed his hands, to their heart's content At this time Humayun enquired,⁴ "How much water is enjoined by the Sunnat to be poured over the hands?" They replied, "so much as is necessary to clean the hands," then first Bairam Khan poured water over the hands of the remainder of the assembly, and was followed in this service by Husain Khan the relation of the Mahdi, son of Qasim Khan At last the food was eaten, and Humayun found very great delight in their society, and was much benefited thereby Afterwards he sent a piece of coined gold by the hand of Bairam Khan, saying, 'This is a present'⁵ Inasmuch as it was his custom not to take a present from anyone, after great deliberation he accepted it, with excessive reluctance and disgust, and in return for it sent into the presence of the king several bows of his own fashioning, with something over and above (the value of the gold) saying, "Presents⁶ must be given on both sides"

The story goes that one day Bairam Khan caused a garment to be made of handsome *Kashmir shals*,⁷ and brought it to him He took it in his hand and praised it⁸ saying, "What a valuable thing this is!" Bairam Khan said, "As it is a suitable garment for a dervesh, I have brought it as an offering for you" He thereupon made a sign⁹ with two of his fingers, as much as to say I have two of them, come give this one to some one more

¹ MSS (A) (B) omit دلگش

² حنود a tutor teacher preacher

³ MS (A) reads میداید دی

⁴ MS (A) reads پرسید

⁵ MS (A) reads که این نه را سب که این نه را سب

⁶ MS (A) omits درجه

⁷ Shawls

⁸ Text گردہ MS (A) درجہ MS (B) درجہ

⁹ MS (A) omits اشارت

deserving of it than I. Many¹ miraculous acts are related of him. Some few of these Shaikh Mu'inu-d-Din, the grandson of Maulānā Mu'in Wāiz, who by the order of the Khalifah of the time was for some time Qāzī of Lāhor, wrote in a separate treatise: among them this is written, that when archery practice was going on, he used in opposition to his usual habits to come every day² to the butts, and give instruction in archery. The youths used to urge and incite Bairām Khān to practise³ archery, saying that it would surely be useful to him some day. As a fact, the very first⁴ defeat of the Afghāns occurred in the fight at Māchīwāra,⁵ when the victory was entirely gained by the archers and in all probability that eagerness and instigation had this very end in view.

In that collection of stories also is the following, that when Bairām Khān, after making over Qandahār to Bahādur Khān the brother of 'Alī Quli Khān Sistānī, came to Kābul, he appointed on his own part a tyrannical Turkomān, so that the people groaned under his oppressive hand, and made many complaints to the Ākhūnd, till he became ill as they desired, and they enjoyed a few days' respite from his oppression, and used to bring tidings of him every day to the assembly of the Ākhūnd. At last one day, as one of them was⁶ saying "He has risen from his bed," the Ākhūnd also, looking him in the face, said angrily, "Perhaps he may rise on the morrow of the resurrection." Three or four days afterwards he again fell ill, and removed the disgrace of his tyranny from the world. It is a saying of theirs that the Turk when sleeping is an angel, but when he sleeps the sleep 458. of death he is superior to the archangels.⁷

¹ MS. (A) reads خیلی منقول است.

² MS. (B) reads هر روز و هر روز Read روش for مروش. MSS. (A) (B).

³ MSS. (A) (B) read مچھی وارگ کہ شکست.

⁵ Māchīwāra. On the banks of the Sutlej in the Ludhiānā District of the Panjab. See Tieff. I, 112. Āīn-i-Akbarī (J.) II, 310; III, 69.

At page 315 of Blochmann's Āīn-i-Akbarī (I), we read "The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bairām. He gained the battle of Māchīwārah and received Sambhal as jāgīr."

⁶ MS. (A) omits میو. The hint given by the Ākhūnd was in true Oriental fashion.

⁷ MS. (B) reads بہتر از فرشتہ خواهد بود. MS. (A) reads بہتر for بہتر and omits بہتر.

Verse.

I saw a tyrant sleeping at mid-day

I said, this is a calamity; It is best that sleep should take him

And that man who is better when sleeping than when waking
For such an evil live! death were preferable.

Humāyūn, at the time of his return, had some intention of taking Qandahār from Bairām Khān and giving it to Munīm Khān. Munīm Khān, however, represented that now that the conquest of Hindustān was on the tapis a change of governors would be a source of dissension in the army, and it would be better to wait till after conquering Hindustān, and then to act as circumstances might demand. Accordingly Qandahār was confirmed¹ to Bairām Khān, and Zamīndāwar to Bahādur Khān. Then coming to Kābul he prepared his army with transport and commissariat, and in Zū Hijjah 961 H. set out from Kābul to march against Hindustān.² And the following qīṣā'ī was written which gives the date in two ways.

Qīṣā'ī.

Khusrū Ghāzi Naṣiru-d-Din Humāyūn Shāh
Who without question excelled all former kings,
Advanced from Kābul for the conquest of Hind;
The date of his advance is *nūh ṣad wa ḡast wa yāk*.³

At the halting-place of Parshāwar⁴ Bairām Khān arrived from Qandahār⁵ and presented himself before the king. By continuous marches they crossed the river Indus⁶ and Bairām Khān and Khīzr Khwāja Khān, with Tādi Beg Khān and

¹ MS. (A) مقرر ماند.

² MSS. (A) (B) عازم هند گشتهند.

³ نصہ و شست و یکی. Nine hundred and sixty-one. The value of the letters taken separately also gives 961. This is the explanation of the statement in the text that this qīṣā'ī gives the date in two ways. Footnote to the text says يعنى صوري و معنوي that it is both in form and in literal value.

⁴ The text reads پرشادار *Parshādar*, in error. MSS. (A) (B) read پرشاوار *Parshāwar*.

⁵ MS. (A) omits پر.

⁶ MS. (B) omits دین.

459. Iskandar¹ Sultān Osbak forming the advance party, went forward² and Tātār Khān Kāsī, governor of the fortress of Rohtās, evacuated the fort³ and fled. Adam Ghakkar did not present himself on this occasion.⁴

When they arrived at Lāhor, the Afghāns of that place also not being able to withstand him dispersed, and the commanders of the vanguard⁵ started off towards [Lāhor and Thānesar]⁶ Jalandhar⁷ and Sirhind. That country was taken possession of without any trouble; Shahbāz Khān and Naṣir Khān Afghān however fought a battle near Dipālpūr with Shāh⁸ Abū-l-Ma'ālī and 'Alī Quli Shaibānī, who was eventually Khān-i-zamān,⁹ and was defeated. So great was the terror inspired by the Mughuls that thousands¹⁰ upon thousands of Afghāns would flee at the sight of ten of the huge-turbaned horsemen (even although they were Lāhorīs), and never looked behind them. Before Humāyūn's army crossed the river Indus, Sikandar Afghān Sūr gained the upper-hand of Ibrāhīm Sūr, and having conquered him¹¹ formed the intention of leaving Itāwa and marching to attack 'Adlī. Suddenly, however, tidings arrived that Humāyūn had crossed

¹ MS. (B) adds خان.

² MS. (A) reads پیش می آمدند پیش می آمدند MS. (B) reads پیش می آمدند.

³ Read قلعہ omitting the hamza.

⁴ The Tabaqāt-i-Nāshīrī says "Ādam Ghakkar although he owed service, did not join the army." Elliot, v. 237.

⁵ امرای منقاری Umarā-i-Manqalātī. MS. (A) reads Umarā-i-mutafarrig. مانگالی manqalātī منقاری manghalātī or manghalātī māngalātī is a Turkī word signifying forehead (front) or advance-guard of an army. See P. de C. s. v. so also Faizullāh Khān who gives only the meaning پیشانی pīshānī forehead.

⁶ These words in brackets should be omitted apparently. They are absent from MS. (A) and also from the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī which mentions Jalandhar and Sirhind. Besides the commanders were already in Lāhor.

⁷ MS. (B) omits جلندهو Jalandhar.

⁸ MS. (A) reads شاہپور شاہ ابوالمعالی in error.

⁹ 'Alī Quli Khān was the son of Haidar Sultān Osbak-i-Shaibānī, who had been made an Amīr in the Jām war with the Qizilbāsh.

It was in the early days of Akbar's reign that he obtained the title of Khān-i-Zamān. See Badāoni, Vol. II, p. 12. Lowe's Translation, p. 5. He had defeated Hīmūn near Pānipat. See Āīn-i-Akbarī, I, (B), p. 319.

¹⁰ MS. (A) reads هزار هزار.

¹¹ غائب ۸۱۷ MS. (A).

the Indus, and the Afghans, wherever they were, set about planning how to save their wives and children, however one did not help the other, each one occupied himself with his own necessities, and they knew well that it was only Islem Shah who could successfully contend against the Mughals, no other person had the power. Notwithstanding this however, Sikandar, in the neighbourhood of Jalandhar, first¹ appointed² Tatar Khan Kasi with Habib Khan and Nasib Khan Taghuchi with thirty thousand cavalry, to oppose the troops under Humayun which had been collected in that district, and he himself came on in their rear.

The Chaghatai Amirs³ crossed the river⁴ Sutlej, and the Afghans followed them, at sundown the two lines met and a fierce battle ensued⁵. The Mughals set their hands to their bows with such effect that every arrow which they freed from the bowstring bore the message of death to the ears of one or other of the enemy, and the Afghans, whose weapons of offence ran short,⁶ took refuge in⁷ a ruined village, and with the object of gaining a better view of the Mughul troops⁸ they set fire to the roofs⁹. The result, however, was the very reverse¹⁰ of what they desired, and their stratagem had this result, that the Afghans remained in the light, while the Mughals were in the darkness and riddled the Afghans with arrows. A cry went up from among them, and shouts of Flee! Flee!¹¹ rose on all sides, and the victory was gained with such ease that but few Mughals were

¹ MS (B) omits اول

² MS (A) نامزد کردو

³ MS (A) امیر چغتائی So also Tabaqat : Akbari Text reads اسرای حصار.

⁴ MS (B) omits آنکہ

⁵ MS (A) واقع شد

⁶ کہ لوتاہ ملکہ بودند ^{کہ لوتاہ ملکہ بودند} A footnote variant reads صلاح ملکہ which would mean ' who were ill advised ' this is the reading of MS (B) but the other is preferable

⁷ Text در در ہے

⁸ Read دنظر & MSS (A) (B) for در نظر

⁹ The true reading is a little uncertain here. The text reads چانبرہ which may be taken in the meaning of a roof, MS (A) reads chamberha while MS (B) reads چانبرہ (?) clanbarah

The account given in the Tabaqat : Akbari (Elliot v 237-238) differs and makes it appear as though the Mughul troops used fire arms or fire arrows. Our author's account appears more reasonable

¹⁰ Omit رویی MSS (A) (B)

¹¹ MS (B) omits الفرار

slain, and horses, elephants, and spoil beyond all computation fell into the hands of Humāyūn's troops. The news of this victory reached ¹ Humāyūn in Lāhor; thus the whole of the Panjab and Sirhind and Hissār Firūza was entirely ² subjugated. Thence he marched by forced marches straight for the environs of Dihli, and Sikandar Sūr with eighty thousand cavalry, and elephants of note, and a strong force of artillery, collected round him the Afghāns from every direction, and came to Sirhind, digging a trench round his camp ³ after the custom ⁴ of Shīr Shāh. This he fortified, and took up his position; the Amīrs of Humāyūn's army holding a council of war, fortified Sirhind, and as far as they could, shewed they were prepared to defend it, and sending despatches to Lāhor begged Humāyūn to come in person, and then awaited his arrival. Humāyūn with all speed ⁵ marched and came to Sirhind,⁶ and every day fierce contests ⁷ took place between the more venturesome spirits on both sides. Sometime passed in this way, till the day when the command of the advance-guard of the army fell to the turn of the young Prince of the

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world;⁸ seizing his opportunity he drew up his line of battle. On one ⁹ side was the Prince, the Asylum of the world; and on the other side Bairām Khān, Sikandar Khān, 'Abdu-llāh Khān Osbak, Shāh Abūl-ma'ālī, 'Alī Qūlī Khān and Bahādur Khān made manly onslaughts. The Afghāns also, as far as they were able,¹⁰ behaved with due bravery and valour,¹¹ but could not contend ¹² against an adverse fate, and after a conflict beyond his strength Sikandar turned and fled.¹³ The victorious hosts pursued the enemy for a long distance, reaping a rich harvest of slaughtered Afghāns; wealth and booty beyond all bounds, together with horses and countless elephants fell into their hands: then they turned back and erected with the heads of their enemies a column

¹ Supply after بیان وسیدہ قلمہ یک. MSS. (A) (B). ² MS. (A).

³ MS. (B) reads لشکر for سکر. ⁴ MS. (B) reads بطرز for پستور.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) omit تمام.

⁶ The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* states that Humāyūn sent Akbar.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read مقابلہ for مقابلہ. Text.

⁸ MSS. (A) (B) read جہانیان. ⁹ MS. (A) omits یک.

¹⁰ MS. (A) دادنگی مودی و مکان حسب. ¹¹ MS. (B) reads دادنگی مکان حسب.

¹² MS. (B) reads بونیامندہ بسی روی بفرار نہاد و (B).

¹³ MSS. (A) (B) reads روی بفرار نہاد و (B).

to which Bairām Khān gave the name¹ of Sar Manzil, which (name) is in existence at the present day, Time has many memorials of this kind and still more will follow.²

Verse³

On the road on which thou seest those particles of dust,⁴

Thou seest (it may be) the dust of Suleimān⁵ brought thither by the wind⁶

Another says

Verse

Every particle of dust which the whirlwind carries away
May be either a Furidūn or a Kaiqubād⁷

The words Shamshīr i Humayūn⁸ were found to give the date of this victory, as they say in this *Rubā'i*.

The wise writer sought for an auspicious omen,
He sought for the writing of speech from his well balanced nature,

When he came to record the conquest of Hindustān,

He sought the date in the words Shamshīr i Humayūn

Sikandar then proceeded towards the Siwalik hills while Sikandar Khān Oshak turned towards Dihlī, and the royal camp went by way of Samana to the direction⁹ of the capital of Hindustān, and a party of the Afghāns¹⁰ who were in Dihlī, fled hot foot¹¹ for their lives, and were scattered on all sides like a flock of sparrows into whose midst¹² a stone has fallen, and every one was saying to himself, "He who escapes with his head, verily he is fortunate," and the hidden¹³ meaning of the words "the day

1 MS (A) ماد

2 MS (A) adds ماد after ماد

3 MS (B) reads نظم for نظمی (Text)

4 A footnote to the text recites the reading of MS (B) درهای گرد

5 MS (A) reads سلیمانی ماد

6 MS (B) reads ماد for ماد

7 Cf. The dust of Alexander turned to clay

May stop a hole to keep the wind away.

8 شمشیر همایون The sword of Hamayun These letters give the date 962 H

9 MS (B) reads ماد تخت پایی

10 MSS (A) (B) omit ب

11 Read مکبی MSS (A) (B) instead of the reading in the text

12 MS (B) inserts مکبی after معرکہ

13 Supply مکبی MS (A)

*when man shall flee from his brother and his mother and his father and his spouse and his sons”*¹ became evident.

Shāh Abū-l-Ma‘ālī was detailed² to pursue Sikandar, and in the month of Ramazān the blessed, in the year 962 H. the city of Dihlī became the seat of the imperial glory and majesty, and most of the regions of Hindustān for the second time enjoyed the honour of the *khuṭbah* and *sikkah* of Humāyūn. No king before this time had ever been so fortunate as to attain to the glory of imperial power a second time,³ after having suffered defeat; whereas in this case the power of God whose glory is supreme was plainly shewed. And in this year Humāyūn apportioned the greater part of his territories⁴ among his faithful adherents, and vowed the *pargana* of Muṣṭafaābād, the revenue of which reached the sum of thirty or forty *laks* of *tankas*, as a votive⁵ offering to the Spirit the author of victories, the guardian of prophecy *on him and on his family be blessings without end*. He also gave Hissār Firūza as a reward⁶ to the Prince, just as Bābar Padshāh also had conferred it, in the commencement of his victories, as a reward,⁷ upon Muḥammad Humāyūn, and the whole of the Panjāb he bestowed upon Shāh Abū-l-Ma‘ālī, and nominated him to oppose Iskandar the Afḡhān, who, not being able to stand against him, shut himself up in the northern hills, and Shāh Abu-l-Ma‘ālī having reached high rank⁸ was living in great pomp in Lāhor; on this account the crow of conceit made its nest in his brain, and brought matters to this pass⁹ that after the affair of (the king) whose dwelling is in Paradise, the queen shewed signs of contumacy and rebellious

¹ Qur’ān lxxx, 34-35.

² MSS. (A) (B) نامزد گشت.

³ The reading of MS. (A) is preferable to that in the text. MS. (A) reads. مرتبتہ دیگر بغرض سلطنت برسد بمقرب سلطنت رسد.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) ولايات را.

⁵ Text مقصود ص مس. (A). نذر.

⁶ Faizullah Khān gives this word as جلد و *Childū* in the sense of *In’ām*. In the Farhang-i-Anandrāj the word is given as *jildū* or *juldū* in the same sense. Pavet de Courteilles does not give the word.

⁷ MS. (B) omits بانعام محمد.

⁸ MS. (B) reads بشوکت تمام مرتبتہ تمام.

⁹ Text بانجام رسید. MS. (B) reads بانجما رسید.

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intentions,¹ as will shortly be described, if God He is exalted² so will it. And since Abū-l-Ma'ālī had treated badly the Amirs who had been sent to support him, and had (occasionally)³ interfered in their *Aqīqas*, and not only in these but even in the public treasury and in the government lands, the Amirs became disheartened, and Sikandar daily waxed stronger; Bairām Khān was appointed⁴ to the office of tutor (*Atāliq*) to the young prince, and was sent to oppose Iskandar. Shāh Abū-l-Ma'ālī was appointed to Hīsār Firūza, but had not yet started when Qibā Khān Gang was appointed to Āgīn, 'Ali Qalī Khān to Mīrāt and Sambal, and Qimbar Dīwāna to Badāon, and Haidar Muhammād Khān Akhtā Begī⁵ to Baiāna. Haidar Muhammād Khān kept Ghāzī Khān Sūī,⁶ the father of Ibrahim Sūī, for sometime besieged in the fortress of Baiāna.⁷ And inasmuch as the good fortune of the Afghāns was, like their good sense, on the decline; although before the siege and after it also, thoughtful and experienced men urged him to march on Rantānbhor and thence to Gujrāt, he would not listen to them, and fell like a fish into the net.

Verses⁸

God carries the vessel whithersoever He will
Though the ship master rends his garments on his body.

The *zamīndārs* of the fortress of Baiāna sued for quarter, and had an interview with Haidar Muhammād Khān, binding themselves by oaths⁹ to certain treaty conditions, and bringing Ghāzī Khān with his family and relations out of the fort, bestowed him in a safe place in the camp,¹⁰ and¹¹ the following day having made a careful examination of the wealth and treasures,¹² put all tho

أَنَارَ حَلَافَ وَتَخِيلَاتَ فَاسِدٍ بُزُورٍ مُنْهَى طَهُورٍ شَتَّافَتْ ۖ
ۖ خَلَافَ MS (B) reads خَلَافَ. The text reads wrongly

تعالى² MS (A)

مُكَلَّفٌ³ MS (B)

مَقْرُورٌ فَرْصُودِيٌّ وَدَدُوعٌ اسْكَدَرٌ تَعِينٌ نَوْيَادٌ⁴

MS (B) omits آخْتَادَ يَنْكَيَ Haidar Muhammād Khān Begī was an old servant of Humayun who had given the Emperor his horse when Humayun's horse had been shot in the defeat near Balkh. See *Ain-i Akbari*, (B) I, 384

MS (A) (B) قَلْعَةً⁵ and reads مَحْضُورٌ⁶ for مَحْصُورٌ⁷.

MS (A) reverses the order of these two lines

MS (B) reads بَانِيَانَ for بَنِيَانَ مَعِينٌ كَرَدَ⁸ MSS (A) (B) read مَعِينٌ⁹

MS (A) وَدَفَائِنَ¹⁰ here MS (A) (B) read دَفَائِنَ¹¹

inhabitants to death from the full-grown man to the babe at the breast,¹ sending² the heads to the Emperor, who, however, was displeased with this;³ accordingly⁴ he despatched Mir Shihābu-d-Dīn⁵ Nishāpūrī Bakhshī, who received the title of Shihābu-d-Dīn

464. Ahmad Khān, to Bāiānā to verify the wealth of Ghāzi Khān. Haider Muhammad⁶ concealed the valuable jewels and shewed only ordinary⁷ things. Qambar Dīwāna had collected a large following in the vicinity of Sambal and was saying 'What has Qambar to do with Sanbal, while 'Ali Quli Khān has a lien on the revenue of Sanbal? It is as though the land belonged to one man and the trees to another.'⁸

And before that 'Ali Quli Khān could go to Sanbal Qambar Dīwāna went to Badāon, and from thence passing by Kānt o Gola⁹ he fought with Rukn Khān Asghān, and gained the day, occupying the country up to the vicinity of the township of Malāūn?,¹⁰ but was subsequently defeated by the Asghāns, and having given up a large number to death in that fort¹¹ arrived at Badāon, where he exercised great cruelty and oppression; and although 'Ali Quli Khān sent to summon him,¹² he refused to yield to him and said, "My relations with the Pādshāh are more intimate than yours,¹³ this head of mine is twin brother of the imperial crown." 'Ali Quli Khān upon his arrival besieged Badāon, and that madman

1 MS. (B) reads همگی را تا اطفال شیر خواره. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.

2 MS. (B) reads فوستادند.

8 MS. (B) reads این معنی پسند نیاید.

4 MS. (A) omits بناع reading و.

5 MS. (B) reads Mir Shihāb.

6 MSS. (A) (B).

اشیای سهل را نمود.

MS. (A) omits چ.

8 Read here سنبل و قنبر چ. MSS. (A) (B). The reading in the text has no meaning.

9 Shāhjahānpur. MS. (B) omits کانت.

10 The text reads مالزوہ Malāzwah (?) MS. (A) reads لاواخ (?) Malāwah. MS. (B) reads ملاؤه Malāwah. I am quite uncertain as to the correctness of the suggestion in the translation. Malāūn (See Hunter, Imp. Gaz. ix. 237) is a hill fort in the Panjāb lat. 31° 12' N. long 76° 52' E.

Firishta makes no mention of this.

11 MS. (A) reads جا. MS. (B) omits کس.

12 MS. (B) omits نزد خود. MS. (A) reads طلبیده.

13 MS. (B) reads زیاده از آنست.

(Diwān)¹ who knew no moderation, was at that very time preparing to tyrannise over the people even more than before, taking by force the daughter of one and the property of another, and in consequence of his want of trust² in the people of the town, used himself to go the rounds by night³ from bastion to bastion, and see to the proper state of the defences. In spite of this his imagination used to run riot,⁴ and his ideas, in consequence of his infatuation, were excited to such a degree, that he used to go for half the night into an empty⁵ room and lay his ear upon the ground, and going on⁶ from thence a few steps would spy about, and then return to his original post, suddenly he called the pioneers and said, "A noise has reached my⁷ ears, dig up⁸ the ground in this spot." When they excavated they discovered a mine⁹ which 'Ali Quli Khān had laid from outside the fortress. The people who saw those¹⁰ mines said that from the side¹¹ of the fort in whatever direction they struck¹² into the mine they found the foundation of the wall of the fort reached the water, with iron rods, and pillars and baulks of *sāl*¹³ wood arranged under its foundations, bound together¹⁴ for the purpose of strengthening them, with the sole exception of this place which had been excavated.

In fact, had not Qambūr been vigilant, the men under 'Ali Quli Khān would have blown down the wall by sheer force and have effected an entrance by way of that breach. 'Ali Quli Khān was

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¹ The word دیوان Diwān means a madman

² MS (B) reads اعتمادی اعتمادی an incorrect form by *imala*

³ MSS (A) (B) read شدھا after حود before شدھا

⁴ This appears to be the meaning though the word غرائب is used in a somewhat strained and unusual sense. A footnote variant to the text says that the textual reading is found in one MS and in two others مستوحى

Both MSS (A) and (B) are the same as the text which seems correct

⁵ A footnote variant reads حالي نقل for حالي The text is correct

⁶ MS (A) omits پيشو

⁷ MS (B) omits من

⁸ MS (B) reads رکاوید .

⁹ Text MS (A) reads دقت

¹⁰ MS (B) omits آن

¹¹ MS (A) reads اطراف

¹² Text شروع در قب لموده د MS (A) reads کموده د

¹³ Chibba : sel چوبی سال

¹⁴ Read بود MS (A)

astonished at this degree of vigilance,¹ and the people of the city by common consent despatched a message to 'Ali Quli Khān saying, "On such and such a night let the besiegers make an attack² up such and such a bastion, so that we may bring them into the fort by the help of nooses and scaling-ladders." Accordingly this they did, and having admitted the soldiery of 'Ali Quli Khān, Shaikh Habib Badāoni, who was one of the most notable men³ of the place, took his place at their head, and leading them to the bastion of the Princes,⁴ who were the relations of Shaikh Salim Chishtī of Fathpūr, set fire to it. On the morrow when the sun rose, the sombre-fated Qambar, wearing over his head a black blanket which was an emblem of his wretched fate,⁵ came out of the city. They seized him as one would a jackal and brought him in, and although 'Ali Quli Khān spoke gently to him,⁶ saying "Bow thy head,⁷ that I may spare thy life," that madman, fed on dog's brains gave him an abusive answer, so that he was sent to join the dogs of hell. His tomb is well-known in Badāon. He used to spread plentiful feasts and say (to his guests) "Eat! for wealth is the wealth of God, and life is the life of God, and Qambar Diwāna is the cook of God."

When the despatch from 'Ali Quli Khān reached the Court together with the head of Qambar, the king, whose refuge is the mercy of God, was extremely annoyed. Just about this time, on the seventh of the month of Rabi'u-l-Awwal, in the year 963 H., when⁸ Humāyūn had ascended to the roof of the library which he had built in the fortress of Dīnpanāh in Dihli, as he was coming

466. down, the *mu'azzin*⁹ uttered the call to prayer, and he knelt out of

¹ MS. (B) omits او.

² MS. (A) reads حمله for حمل.

³ Text از مشاهیر. MS. (A) reads از اعیان.

⁴ MS. (A) reads شیخ زاده.

⁵ MS. (A) بمالیم گفت.

⁶ Text reads که از گلیم بخت وی نشانه بود, but it seems as though we should read کلیم in the sense of wounded, stricken. MS. (B) omits بود.

⁷ Text فرود آورد. MS. (A) reads فرود آورده.

⁸ Supply که MSS. (A) (B).

⁹ موندن *Mu'azzin*. The crier whose duty it is to utter the *azān* or summons to prayer. The *Azān* was instituted at first when the Moslims came from Makka to Madīnah; some proposed the lighting of a fire, others the blowing of a trumpet, but the former was objected to as being a Jewish custom, and

respect for the *Azan*, and as he rose his staff glanced aside and his foot slipped, and he rolled down several steps¹ to the ground. When he recovered a little,² Nazar Shaikh Juli³ was sent to the Panjab⁴ to summon the Prince and to tell him exactly what had happened, and on the fifteenth⁵ of the same month (Humayun)⁶ bade farewell to this inconstant world and took his way to the abode of eternity⁷ and this *tarikh* was written to commemorate the event.

Since by the mercy of God he passed to his rest within the garden of Rizwan

Bihisht amad maqam e jaāk e u gives the date⁸

and Maulana Qasim Kahi wrote as follows —

Humayun, Padshah of the kingdom of reality,
No one remembers such an Emperor as he,
Suddenly he fell from the roof of his palace
And from that fall his precious life was lost
Kahi made a calculation for the *tarikh* of that event,
*Humayun Pādshah az bam uftad*⁹

the latter as being the custom of the Christians. Then Billal was ordered to repeat *Allahu Albar* twice in a loud voice as a signal for prayer.

The foreingers were ordered to be put into the ears while repeating the *Azan* to strengthen the voice probably this was due to the subjective sensation of increase of sound of the voice when the external meatus is closed. The *Azan* has special virtues attached to it for those who uttered it. Thus it is said. The callers to prayer may expect paradise on the day of the resurrection and again whoever acts as Muazzin seven years to please God will be redeemed from hell fire. See also Hughes Dict of Islam s.v.v. see M shkat iv Chapter 5 6

1 MS (B) omit *و* 2 Firishta says that he was taken up unconscious

3 Footnote var ant حمالی Juma ali 4 MS (A) بحکم پنجم

5 Firishta says the eleventh (Bo Text 459)

6 MSS (A) (B) omit پاک پادشاه عفران پاک

7 MSS (A) (B) دار رہا

8 پمشت آمد مقام پاک او و میش پاک These words give the date 968 H. The meaning is Paradise became his pure resting place

9 ہمابوں پادشاه اور یام اعداد The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is He maya Pa left fell from the roof

The following was also found to give the date:¹

Be not ignorant of the year of his death—See!
*Humāyūn kujā rast wa iqbal-i-ū.*²

The following *tārīkh* was also found:

*Ai! Ah! Pādshāh-i-man az bām uſlād.*³

Verse.

That capital city of the kingdom which thou sawest is laid waste,

And that Nile of whose bounty thou heardest has become a mirage,

The sky gave the head of Muhammad Yahya to ruin,

And calamity attended Sinjar the lord of slaves.

The fourth heaven became a house of mourning

The spirit of sanctity came to condole with the Sun.

467.

His age was fifty-one years, and the duration of his reign⁴ was twenty-five years and a fraction. He was a man of kingly proportions, adorned with all excellencies and perfections, both of appearance and reality, unequalled in the sciences of astrology and astronomy and all abstruse sciences.⁵ He was the preceptor of the followers of excellence and perfection, the refuge of the seekers after piety and rectitude. Fond of poetry and⁶ of poets, he used himself to compose good verses; he never remained for an instant without the *wužū'*,⁷ nor did he ever

¹ MS. (A) reads here ايضاً.

² شهابيون کجا رفت و اقبال او. The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is "What has become of Humāyūn and his good fortune."

³ MSS. (A) (B) insert this before the preceding *tārīkh*. Its value is also 963 H, and its meaning is 'Alas! Alas! my king fell from the roof.'

We must read افتاد as in Text and MS. (A). MS. (B) has افتاد.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) سلطنتش.

⁵ MS. (B) reads غريبه دیگر فنون.

⁶ MS. (A) omits و.

⁷ وضوء و دعوه. *Wužū'*. Ceremonial washings before prayer. There is a saying attributed to Muhammad "Wužū' is half the prayers," and another "When a Moslim uses Wužū' it washes from his face those faults which he may have cast his eyes upon; and when he washes his hands, it removes the faults they may have committed; and when he washes his feet it dispels the faults

take¹ the name of God nor of the prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, without *Tiharat*,² and if it chanced³ that the necessity arose for mentioning a name⁴ compounded of this word 'Abd, or one of the *Asmāu l-hasna*⁵ such as 'Abdu-llah or the others, in such a case he would confine himself to the word 'Abd (servant), for example he would call 'Abdu-l-Haiyy, 'Abdul simply. In this same way in writing letters in place of the word "huwa"⁶ when the necessity arose he used to write two Alifs side by side

towards which they may have carried him, so that he will rise up in purity from the place of ablation". Again "The key of paradise is prayer and the key of prayer is ablation". The prophet also said "Verily my sects will come on the day of resurrection with bright hands and feet because of Wuzu".

For a full account of *Wuzu'* and the acts requiring its performance, see *Mishkatu l-Masabih* II. 34, also see Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, art. *Wuzu'*.

1 MS (A) **تسبیب انتقام**

2 **تجلیف** *tiharat* This term includes all the various methods of purification enjoined by Muhammadan law.

See Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, art. *Purifications*

3 MS (A) **در زبان فوائدی**

* The text here gives some verses which are not found in MS (A). They are given here as they interrupt the continuity of the text

* مکتبہ *

اعتقادی درست دار چنانک - اعتمادت دهان نگردد سست

نهاد را بی شک از عذاب حذای - برهاه حز اعتقداد درست

Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not falter,
Nothing of a surety delivers the servant from the wrath of God save a
lively faith

MS (B) reads

نامی اعتمادی درست دار چنانک - اعتمادت بدهات نگردد سست هرگاه

5 *Asmāu l-hasna* The best of names See *Mishkat*, xxii 8 Verily the best of names, in the sight of God, are 'Abdu-llah (the servant of God) or 'Abdu-r-Rahman (the servant of the Merciful One)

6 **هو** *Huwa* The name of the Almighty, written at the commencement of a document by devout Muslims, meaning, *He alone is God*. It is the third person of the Arabic personal pronoun. By some commentators the word is supposed to stand for the *Ismul 'azam* or most holy name, which according to Muslim divines is known to God alone. See Quran III, 1 *La Allat illa Huwa* There is no God but He

thus (ii), whose letters thus arranged¹ have the same value as those of the word "Huwa." [In all matters he observed the same reverential caution which was as it were a part of his nature].² He always spent his evenings in company and was never niggardly in entertainment, the revenues of the whole of Hindustān would not have sufficed for his expenditure. His *rakīls*, for fear of (being thought to be greedy for) reward, would never mention the name³ of gold in his presence, and like his father he was not engrossed in amassing wealth; no improper word or term of abuse ever passed his lips, and if he were ever very wrath with any person he used just to say 'You stupid,' and not a word more.

468.

Whether in the house or in the mosque even by mistake he never placed his left foot down before the right, and if any one placed the left⁴ foot in his house he would say, "It is the left foot," and would make him turn back and bring him in again. From his excessive reserve he never opened his lips in a smile, nor did he ever cast an angry glance at any one. They say that Shāikh Hamid, the commentator of Saubal, on the occasion of the conquest of Hindustān, for the second time went to Kābul to receive him, and in spite of the extreme confidence which Humāyūn had in him, one day he fell into a passion and said "My king, I see the whole of your army are Rāfiẓī⁵ (heretics)." Humāyūn replied, "Shaikh, why do you say such a thing, and what have you to say about it?" He answered "Everywhere the names of your soldiers are of this kind.⁶ I find they are all Yār 'Ali (Friend of 'Ali), or Kafsh 'Ali (Shoe of 'Ali), or Ḥaidar 'Ali (Lion of 'Ali), and I have not found a single man bearing the name of any other Companion." Humāyūn was indignant at this, and dashing his drawing pencil⁷ upon the ground in anger, said "The

¹ The value of ه being 5 and of و being 6, the word هو is equivalent to eleven; Two Alifs placed side by side (ii) also stand for eleven.

² MS. (B) omits the sentence in square brackets.

³ MS. (A) omits نام and reads نیاوردی. ⁴ MS. (B) omits چب.

⁵ رافضی Rāfiẓī. This term was originally applied to the Shi'ahs who joined Zaid ibn 'Ali but forsook him upon his refusing to curse Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the first two Sunnī Khalifahs: but it came afterwards to denote any sect of Shi'ahs. MS. (B) alone reads رفضی. The Text and MS. (A) have راقضی.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) read این سرتیپه omitting در.

⁷ تحریر Qalam-i-taṣwīr. Text and MS. (A) MS. (B) has taḥrīr writing, instead of taṣwīr (drawing), so also a footnote variant.

name of my grandfather himself was 'Umar Shaikh¹ and I know no more than this," then he rose and went into the *haram* and returning, with great gentleness and kindness informed the Shaikh of the purity of his faith²

Verse

Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not falter,

Nothing of a surety delivers the servant from the wrath of God save a lively faith

And in order to recount the many virtues of that monarch who has obtained pardon and remission, *may his resting place be happy*, a separate record would be necessary Countless³ poets, the wonder of the age, sprung from under the skirt of his auspicious reign⁴ Among these, in, Badakhshān was Maulāna Junūn⁵ 469 Badakhshī the enigmatist, who composed a *qasidah* made up of thirty eight couplets in honour of that⁶ monarch, whose refuge is the pardon of God, during the time that he was a Mirza, and certain *tours de force* which had escaped the net of the *qasidah* which Mir Sayyid Zulfiqar Shirwāni composed in honour of Khwāja Rashid Vazir, and the *qasidah* of Salman Sawaji which he wrote in honour of Khwāja Ghias Vazir, this poet⁷ seized, for example the *mu'amma*,⁸ and *Izhar-i-muzmar*,⁹ and the *tarikh*¹⁰ and other (tricks) of this kind, and in very truth that work of art is a veritable *karnāma* (record of deeds), a miracle in the world of speech The following are the opening couplet and another, taken from it

¹ Umar Shaikh Mirza, second son of Timur was the father of Babar See Āin-i-Akbari (B) I 299

² MS (A) reads سلیمان و رفق شیخ را نوح حس عقدہ حوش اطلاع دادند
So also MS (B) except that لیا is omitted

³ MSS (A) (B) read دشمن او ⁴ MS (A) از داعی دولت او

⁵ Text reads Junubi but MS (A) reads جنوی Junūn :

⁶ MS (B) omits اے ⁷ MS (B) او نہ

⁸ معما Mu amma Enigma A saying of which the meaning is hidden See Garcin de Tassy Rhetorique et Prosodie p 165

⁹ See Garcin de Tassy op cit., p 191

¹⁰ تاریخ tarikh chronogram Several examples have been given see page 601 n 8

Verse.¹

Shahanshāhā rukh-i-tū lāla o nāsrīn lab-i-tū jān
Hāmī bīnam lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangīn shudā khandān
Nāmī gūyam khatt-i-tū sabza o raihān khad-i-tū gul
Shavad zāhir qadd-i-tū sitna-i-daurān dam-i-jaulān.

And by taking all the verses of this *qasīda* after the manner of an acrostic,² the following opening couplet is formed:—³

Shahanshāh-i-dīn pādīshāh-i-zamān
Zi bakht-i-Humāyūn shudā kāmrān.

While again, if the *hashw*⁴ of the two first couplets are written in red ink, the following opening couplet results, which may be read in three different metres.⁵

¹ MS. (A) شاهنشاہی *qasīda*.

The following is the translation of these lines which are given in the original in the text, as the whole sense of the passage following turns upon the form and not upon the meaning of the couplets.

King of kings, thy cheek is the tulip and jasmine, thy lip is the life.

As I look, thy lip like the bud in its redness, expands in a smile

I say not, thy bloom is the verdure and perfume, thy cheek is the rose

Life itself, from thy figure entrancing, appears in thy gait.

² شوشیخ *Tauṣīḥ*. The initial letters of each verse when taken together from the couplet given. Thus in the four lines given the initial letters are

ش *sh* و *h* و *n* و *sh* forming Shahanshāh. See Garcin de Tassy, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

³ The couplet when translated, reads:

Emperor of the faith, Pādīshāh of the age,

From thy good fortune thou hast become prosperous.

The play on the words Humāyūn and Kāmrān will be observed.

⁴ The first foot of the first *mīrāt* (hemistich) is called *sadr*, while the last foot of the same hemistich is called ‘urūz; similarly the first foot of the second hemistich is called *ibtidā*, while the last foot of this hemistich is called *zarb*. All the feet intervening between the *sadr* and the ‘urūz, or between the *ibtidā* and *zarb*, are called *hashw* which means literally the stuffing of a pillow (*Āgīn-i-bālīsh*). In the above the *hashw* of the verses is printed in red ink.

The scansion is as follows:—

<u>Shahanshāhā</u>	<u>rukh-i-tū lā</u>	<u>la-o-nasrīn</u>	<u>labitū jān</u>
Mafā'ī lun	Mafā'ī lun	Mafā'ī lun	Mafā'ī lun

The metre is thus *Hazaj-i-Muṣamman*.

⁵ The three metres in which these lines may be read are—

(i) *Hazaj-i-muṣamman*. See note 4 above.

Rukh i tū lala o nasiūn khatt i-tu sābzā o rāhān
Lāb-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangin qadd-i tu fitna-i dāriān¹

And if they be read in reversed order a couplet is formed which may also be referred to three several metres,² and with a change of qāfiyah³ and radif⁴ in the following manner —

470

Khaṭt-i-tū sābzā o rāhān, rukh-i-tū lāla o nasiūn
Qadd-i tu fitna i dāriān,⁵ lab i-tu ghuncha-i-rangin

And from that which remains in black letters, a distinct opening couplet remained⁶ Other *tours de force* also existed in this opening couplet, which are explained in the marginal notes to the work.

(ii) Ramal i musamman makhbūn, and the scansion is

زه ورسین	خط توبسب	له وسریں	دح تلا
فعالتن	فعالتن	فعالتن	فعالتن

(iii) Mujtas i musamman makhbūn and the scansion is

زه ورسین	خط تسب	له وسرین	دح تلا
فعالتن	معاون	فعالتن	مفاعن

See Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody (Ranking) pp 49, 67, 90

¹ MS (B) reads سلطان in place of دوران so also footnote warrant

² The three metres are those given in note 5, on the preceding page

³ قافية Qāfiyah This signifies the rhyme, of which the essential letter is called the راء Rāy, which may have also other letters preceding it and four following

⁴ ردیف Radif is the name given to a quiescent alif following a fatha, a wāw quiescent following a samma or a ye quiescent following a kāra, in other words it is one of the letters ل, و, ي placed as a letter of prolongation before the rāy. It is more accurately called ردیف Radif

Thus in the lines now cited the Radif is the letter ye in the words rangin, and nāṣir, whereas in the former verses the radif was alif, as in the words rāhān and dāriān MS (A) omits وردیف See also Garcin de Tassy, op cit, p 370

⁵ MS (B) omits طریق بایس

⁶ MSS (A) (B) read بستان bustan

⁷ For example, we can read

شل انگشا لب ا تو جان	همی بنام گشودا کھندن،
Hamī binam گشودا کھندن،	نامی گویام کھنڈ ا تو گول
Nāmī guyam کھنڈ ا تو گول	شہزاد یہر دم ا چونل

King of kings thy lip is life	As I look it wreathes in smiles,
As I look it wreathes in smiles,	I say not thy cheek's a rose
I say not thy cheek's a rose	Blooming as thou passest by

And from the four¹ couplets of a *qasīdah*² some of the words of which are written in red ink, the following *qīṣā'īh*³ containing the conquest of Badakhshān may be obtained, and the *qīṣā'īh* also has a hidden meaning, the explanation of which is obtained from certain verses extracted from these two *qasīdahs*.⁴

Qīṣā'īh.

Tū-i Shāh-i Shāhān-i daurān ki shud
Hamīsha turā kār fath o zafar.
Giriftī Badakhshān o tārīkh shud.
Muhammad Humāyūn Shah-i-bahr o bar.⁵

*Rubā'i.*⁶

Until the weak body of the beggar became the dust of his threshold,
His heart on account of his sorrow and vexation, fell desolate.
The life of this helpless one left him because of desire for the beloved,
His love exceeded all bounds, if haply at that time that king might summon him.

1 MS. (A) reads **لار**.

2 MS. (A) **قصیدہ**.

3 The **قطعہ** *qīṣā'īh*. Must contain not less than two couplets nor more than a hundred and seventy. The first two hemistiches need not rhyme, but the second hemistich of every verse must rhyme with the final hemistich of the opening verse.

The **قصیدہ** *qasīdah* In this form of poem the two opening hemistiches must rhyme. It must consist in Persian of not less than twenty-five couplets and not more than a hundred and seventy. See also Garcin de Tassy, *Rhetorique et Prosodie* for an explanation of these and other terms, and Gladwin, *Dissertations*.

4 The reading in the text and in both MSS. (A) (B) is unintelligible, we must evidently read **این دو** for **این ای**. The footnote to the text merely states that the reading in the text is found in all three MSS., but makes no attempt to explain the true reading.

5 **بیرون برو** **دھمایون** **دھم**. These words give the date 927.

The translation of these verses is :

Thou art king of the kings of the age,
Whose continual object is conquest and victory.
Then did'st seize Badakhshān, and its *tārīkh* was
Muhammad Humāyūn king of sea and land.

6 MS. (A) adds **معذہ** *muzhar*.

*Gushicāra.*¹

Tell the good tidings of the victory of the king of my faith
 And if my life should obtain a few days grace from that exacting creditor² Death, this *qasidah*, together with all the *qasidahs* and such useful information as I have written down in a separate note-book in the course of my travels, shall, should opportunity offer, be included among the contents of the second volume of the *Najātu-r-Rāghid*³ which I am anxiously longing to complete, 471 should God, who facilitates our undertakings, so will it

Another poet⁴ is *Wafā'i*, by which *takkallus Shaikh Zainu d-Din Khāfi*⁵ is commonly known, who was *Sadr-i-mustaqill* (Judge-plenipotentiary)⁶ during the reign of Babar Padishāh. There

گوشوارہ¹ *Gushicāra* Lit., earring The first line of a *ghāal* or *qanda*, following immediately upon another

کوچد فتح میں دس نامہ MS (A) میں دین ما Read گوخر فتح شہ دین ما A footnote variant reads

² The following is the correct reading Immediately after the *gushicāra* و اگر عمر روزی چند اور غیرم منقاصلی احل مهلت یافت ان تصدیق مع سایر قصائد و عوائد کے درمدت ایام میاحی دریامی علیحدہ دوستہ شد
 MS (A) - آن ووائد فرائد را الخ -

³ سعات الرشید². *Najātu-r-Rāghid* There is a MS of this work of Badaoni, belonging to the College of Fort William, in the Library of the Asiatic Society

of Bengal, No ^E 204 (See J A S B xxxviii p 136) The title of the work

gives the *tarikh* of its composition on the second and last pages The "second daftār" hero mentioned by our author does not appear ever to have been written, though from his statement it would seem he had commenced the work

⁴ MS (A) reads دیگرو وفاتی کے

⁵ One *Zainu d-Din Khāfi*, was a famous saint His life is given in the *Nasahatu-l Uns* Calcutta edition p 569, but the one meant in this passage is the *Shaikh Zain* who read the *Khutbah* in Dihli in Babar's name after the battle of Panipat, see *Firishta*, Bo Text p 381 and Erskine, *Memoirs of Baber*, p 308

Khāfi or *Khawāfi* means 'coming from *Khawāfī*' which is a district and town in *Khurasan* Our maps have *Khaff* or *Khāf* due west of Herat See 'Ain-i-Akbari (B) I p 445 and footnote also p 592 and footnote

⁶ صدر مستقل⁶ *Sadr-i-mustaqill* The *Sadr* was an officer of justice whose power appears to have been almost unlimited, his edict was necessary to legalise the accession of a new king

is a mosque in Agra to his memory,¹ and a school situated on the other side of the river Jamna. He was the possessor of excellencies both bodily and mental, and in the construction of enigmas and chronograms, and in extempore versification, and in all the minutiae of poetry and prose, and in rhetoric, he was unapproachable in his own age.

They say that in the very first assembly in which he made homage to Bābar Pādshāh, he asked, what is your age?² Without premeditation he answered, *Qabl azīn ba panj sāl chil sāla būdam, wa hālān chihal sāla am, wa ba'd az dū sāl-i-dīgar chihal tamām mī shavad.*³

It should moreover be known that (Bābar Pādshāh) also asked (a riddle) of the author of this *Muntakhab* saying: *Pish azīn ba yak sāl panjah sāla būdam, wa hālān panjāh sāla am, wa ba'd azīn ba dah sāl panjāh sāla mī sharam.*⁴

It is well known that one day Shaikh Zain went to visit the brilliant resting-place of Sultānu-l-Mashāikh Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā may God sanctify him, and having heard that story of the Shaikh about "*Al Hidāyā mushtarāk wa tanhā khushtruk*"⁵ repeated this *qit'ah* on the spot:

His duties were to enquire into the circumstances of persons before grants were made to them. Under his orders were the *Qāzī* and the *Mir 'Adl*. See *Aīn-i-Akkari*, (B) I. 268-270.

¹ MSS. (A) (B) read مسجدیست اورا instead of صاحب مسجدیست (Text).

² That is to say "Five years ago I was *chil* (چل) years of age and now I am *chihal* (چھل) years of age, and two years hence my *chihal* (forty) years will be complete.

چل (*chil*) stands for 33 thus چ = 3 چ = 30

چھل (*chihal*) stands for 38 thus چ = 3 چ = 5 چ = 30

while چھل *chihal* is the Persian for forty.

MS. (B) completely loses the point by reading چھل *chil* throughout."

³ That is, A year ago I was fifty (*panjah*) years of age, now I am fifty-one (*panjah* with the addition of Alif) years of age, ten years hence I shall be (پانچھل) *panjah* years of age.

پانچھل (*Panjah*) stands for 60 : thus

چ = 2 چ = 50 چ = 3 چ = 5

Apparently we should read پنجھاٹ (*Panjāh*) which would give 61.

⁴ This refers to a visit paid by Amīr Khusrū of Dihlī to Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā, when he saw another visitor who had brought a present for Nizāmu-d-

Qit'ah.

Oh our Shaikh! may there come to thee from God gifts without censuring,

What am I that I should say "*Al Hudāyā muṣṭarak*"

Thou styest "*Tanhā khushtarak*" as thou didst say before

Make it "*Muṣṭarak*" if thou dost not say

"Tanhā khushtarak"

Verse.

Grief has seized me by the sleeve, why should I hide my head
in my sleeve?

Desire has grasped my skirt, why should I withdraw my foot 472
within my skirt?

Ah! my sleeve in desire for thee and my skirt also are torn
to rags,

Why should I hide my head in my sleeve and withdraw my
foot within my skirt without thee?

He wrote a *tarikh* dealing with the circumstances² of the con-
quest of Hindustan, and explaining its wonders, in which he did
full justice to the claims of erudition

His death occurred near Chihār in the year 940 H and he
was buried within the precincts of a college which he himself had
founded

Another (poet) was Maulānā Nadūn-i-Samarqandi, who was one
of the wonders of the age, of excellent qualities, and a compen-
dium of perfection³. He had a strong attachment for a beautiful
youth named Nizam, and the following well known solution of an
enigmatical meaning, was composed for him

Verse

I the broken hearted tell the praises of Nizam the famous,

Dīn Auliya Amir Khusru exclaimed '*Al hidaya muṣṭarak*' 'The gifts are
in common' whereupon Nizamuddīn Auliya replied

'*Al hidaya muṣṭarak lakin tanhā khushtarak*'

"The gifts are truly in common, but I should be better pleased to enjoy
them alone"

¹ MS (A) transposes the last two lines

² MS (A) omits حواں

³ MS (A) reads دید حامی دید. See *Am Akbari* (B) I 605 n

For my heart, when absent from him, lies disordered¹ and enfeebled.

Rubā'i.

I am grieved, and in my heart on thy account I hold a hundred sorrows,

Without the rubies of thy lips, I am matched against pain hour by hour;

I am in despair for this life, I the poor, the dejected,
I hope that the road of annihilation may become my refuge.

Gūshwāra.

I sing the praise of the locks of my beloved.

And the following verses are part of the fruit of his fertile genius.

Ghazal.²

How wondrous graceful is my loved one's form,
I yield myself a slave to that figure and carriage;
My loved one would not look towards me with compassion,
Perhaps she displayed an inclination towards strangers.
Nādirī! go towards the wineshop
And pledge thy head and turban for wine.

Verse.

473. Though I remained my whole life-long there at the head of thy street,
I swear by my life, that I never enjoyed a moment's peace;
Wherever I bowed my head with the intention of obeisance
Thou wert there the Ka'bah³ towards which I turned.
A whole world was admitted to intimacy, and yet I remained forlorn,

¹ ظامی *Nizāme*, lit. a governor, one who orders and directs. The play upon the word cannot be preserved.

² غزل *Ghazal*. The ghazal or odes must consist of at least five couplets but must not exceed fifteen. Its first two hemistiches must rhyme.

³ سجدة *Sajdah*, commonly pronounced *Sijdah*, means a prostration in which the forehead touches the ground: as a religious observance the prostration, is on seven members: on the forehead, the two hands, the two knees, and the toes of both the feet; women must touch the ground with the elbows, men on the contrary must keep the elbows up. The palms of the hands

All were accepted there but I was rejected;

Why do you ask Nâdirî, what is thy condition in that road,

At one time I am unhappy, at another I was happy¹ there.

He also wrote this *Qasîdah* in honour of the deceased Emperor.

Qasîdah.

Thanks be to God that with a settled mind

Intimate² friends sat together in pleasure;

The rose-garden is the pleasure-resort of people, for there in
the presence of the rose, the nightingale sorrowful at the
absence of his beloved became rejoiced by its presence.

It may be that the beloved one of the garden had been
stripped naked by Autumn,

So that she has woven a patchwork garment of the hundred
petals of the rose.

The rose and the jasmine, the spikenard and the basil are in
one place,³

See! the Emperor of Spring has come with his retinue and
troops.

The birds are singing the praises of the Emperor of heavenly
grandeur⁴

On the branches of the trees, like the preachers from their
pulpits.

The glorious Khâqân, the Emperor of dignity like Jamshid,
Humâyûn,

Who has a powerful hand and a sturdy heart by the decree
of the Almighty.

From his intelligence springs the wisdom of the learned,
From his insight arises the perception of the men of acute
vision.

2.

must be placed upon the ground, with the fingers in the direction of the Qiblah, which was originally Jerusalem, but was afterwards changed to the Ka'bah. *Mishkâtu-l-Mâzâbih*, Cap. xv. part i.

See Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, art. *Ka'bah*.

1 MS. (A) خوشنودم آپس.

2 The text reads معاصر contemporary, but MSS. (A) (B) read معاشر intimate.

3 MS. (A) reads بی جانب فلک مرتبه. 4 Text صریحه. MS. (B) reads صریحه.

Since prohibited things are unlawful by the statutes of religion,
He hastens to perform the deeds for which there is divine
sanction.

474.

There have gathered together, to secure the victory of the
army of Islam,

The unrivalled warriors of his army, the brave men of his
troops,

Beneath his victorious standard, on the field of Fortune,
May the favour of the Everlasting be his protector and ally.
Oh thou by the generosity of whose hand all things have
their being,¹

By the sharpness of whose sword all properties both acci-
dental and essential² obtain permanence.

In the first day of eternity, the object of creation for the
Lord of the world was the evolution of thy form from this
revolving sphere,

Should Gabriel a second time be the bearer of revelation,
Pure passages³ will be revealed in thy glory.

Every subtilty of science which thy ruby lip pronounces
Has become as famous in the world as the uninterrupted
tradition.⁴

It is well-known that this is a commentary on the books of
mathematical science, this wonderful composition of thine
on the discovery of circles.

How can any one deny the vastness of thy knowledge ?

None but a stubborn disputant⁵ will deny self-evident truths.

¹ قوام *qiwām* is the stay or support of any thing, that in virtue of which it subsists.

² عرض *A'rāz* اعراض وجوه *o jawāhir*. By عرض 'Arazun, is meant in the conventional language of Muslim theologians, a thing that is not permanent, "an accident," as opposed to جوهر *jauharun*, "an essential," see Lane, s. v. عرض also *kashshāf*, s. v. v. ايات طواهر *ayāt ṭawāher* for طواهر *ṭawāher*.

³ These two lines commencing شرکت حکمت occur in MS. (A) before the line commencing در روز ازل as well as in this place.

⁴ مبنی *mabnī*. Founded on certainty, equivalent to مسلم *Muslim*.

⁵ مکابر *mukābir*. One who contentiously upholds a proposition which he knows to be false.

I cannot estimate thy perfections, for in every art thou hast
become perfectly skilled;

When compared with thy philosophic intellect and good for-
tune, the angelic essence becomes as one of the common
material¹ objects.

Thy generosity is of such a nature that at the moment of 475.
bestowing

Thou knowest without asking all the hidden desires of the
mind.

This enigma upon the name of Kibār² is also by him:

Verse.

That face³ is the Qur'ān, and that down on the cheek is the
sign⁴ of tyranny and oppression;
The cheek of that heart-ravishing one has no endowment of
the mole of fidelity.⁵

¹ Read احسان for اجناس. MS. (A).

² MS. (A) reads كبار MS. (B) reads كبار.

³ The text reads آنزو with a footnote saying that all three MSS. are
the same. MS. (B) reads ببرو!

⁴ The text reads آیت, MS. (B) reads آیی.

⁵ The verse in the original runs thus:

Mushaf ast dñrū wa ān khaff dyat i jaur o jasf st
'Arūz i ān dil-sitān bī bahra az khāl i waṣfū st

The word **مصحف** *mushaf* here has two meanings, (1) a collection of pages
قُلْف *quluf*, written upon, and placed between two boards, hence a copy of
the Qur'ān, (2) affected by *tashrif*, which is a technical expression for so alter-
ing a word by changing diacritical points and altering the order of its com-
ponent letters, that it acquires a different signification.

In accordance with this second meaning, in the word آنزو the letter و
wāw is first dropped leaving آنزو dar then ز + r is changed into ب + ب giving ببر
âbr, by transposing these letters we get ببار bâr.

The word **بـ** *bâr* has also two meanings, (1) down on the cheek, (2) a
letter or character. Hence we may translate "that letter is the sign of tyranny
and oppression." Now **کـ** *kâftan*, cutting or cleaving, is such a sign,
and may be represented by its root **کـ** *kâf*, which is the letter of the
alphabet required, and when prefixed to the syllable بـ بـ bâr above found
gives the word كبار *kibâr*, thus completing the *mu'amid* or enigma.

The death of the aforesaid Maulānā took place in the year 966 H. and Mir Amānī Kābuli wrote the following *tūrīkh*¹ of the event.

Verse.

Alas ! the pity of it, that the discerner of subtleties Nādirī has departed,

That rare poet² who did full justice to eloquence in the world ; I sought to express the date of his death by way of enigma, Wisdom answered one has gone from among the masters of speech.³

Another is Shaikh Abul Wāhid⁴ Fārīghī, who was deeply imbued with the feelings of a *darvēsh* and was⁵ renowned for his sweet singing ; the following is taken from his poems :

Verse.

So great is the habitual oppression of that seeker after tyranny
That a morsel of mercy from him, seems a great beauty.

And in his impassioned style he says :

Verse.

Praise be to God that I am freed from the love of an ill-conditioned sot,

Who used to fall, as did his eyes, from drunkenness in every road,

Who, like the cup, for the sake of a draught, was lip to lip with every man,

Who like the flagon bent himself to every cup in every place.

¹ MS. (A) reads در تاریخ.

² میر نادری ^۳ This we may read Ān Nādirī ki. That Nādirī who : or, Ān Nādire ki.

³ سخن و ران رفت یکی از سخن و ران *Ruft yake az sukhun warān*. If from *sukhun warān* the value of which is 967, we remove ^{یکی} that is one, we have left 966.

⁴ Footnote to text says that the *Nafā'isul-Maāṣir* reads Abūl Wājid. MS. (B) reads ابوالوجود Abūl Wajd.

⁵ MSS (A) (B) omit بود after مشهور and insert it after مشهور.

The following is also by him

Verse

At that time when my heart was blest with thy companion-
ship,

It did not seem that such a blessing could be expressed,
In short, the whole of my life's reckoning had passed in
separation from thee,

Who can count the joy of meeting! what a store of happiness
it was!

Strangers last night were near you, while Fārīghī at an
immense distance was burning like rue¹ upon the fire of
disappointment

This is also his

Verse

Oh my intimate companions do not break the bond of union
In dispersion is distraction, do not break it and depart.

And again he writes

Verse

When thou drewest out thine arrow from my breast leave its
point there,

Grant me my heart to yield my life in thy service manfully

His death occurred in the year 940 H, and he was buried in
the monastery² of Shaikh Zainu d Din³ at Agra, and in conse-
quence of the extremity of their unanimity and concord both
left the world in the same year. It is said that at the time when
these two eminent men went to Hindustan owing to their
excessive profligacy they possessed nothing but an old *postīn*⁴
between them. Shaikh Zainu d-Din⁵ said to Shaikh Abul
Wajd,⁶ "I will take this to the bazar of Kabul upon the condition
that you won't come and indulge in any pleasures" He agreed,
and a purchaser having run it up to a most extravagant figure

¹ *Sipād* Rue is said in the *Ghāṣūl lughat* to be burned to avert
the evil eye. Rue was called "herb of grace" from its supposed efficacy in
exorcism.

² Omit *عَسْكَر* MSS (A) (B) ³ MS (A) ⁴ A sheepskin coat

⁵ MS (A) ⁶ MS (B) MS (A) reads *أَبُو وَجَد*

was ready to give five *shahrukhs*¹ but *Shaikh* Zain kept demanding more. At last *Shaikh* Abūl-Wajd came up in a disinterested way and was acting as broker, after a deal of haggling he said,

477. “Ah! you cheat! why this door mat² itself contains³ five *Shahrukhs* worth of fleas and lice”! so the bargain was at an end, and *Shaikh* Zain was annoyed and said, “What sort of time was this for the stupid jokes you are so fond of? We wanted the price of a loaf, and this is the way you’re going to pay for⁴ it”! *Shaikh* Abūl-Wajd fell into a fit of laughter.

Another is Jāhī Yatmān,⁵ who was from *Bukhārā*, and having acquired a reputation on this account in Kābul, offered his services at the time when the late Emperor proceeded towards Hindustān⁶ obtained great favours from Humāyūn, and rose to a confidential position, and at the time when Shāh Muḥammad Khān Sālū⁷ was left in Kābul as revenue commissioner,⁸ he treated⁹ the Mulla just like the rest of the people, and caused him serious annoyance. The Mulla accordingly composed an elegant *tarkīb*

¹ The *Shahrukhi* was a coin equivalent to 16 *dams*, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ to a rupee. They were so called because they were first coined by Shāh Rukh the *Mughul* Sultān of Persia, A. H. 807-850. Thomas, *Pathan kings*, p. 381. The purchaser was thus willing to give about two rupees for the *postīn*. The *postīn* is a jacket made of dressed sheepskin dyed a yellow colour and more or less handsomely embroidered in yellow silk. It is worn like Brian O’Linn’s breeches “with the fleshy side out and the woolly side in.” They cost about thirty or forty rupees, according to their embroidery.

² Text reads بَتِيل. *Batīl*. In the text this word is followed by a (?) MS. (A) has what may be بَتْلَى *patal*, in which case the meaning would be “a mat,” and this in consideration of the matted condition of a filthy *postīn* seems the true reading.

³ MS. (B) omits پاشہ د.

⁴ MSS. (A) (B) اسٹ این اسٹ

⁵ MS. (A) reads و دیگری حامی تمبان *wa dīgare ḥāmī Tambān*. MS. (B) reads یتمینان جاہی یتمینان *Jāhī-i-yatmīnān*. A footnote to the text gives and says that *Nafā’isul Maāṣir* writes “Jāhī Yatmīyān was from *Bukhārā*, his father Yatmīyān was a native of that place, for which reason he was commonly known by this name.”

⁶ MS. (A) reads سند Sind.

⁷ MSS. (A) (B) read سالو *Sālū*. The text reads شاپور *Shāhpūr*, but in a footnote gives سالو.

⁸ سزاولی بچہت سزاولی *ba-jihat-i-sazāvalī*.

⁹ MS. (B) reads تصور نموده *Tasawwuf* for تصویر داده.

band lampooning Sālū,¹ and inasmuch as the Emperor had the daughter of Shāh Muhammad Sālū² in his service, he made an exception³ in his favour alone, and erased the names of all the members of his family, male and female, consigning them to ignominy. Inasmuch as Humāyūn was also incensed against that ass⁴ who had been the source of all this mischief, he had that lampoon read⁵ in Sālū's presence by the Mulla in full assembly, and evinced the greatest delight and merriment, and made him give a large sum as a reward. By degrees that lampoon became more and more disgracefully scurrilous, accordingly I have restricted myself to citing one extract from it in this place, which is as follows :—

“I am the poet of Shāh Humāyūn and the dust of his thres.
hold,

The retinue of my poetic worth casts the moon's brightness
into shade.

My poem is the Emperor, and my noble verses are his cavalry
and soldiery,

I experienced oppression from a fool,⁶ without any fault or
crime of mine.

If a fragment of paper has become blackened by my ravings,
If my meditations turn towards⁷ satirizing him,

The object is that that these idiotic asses

May have a regard for the honour and dignity of this class.

Alas, for that man who contends with the tribe of poets,
Whoever contends with me contends against calamity.”

The Emperor interfered at this verse saying, “Why do you
not word it thus :

“Whoever contends with me contends with God”

The following verses are also by him :—

¹ MSS. (A) (B).

² MSS. (A) (B).

³ MSS. (A) (B) ساختنی مسٹنی.

⁴ The Text reads خر Khar but M.S. (A). reads خسور Khusur, father-in-law.

⁵ MSS. (A) (B) قسمة استماع.

⁶ MSS. (A) (B) read بختردي be-khitrade. The text reads قبده زني qabba-zane. Whoremaster.

⁷ Text روی بچا with a footnote بچا for بچا.

Verse.

As long as we have existed we have been lovers and have incurred ignominy,
 Yet we have been constant to the true proportions of lovers.
 This is also his :—

Verse.

Ye, beauteous ones, are all devoid of love and faithfulness,
 Ye treat your captives with tyranny and oppression,
 Ye promised to be faithful, but have vowed falsely,
 Say truly, why are ye all thus false ?
 Not in this city alone are we disgraced on your account.
 Everywhere ye are the cause of our disgrace,
 How often will ye ask what is your object in the world ?
 I say truly that ye are, ye are, ye are.
 Jāhī cannot save his life from your hands
 For ye are a calamity of the calamities sent by God.

The following is also by him :

Verse.

Last night the moon of the 'Id appeared in the form of a *misqal*¹
 Because from the vapours of fasting the mirror of the heart
 was clouded.
 Was this the new moon ? or by reason of the leanness of
 their bodies,
 Did the bone of the rib of the thirsty-lipped fast-enduring
 ones appear ?
 Or was it that they had fashioned a saddle² for the camel of
 Lailī ?
 Or was it the bowed body of Majnūn who had become pale
 and wan through grief ?
 The very heaven wishes to enrol itself among thy servants,

¹ جَهْرَاءَ misqal or أَلْهَاءَ misqalat, called also خَرَازَةَ *kharazat*, is a shell used for polishing swords, mirrors, &c., *Tāju-l-'Arūs*.

MS. (B) reads جَهْرَاءَ muṣaqqaṭ which suits neither metre nor sense.

² MSS. (A) (B) read حَطَبٌ for طَبَقٌ. A footnote variant to the text is حَصَبٌ.

And for that reason has bent the bow in order to string it!
Moreover thy messenger has bound on his bells,² and has placed the feather of distinction on his head,

He is going from Rūm to bear tidings from Zanzibār

It must be borne in mind that this verse³ *Khwesh rā dar silk : khuddam tu mīkhwahad falak* (The very heaven wishes to enrol itself among your servants) he has taken from a couplet of the *qasidah* of Nizam Astālābādī, which runs thus,—

Shab nujum az majma' : mardum nishān āwarda and

Waz mah : nau tāza harfe darmiyān āwarda and

At night the stars have appeared like an assembly of men

And have brought into their midst a new idea in the shape of
the new moon,

The Shāh of Zangbar has taken his seat upon the throne of 480
Empire

And the stars have brought the bow as an offering to him

Rubbā'

The down which encircles thy cheek is the cause of my distraction,

Thy locks are the cause of my helplessness and distress,

That dusky ringlet is bent upon my undoing,

All these charms are the cause of my distraction

The following is also his

Come, for the sky has prepared for your pristine⁴

The sun as the golden gourd, and the crescent moon as the hook⁵

بُهْرَهْ رَكَّادَار (Text) MS (A) reads بُهْرَهْ رَكَّادَار MS (B) reads بُهْرَهْ رَكَّادَار دسته رنگ و سنه رنگ *Basta zang* The dak runners in the East carry a cluster of globular bells called *Zang* or *rang* tied to one end of the staff carried over their shoulders to the other end of which the mail bag is attached, as a signal to clear the way *Zang bastan* has the secondary meaning of acquiring importance MSS (A) (B) read رنگ for رنگ

³ MS (A) reads اَنْ دِيْتْ رَا كَه

⁴ قَبَاقَ بَزْ قاباق بازی *Qabaq bazi* Qabaq sign flies in Turk; a gourd, in ancient times the Turkomans used to hang up a wooden gourd as a mark for archery, but in later times a bowl was substituted for the gourd

⁵ كَجَّاك *kajak* The name given to the hook upon which the bowl is suspended in the game of qabaq a *dari* (*Għażiex l-l-ghaq*)

Bairām Khān has a well-known *qaṣīdah* with this same rhyme, but in a different metre, of which the following is the opening-couplet :—

Verse.

Thy shaft has carried away the loop of the *qabaq*¹ from its hook,

Thy meteor, by the help of the crescent-moon has erased the form of the Pleiades.

These two opening couplets are derived from the opening couplet of a *qaṣīdah* by the celebrated Niṣārī Tūnī. The death of Mullā Jāhī took place in the year 956 H. and was due to some poison which a servant introduced into his cup.

Another poet is Haidar Tūniā'ī, a man of parts, and unequalled in the technicalities of harmony, he had a competent faculty for both poetry and music. He spent the greater part of his life in Hindustān. The lampoon upon the *Maliku-l-munajjimīn*² of the time of Humāyūn Pādshāh, which he wrote at Panjgāh, is one of the marvels of the age, and a rarity for all time.

The following opening couplet which he wrote for his threnody on the death of the saintly martyred Imām,³ accepted of God, murdered by man, offspring of the Prophet, by descent from the pure⁴ Fāṭimah, *upon them be peace*,⁵ is read during the 'Āshūrā in the assemblies for the commemoration of the death of Husain.⁶

¹ The text reads كِبَك kabak and a footnote states that all three MSS. have the word written with kūf-i-kaliman (ك). MS. (A) however has قباق qabaq. The crescent moon is compared to an erasing-knife (حکمه)

² Prince of Astrologers.

³ Husain, the second son of 'Alī by his wife Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥammad, was slain at Karbalā, A. H. 61. See Hughes' Dict. of Islām.

⁴ البتول Al-Batūl. The word *batūl* literally means an offset of a palm-tree, cut from the parent tree and independent of it. With the article *Jl al-* in its application to Fāṭimah, it denotes her distinction from other women on the ground of chastity, excellence and religion. See Lane s. v.

⁵ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَام 'alaihimas-salām. MS. (A) The text reads عَلَيْهِ السَّلَام, with a footnote variant رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ, and stating that the expression in the text is not found either in the dual or plural in any MS. Clearly the editor had not MS. (A) before him.

⁶ معارك m'aārik lit., battle fields.

Verse

The month of Muharram has come and our eyes are constrained
to weep,
We let fall tears of blood at the thought of Husain's parched
lips¹

Ruba'i:

Thou art he whom in envy they call the sun and moon,
Thy troops, both horse and foot, they call the moonfaced ones
Thou art worthy of this, with this grace and beauty of thine,
That all the kings of the age should call thee sovereign lord

The following is also by him —

My heart thou hast no friend to compare with sorrow for him,
Thou hast no comfort in life like sympathy for him

And this —

Every moment my heart's desire has some flesh allurement,
To bear her coquetry costs my life, what of that? it is her
life

How can I liken the lips of my love to the bud of the rose,
The bud is tightly pursed it is true but is dumb and silent

The son of this man Haidai Tuni was an arrant coward and
spitiless,² accordingly in the months³ of the year 985 H he had 482
entered the service of Humayun, one day he was describing the
circumstances of a journey by boat and its terrors, in such a way
that the effects of fear were evident from his behaviour⁴ I asked
saying, May be you regret having gone on the Hajj?⁵ and I
repeated as appropriate to the occasion that verse which his rivals
said to the poet Quds⁶

¹ The pathetic story of the death of Husain slain in his attempts to quench
his thirst forms the theme of the annual ceremonies of the Muharram. See
Hughes *Dict of Islam* art Muharram and Al Husain where a full account
of Husain's death is given

² MS (A) reads پسرش MS (A) (B) omit ویل

³ MS (A) omits شہور

⁴ Text ادھاش MS (A) ادھاش MS (B)

⁵ حج Hajj or greater pilgrimage

⁶ Mir Husain Qudsⁱ of Karbala see *Ain-i Akbari* (B) I 602

Verse.

From the hardships of the desert path, and its thorns,¹
Of the coming to the *Ka'bah* you are probably repentant.

He replied instantly, "Yea ! verily." The king said, why should he repent of having visited the *Ka'bah*, though he may indeed repent of sitting in a ship. At that same moment Mathīn² *Khān*, the elegant and accomplished mime, in accordance with a hint from the king, made himself up³ to represent a mad man bitten by a dog, and began to bark like a dog, and seized Haidar,⁴ and dragged him forward with his turban flying one way and his shoes another. He began running in all directions,⁵ till at last he rolled on the ground, and set them all laughing immoderately. When he learned the truth he was desperately ashamed. The king attempted to console him, but it ended by his being obliged to leave Hindustān. Another is *Shāh Tāhir Khwāndī*⁶ Dakkanī, the younger brother of *Shāh Ja'far*; the 'Ulamā of 'Irāq, however ridicule his pretensions to descent from *Khwāndī* stock, and have prepared a document bearing upon this question, to which both his opponents and supporters subscribed their signatures,⁷ as is mentioned in the *Kāmilu-t-tawārīkh* of Ibn Aṣīr Jazārī,⁸ and also in the *Lubbu-t-tawārīkh*⁹ of Qāzī Yahyā Qazwīnī, and other works. He claimed to be intimately connected with *Shāh Tahmasp*, but

1 خار مغيلان *Khār-i-mughailān*. See ante, p. 550 n. 1.

2 MSS. (A) (B) متھی. *Mathī*. 8 MS. (B) reads ساخته سا.

4 MS. (A) reads این حیدر را. 5 MS. (A) omits ورسو.

6 MS. (A) reads *Khondī*. *Shāh Tāhir Junайдī*, See Beale Dict. Or. Biog., p. 250. See also Briggs *Firishta*, vol. iii. reign of Burhān Niẓām *Shāh*.

7 MSS. (A) (B) خط نهادند. MS. (B) reads نباد طبا.

8 The author of this celebrated history which is also called *Al-Kāmil fi-t-tawārīkh* (the perfect history) or more commonly *Al-Kāmil*, was Shaikh Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Abī-l-Karan Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu-l-Karīm ibn 'Abdu-l-Wāhid ash-Sharbānī commonly known as Ibnu-l-Āṣir.

He is called Al-Jazārī (the islander) from his birth-place the island of Ibn 'Umar, Jazīrat ibn 'Umar, an island of the Tigris above Mosul. He was born 555 H. (1160 A.D.) and died 630 H. (1232 A.D.). See Elliot and Dowson, II. 244, and Hājī *Khalīfah*, 9733.

9 اب التواریخ *Lubbu-t-Tawārīkh*. (Marrow of History). The author of this work was Yahyā ibn 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf Qazwīnī (Dimishqī) who died 960 A.H. (1552 A.D.). See Elliot and Dowson IV. 293 and Hājī *Khalīfah*, 11076.

eventually he was led, by the abuse which was heaped upon him in connection with the aforesaid claim to relationship,¹ and the excessive annoyance caused him by Mir Jamālu-d-Dīn Ṣadr Astarābādi, to proceed to the Dakkan, which is famed as the 483 refuge for the oppressed, where he met with a favourable reception² from Nizām Shāh, the ruler of that country, and was rewarded with considerable advancement, and attaining the highest dignities³ reached the rank of *Jumlatu-l-Mulk* (Chief finance-minister of the State). The Shi'ah tenets spread widely, in fact we may say they were really inaugurated in those regions through the instrumentality of Shāh Tāhir.⁴ Nizām Shāh Bahri, who was afflicted with an incurable⁵ malady of long standing, was cured by the virtue⁶ of a charm pronounced over him by Shāh Ja'far, and that occurrence, which was in reality was of the nature of *Istidrāj*, he attributed to the miraculous powers (*kārāmāt*) of Shāh Ja'far,⁶ and acting upon his instigation abandoned the religious

و مشیر و مشار الیه گردیده (B) سب میں۔ ۲ MSS (A) reads

³ Shāh Tāhir, by prophesying the recovery of his son 'Abdu l-Qādir, who was dangerously ill, induced Nizām Shāh to reject the names of Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uman, who are the three first *Khalifahs* of the Sunnis, from the *Khuṭbah*, and to substitute those of the Imams, thus proclaiming himself a Shi'ah See *Firqa*, Bo text, II 220 et seqq Briggs, (III 228) merely mentions the fact but does not give the story.

⁴ Read علاج بالی میں۔ MS. (A)

⁵ بطفقیل فسون خوانی Batufail + fusūn khicāni This is a very strange expression, and although it occurs in the text and MSS. (A) (B), I would suggest we should read لاجہ با ساقی. The use of spells and charms for the cure of disease was permitted to Muslims provided there was in them no suspicion of شرک shirk, that is, of associating anything with God. We read in the *Mishkāt* that spells were permitted to be used "to counteract the ill-effects of a malignant eye; and on those bit by snakes or scorpions, and for sores in the side" They were also directed to be used for jaundice which was held to be an effect of the evil eye See *Mishkātu-l-Masabih*, XXI. Part II.

MS. (B) reads دار میں صحتی میں

⁶ اسلامی علاج Istidrāj In the *Kashshaf* this is defined as follows "A praeternatural occurrence brought about by the agency of an unbeliever or an impious man, and in conformity with his desires" Another definition is also given from the *Shama'ilu-l-Muhammadiyah*. "Istidrāj is a praeternatural occur-

tenets of *Sunnat*¹ and *Jamā'at*,² which he held as one of the *Mahdawīyah*,³ and became a fanatical heretic.⁴ What cruel and vexatious treatment as accursed and excommunicate did not these two ill-starred ones⁵ inflict upon the 'Ulamā and Shaikhs of that land ! So that at last their disgraceful conduct led to the expulsion of the true Muslims, and heresy⁶ from that day again became firmly rooted in that country.

Shāh Tāhir was in natural descriptive poetry comparable to Nizām Astarābādī in astronomical poetry. The following is from one of his *qaṣīdahs* written in eulogy of Humāyūn Pādshāh. In it he has imitated Anwārī.

Verse.

When the golden litter of the sun enters the resting-place of
Hamal,⁷

The tulip lights its lamp, and the narcissus its torch ;

rence brought about by the agency of infidels or evil-doers." It is generally understood that a miracle brought about by one who claims to be a prophet, if it be in accordance with his desires is called *mu'jiẓa*, while if it be contrary to his intention it is called *Iḥānat*. Again that which is brought about by any other than a prophet, if he be faithful, pious, and perfect in the knowledge of God, is called *karāmat*; that performed by the ordinary believer is called *ma'īnat*, but that which is performed by infidels is to be called *istīdrāj*.

Kashshāf I. 463.

1 The word سُنَّة Sunnat means literally 'a path' and the Sunnis are known as أَهْلُ سُنَّة Ahl-i-Sunnat "the people of the path." The Sunnis have claimed for themselves this title in virtue of their acknowledging the first four Khalifahs to have been the rightful successors of Muḥammad, and receiving the "six books" of tradition.

2 جماعة *jamā'at*, Assembly. It is here used in its technical sense of سنة موکدہ *sunnatun mu'akkadatun* an authenticated traditional practice. The Sunnis are commonly called *Ahl-i-sunnah wa jamā'ah*.

3 For an account of the Mahdawī sect, see *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (B.) I., pp. iii. iv.

4 مترفِضٌ عالیٌ *mutaraffiz-i-ghālī*. The meaning appears to be "became more of a Shī'ah than the Shī'ahs themselves." The form of the word *mutaraffiz* requires some such translation.

5 مشئوم *mash'uūm* MSS. (A) (B) read رُؤوم شئوم.

6 رُفْضٌ *Rafz* lit. forsaking. The Sunnī Muslims call all Shī'ahs *Rāfi'i* or heretics.

7 أَهْلٌ حَمَلٌ *Hamal*, Aries. The sun enters Aries in Spring.

Now the mountain is freed from the headache caused by
Bahman and Dai,¹

And the spring cloud washes from its forehead the sandal ²

The following *Qasidah* in praise of the Prophet ³ is also his, although the *guriz gah*,⁴ nay even the commencement of the *Qasidah* in its entirety, is not suitable to the dignity of the holy Commander (of the Faithful) *on him be peace*⁵ 484

Qasidah

Once more the time has come when in accordance with the summons of the sky

The rose spreads its crimson blanket on the couch of the garden,

The clouds of Naisan, with the keen blood hued dagger of the lightning

Erases the word "ice"⁶ from the pages of the earth's surface

The close eyed darlings the buds, like an army of Ozbaks,⁷

Make a night attack at early dawn upon the army of Dai,

Behold the forms of bud and of rose with the sky for a branch!

The conical shadow of the earth is the bud, the sun in heaven is the rose

¹ بَهْمَن وَدَي Bahman o Dai. Dai is the tenth and Bahman the eleventh month of the Persian year they answer to December and January See Al Biruni Chronology p 52

² صَدْر Sandal *Santalum album* N O *Santalaceae*

The wood ground into powder is much used in Ind a made into a paste with water as an application to the forehead in headaches The *Makhrann l Adwya* recommends the addition of a little camphor and rose water See Ibu Baitar II, 138 See ante p 434 n 1, also Drury, *Useful Plants of India* p 383

³ مَنْجَاب Manqabat This word is used to connote eulogy of either the Prophet or holy men (Wals)

⁴ كُرْسِيٌّ Guriz gah Point of departure This name is given to that portion of a *qaṣidah* in which the poet leaves his original theme to descant upon the qualities of the person eulogised

⁵ MS (A) omits حضرت also تَعَالَى سَلَّمَ and تعالى

⁶ Text حَرْف بَرْف harf + barf MS (B) reads harf + harf

⁷ The Turks are called *tang e aşm* close eyed and the red petals tightly folded in the bud are likened to the *taj* or red caps of the *Qizilbash*

And for this reason that the assembly of the rose may not be without a minstrel,

The nightingale has become the Inter-player, the rose-branch with its buds are the Inter;

The garment of the rock would have become wet from the moisture distilled from the clouds

Had not the mountain covered its back with the woolen cloak¹ of verdure,

Had not the lightning smitten its gold upon the head of the elephant-like cloud

It would have laid in rains the stately edifice of the sky,

The garden became the table of 'Isā, and the dew lying on it² Looked like salt sprinkled here and there upon that table,

In order that the people may not receive base gold from the hand of the jasmine,

The tulip cambist carries hidden under his arm the touch-stone.

Every perfect thing which is not secure from the defects of decay,

Seems in the sight of the wise and noble but a small thing.

The beloved of the garden is of perfect beauty but it had been well

If this beauty and comeliness had not been separated from it.

Alas! for that moment when at the instigation of desire the army of Dai

Became emboldened³ to lay waste the garden of roses.

The time is near at hand when the staff-bearer of the days of Autumn

Will knock with his staff at the gate of the rose-garden.

The crow will then hold in derision the impassioned⁴ nightingale,

And the withered petals will lie blackened beneath the hundred petalled rose (the sun).

¹ Text reads کپنک. MSS. (A) (B) read کپانک *kapanak*, a felt garment which poor persons wear on their backs in winter. *Ghāṣṣu-l-lughāt*.

² Read شبنم و بروی MSS. (A) (B).

³ Text reads شیرک but we should read شترک. MS. (A).

⁴ MS. (A) reads سوره for شوریده.

The wind has cast the diadem from the head of the garden-glory,¹

While the Siparak² sets itself up in antagonism to the cheek of the rose

With a view to the construction of that courtyard of which Dai³ has laid the foundation in the garden,

Everywhere there lie scattered about bricks of ice and mortar of snow,

[For aged people who have experienced the tyranny of Autumn

The optician Dai makes spectacles of the crystal ice

[Soon will it happen that from fear of the staff of the watchman of Dai

The people of the sweet herbs will take to flight one after another]⁴

It is better for the wise man that he determine to make the tour of such a garden

Where the autumn cannot be persuaded to go even by force

That garden is the rose garden of the praise of a king of so high dignity

That the very angels descend from heaven to frequent his Court

Murtaza⁵ the king, both of form and reality, inasmuch as he is the source of the union of shadow and substance

That one who, from the impetuosity of his royal falcon's talons,

¹ بستان اعروز *bustan afroz* A red flower without odour, called also Tāj-i-Khurus (Cockscomb) and Gul-i-Yusuf (Burhan-i-Qati) *Amaranthus cndatus* Love lies bleeding or Celosia cristata (Cockscomb) N O *Amaranthaceæ*

² سپرک *Sipral* a herb, which when boiled dyes yellow (Steingass) This line may also be translated, Measles has become opponent to the cheek of the rose

³ MS (A) reads گل for دی

⁴ This couplet is in MS (A), as follows —

زود ناشد که از نعم کنک شسته دی
گزیرید رعایتی ریاحین نک نک

The text reads پیش از ادم instead of زود ناشد

⁵ مرتضی *Murtaza* The Chosen A title of 'Ali

Breaks the wing of the heavenly Eagle¹ as though it were a duck.

Such a king is he that, in the train of the attendants at his door,

Birjis² bears the name Sa'd, and 'Uṭārid³ that of Zirak.
The table-steward of the sky, for the use of his lordly table,
Has brought the Pleiades⁴ in his hand as salt-cellar and salt.
The moon has become the censer of his⁵ assembly, and the rays of the moon,⁶

Are the smoke of the aloes-wood which issues from that censer,

From behind the mirror of the heavens, in accordance with the rules of approval,

Whatever he said, Fate repeated the same like a parrot.⁷

[Who else is there whom they can bring into his train,
We recognise his other competitors, each one of them.

He bears no relation to tyranny-loving strangers,

The connoisseur perceives the difference between turquoise⁸
and glass beads;

١. نسرین فلک Nasrain-i-falak. The constellations Eagle and Lyre.

٢. برجیس Birjis. The planet Jupiter, which is one of the اَنْدَان Sa'dān, or two auspicious planets, the other being Venus.

٣. عطارد 'Uṭārid. The planet Mercury, which is held to rule over intelligence, hence it has the name ذِرَّاک Zirak, intelligent.

The names Sa'd and Zirak are commonly given to servants.

٤. سوریا Suraiyyā. The Pleiades; as being the most beneficial of the planets from its influence on the autumnal rains, is called by the Arabs

النَّجْم An-najm. The constellation, cf. Job. xxxviii. 31. The poet apparently draws his simile from the form of the constellation itself, and also from the nebula, which he compares to the salt grains. If this latter is really the case it would be interesting, as the nebula of the Pleiades is claimed to have been comparatively recently discovered, first by photography.

٥. MS. (A) reads تو وی for قمر jirm-i-qamar.

٦. The expression جرم قمر jirm-i-qamar is not very clear, and properly would hardly bear the meaning given to it in the translation. The word جرم jirm is said to be used in the sense of the separate members of the body (see Lane s. v.) and on this analogy the word is here translated rays.

٧. The text has here a footnote saying that in two MSS. there follows here In maṭla'i nīz maṣḥīr ast. So MS. (B).

٨. To look each morning upon the turquoise is said to enhance the brilliancy of the eyes. It is also said that the wearer of a Turquoise so set that it

Virtual justice and the decree of courts are mistakes,
For this reason that this question was decided in the case of
Faddak.¹

The widow of time, since she was not meet for marriage,
He divorced her openly and irrevocably, then he left her]²

The following opening couplet of his³ is also well known —

487.

Verse

In this grief populated world joy has departed from my
sorrowful heart,⁴

We are quite accustomed to grief to such an extent has joy
been forgotten

Verse

We have been defamed because of the crime of love, as the
devotee is blamed for his hypocrisy,

Both of us are defamed, but what a vast difference there is
between us?

The following is also his —

Verse

Come not out, for you will be the calamity⁵ of the age,
We shall be slain and you will be disgraced.

The following *qasidah* also⁶ is a very happy production of his —

Every man who sets his heart upon worldly desires
In the judgment of men of wisdom is not wise,

touches the skin may fall from any height without injury as the stone attracts
to itself the whole force of the blow *Mans Mird I p 88* It is also sup-
posed to change colour with the state of the wearer's health The Turquoise
is commonly worn set in an amulet

1 Faddak was a village which belonged to the prophet Muhammad After
his death, when his daughter Fatimah had assumed possession, the Khalifah
took it from her by force, saying, 'I have heard the prophet say 'we
prophets will not leave legacies to our heirs but what is left at our death will
be given in clarity'''

2 The verses in brackets are omitted from MS (A)

3 MS (A) omits او

4 Text reads در عزم آباد حیاں عیش لازم ناشاد رفت MSS (A) (B) read
در عزم او لدت عشق اور دل ناشاد رفت In grief for her the joy of love has left
my sorrowful heart

5 MSS (A) (B) read دیوار شکر قصده دیوار after قصده MS (A)

Thy form is straight like the letter Alif [may his shadow be lengthened],

And thine eyebrows are extended like the *madda* over the Alif.¹

Thou hast cast the die of acceptance on the words of others,
But through the words of lovers thou has drawn the line of refusal;

Thou endurest troubles, do not attempt to draw her, O painter of Chin,

Wert thou to draw a hundred, never would there come eyes and locks like her's.

Firāqī, be not over-desirous of the wealth of union with her,
Thou hast suffered boundless tyranny and spite at the hands of thy beloved.²

The king, who has now taken refuge in God's pardon, in spite of that unseemly behaviour was excessively fond of the *Khwājah*.

Accordingly, so³ desirous was he of his society that he joined him in the marriage-bond to one of the Begamis, in the hope⁴ that he would adopt the manner of life of people of probity and rectitude, but the *Khwājah* was held so close a prisoner⁵ by his evil habits, that he could not abide companionship with the king.

Verse.

When once evil habits have taken possession of the nature
They will never leave it till the day of death.

490. He put forward various flimsy pretexts to that end, and not even contenting himself with this, one day while in the king's assembly he was guilty of a breach of decorum which one blushes to mention. The king, out of the exceeding kindness and goodness of his nature, overlooked his fault, and merely remarked, "My dear *Khwāja* what sort of manners are these!" The *Khwāja* sought permission to proceed to Makka the revered, the blessed,⁶ and after duly setting in order the requisites for his journey and the

¹ An Alif *।* with a curved line written across it horizontally *۔* is called *Alif māndāda*. This cross line was originally the word *مدد*, *mudd* which means lengthening or prolonging.

² MS. (B). transposes the two last lines. ³ MS. (A). از بس omits *مدد*.

⁴ MS. (A) reads *کے شاید* گ. ⁵ MS. (A) reads گرفتاری.

⁶ MS. (A) omits مبارکہ *معظمہ* MS. (B) omits *معظمہ*.

requirements for a sea-voyage,¹ he bade him farewell. When he embarked he enquired of his companions, what² are the advantages of going thither? They replied, "Purification from past sins." He rejoined, "I will wait then till I have fulfilled the catalogue of sins, and then be purified, so that I may have no further desire to sin."³ Thus he remained destitute of that grace, and abandoning himself to his desires, gave the rein to his passions. Sultān Bahādūr of Gujrāt in consideration of pleasant companionship and good-fellowship, appointed⁴ him a daily allowance of one *ashrafi*⁵ for his expenditure. One day when he was passing through the bāzār of Ahmadābād, seeing the Khwāja in the Tīrpauliya mosque,⁶ he reined back and with great kindness and *empressement* asked "How is the Khwāja faring?" He replied "On the fare which you have allotted me, one of my limbs even cannot obtain sufficient sustenance, why do you ask such a question?" Sultān Bahādūr notwithstanding this rudeness doubled his allowance.⁷

Just at that time too Shāh Tāhir Dakkāni came to Gujrāt with all pomp and circumstance on the occasion of his embassage from Nizam Shāh Dakkāni, and having heard such high praise of the Khwāja, arrived at his house, which had neither a mat nor a pitcher of water. A very pleasant colloquy followed, each reciting his own and hearing the other's verses, and on the next

١ مسافر و حجاز MS. (A) The text reads سفر و حجاز and adds a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS and also suggests that we should perhaps read سفر حجاز MS (A) is however evidently correct here

٢ مسافر است جنر MS (A) reads

٣ Read here اسلامی نماد G. MS (A), instead of the reading in the text از رو تقوی نماد G

٤ MS (A) reads فرمود

٥ The *Ashrafi* is a gold coin weighing ten *mashas*, which first obtained currency in the reign of Ashraf Padshah (*Ghiāzu'l-lughat*)

٦ MS (A) reads طواری for دروازه تیربولیya is a Sanskrit word meaning *having three doors*. It does not appear which mosque is meant, but Hunter in the *Gazetteer of India* Vol I, pp 97 98, speaking of the architecture of Ahmadābād, points out the compromise of form between Hindu or Jain and Muhammadan types. He says 'Even the mosques are Hindu or Jain in their details with a Sarcoconic arch thrown in occasionally, not from any constructive want, but as a symbol of Islam.'

٧ MS (A) omits ب

Verse

The wicked sees all the vices of others,
From the pitcher that distils which it contains¹

God He is glorified and exalted, preserves all of us from that which is wrong and improper, and as at this time² the writer has not with him a selection from the anthologies of the eloquent and learned poets, accordingly he has found it necessary to restrict himself³ to the brief mention of these few poets by way of an example.

Should this inconstant and transitory life give a few days respite, and should the days, in opposition to their usual habit afford assistance, and should Fate give its help, he will make mention of the poets of former times, and the contemporary poets of Hindūstān, especially of those whom he has seen or heard and appreciated in his own lifetime, together with extracts from their poems included in their biographies

Mine is the endeavour, its perfection is from God⁴ Should this not come to pass, this much will suffice as a memorial of the author

Qīfā'ī

If I remain in life, I will repair
The garment which exile has rent,
If I should die,⁵ accept this my excuse,
Many are the hopes which crumble into dust

¹ This proverb in one form or another is well known. The Arabic proverb runs كُلُّ إِناءٍ يَنْصَعُ بِمَا يَحْمِلُ Every vessel exudes what it contains.

² اختصار واقتصر (A) (B) ³ MS. (A) دریں هنگام (B) میں (A) (B)

⁴ تَعَالَى وَتَنَاهُ من الله (A) (B) which omit

⁵ بِهُرَدِيم (A) (B)

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- Faqīhat**, Qāzi, or Qāfi Ignominy, 474 and n 6 See under **Qāzi Faqīhat**.
- Faqīhat**, Qāzi, the Qāzi of the army of Shir Shāh, popularly known as Qāzi Faqīhat (q. v.), 474 and n 4
- Fazlu'llāh Balkhi**, Malik, styled Qutloogh Khān, one of the Amirs of the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty, 351 and n 2.
- Fazlu'llāh Khan's Turkish Persian Dictionary**, 482 n 2, 483 n 2, 497 n 1, 676 n 1, 680 n 5, 692 n 5, 696 n 6
- Fāz**, the first arrow in the game of *māris*, 369 n 1
- Fārishtā** See under **Fārishtā**.
- Fidais**, the—disciples of the chief of the Mulaqidah heretics, 73 and n 2, 122 and n 3.
- Filband**, a stratagem in the game of chess, 114 n 2

- Figār*, vertebræ of the back, 74 n 2.
- Fiqh, the two chief divisions of, 5 n 4.
- Firangīs, the, 458 and n 6. See also under the Franks.
- Firāqī, *takhallus* or poetical name of Khwājā Aiyūb ibn Khwājā Abū-l-Barakāt (*q. v.*), 633, 634.
- Firāqnāmah*, one of the poetical works of Salmān Sāwajī, 571 n 9.
- Firdausī, the celebrated author of the *Shāh-nāmah*, 17 and nn 1 and 3, 32 and n 1, 88 n 2, 461 n 6.
- Firdūsī, Ḥakīm, 17 n 3. See under Firdausī.
- Firishta, 10 n, 13 n 1, 16 nn 1 and 2, 19 n and nn 1, 2 and 6, 20 nn 1, 2, 4 and 5, 21 n 3, 22 n 7, 23 nn 2 and 4, 24 nn 1, 2 and 5, 25 nn 2 and 4, 26 n and n 1, 27 nn 3 and 4, 28 nn 2 and 4, 29 nn 1 and 5, 33 n and n 2, 31 n and n 1, 33 nn 2 and 3, 34 nn 1 and 7, 36 nn 1 and 9, 37 nn 5 and 6, 43 nn 2, 5 and 7, 44 nn 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8, 47 nn 3 and 7, 48 nn 1, 2, 3 and 4, 49 n 1, 50 nn 1, 2 and 3, 51 nn 1 and 3, 52 nn 1, 2 and 4, 55 n 2, 56 n 1, 63 n 1, 66 nn 2, 4, 5 and 6, 67 n, 69 n 1, 72 n 2, 77 nn 1, 2 and 3, 95 n 8, 122 nn 2 and 3, 123 n 2, 133 n and n 2, 184 n 4, 185 nn 2 and 3, 186 n 3, 188 nn 1 and 5, 190 n 2, 205 n 2, 228 n 3, 230 n 1, 247 n and n 4, 248 n 2, 249 nn 5 and 7, 250 nn 1 and 10, 251 n 7, 257 n 7, 258 nn 4, 5 and 7, 259 n 5, 260 n 7, 261 n 5, 264 n 4, 265 nn 3, 4 and 6, 266 n 1, 273 n 4, 274 n 1, 298 n 8, 300 n 3, 302 n 1, 304 n 1, 306 nn 1, 2 and 3, 307 n and n 2, 308 n 2, 325 n 3, 326 n 2, 327 nn 1 and 3, 329 nn 5 and 9, 330 nn 6 and 7, 331 nn 8 and 9, 332 n, 333 n 11, 334 nn 3, 4, 5 and 7, 335 nn 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10, 336 n 7, 337 nn 2 and 3, 338 n 1, 339 n 2, 342 nn 1, 2 and 4, 343 n 3, 344 nn 1, 2 and 7, 345 n 2, 346 n 5, 347 n 2, 348 nn 1, 3, 6, 7, 9 and 10, 349 nn 3, 4, 10, 11 and 12, 350 nn 3 and 4, 351 nn 2, 6 and 7, 352 nn 6, 7 and 10, 353 nn 2, 3, 5, 8 and 9, 354 nn 1, 5 and 8, 355 nn 1, 3 and 4, 356 n 5, 357 n 2, 359 nn 2 and 3, 360 nn 3 and 5, 361 n 2, 363 n 2, 364 n 6, 365 nn 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7, 366 nn 4 and 5, 375 n 2, 379 nn 1 and 2, 380 nn 2, 3, 4 and 5, 381 nn 3 and 5, 382 nn 1, 2, 5 and 6, 383 nn 3, 6, 10 and 11, 384 nn 2 and 5, 385 nn 1 and 3, 386 nn 1, 3, 5 and 7, 387 nn 1, 2, 3 and 4, 388 nn 1, 2 and 3, 389 nn 3, 4 and 8, 390 n 4, 391 n 2, 392 n 5, 393 nn 1, 3, 5, 6 and 7, 395 n 3, 396 nn 1 and 2, 398 n, 399 nn 1, 3, 4 and 6, 400 n, 401 nn 2 and 4, 402 nn 1, 4 and 5, 403 nn 4, 5 and 8, 404 nn 2 and 5, 405 nn 1 and 4, 406 nn 1, 3, 5, 6, 9 and 13, 407 nn 1 and 4, 408 nn 2, 4, 6 and 7, 409 nn 2, 5, 7 and 8, 410 nn 1, 3, 4 and 6, 411 nn 2 and 3, 412 n 2, 413 nn 8, 13 and 15, 414 nn 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 11, 415 nn 2, 3, 7 and 9, 416 nn 3, 9 and 12, 417 nn 4, 5 and 9, 418 nn 9 and 11, 419 nn 4, 6 and 11, 420 nn 4 and 6, 421 nn 3 and 4, 422 nn 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6, 423 nn 2, 5, 6 and 11, 42

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Firozabad, a town on the banks of the Jamna, at ten miles from Dihli, built by Sultan Firoz Shah of the Tughlaq dynasty, 325 and *n* 3, 342, 343, 344, 345, 350, 351, 354, 356, 359, 366 Written also Firuz abād

Firozabad, a fortress at the village of Gawīn on the banks of the Jamnā, built by Firoz Shah, 327 and *n* 5

Firozabād, later name of the town of Panduah, 325 *n* 3

Firoz 'Ali, Mahik, son of Mahik Tāju d-Din, one of the Amirs of Firoz Shah, called also Khan i Jahan the Wazir, 342 and *n* 2

Firoz Khān, one of the Afghan Amirs under Babar, 444

Firoz Khan, son of Islem Shah Sur, succeeds his father under the title of Firoz Shah, 535, 537

Firoz Khan ibn Yaghraš the Khilji, styled Shayista Khān (*q. v.*) eventually becomes Sultan Jalalu d-Din Khilji (*q. v.*), 226, 230.

Firoz Koh, capital of Ghur See under Firuz Koh

Firoz, Mahik, son of Malik Rajab same person as Firoz Shah of the Taghlaq Shāhi dynasty (*q. v.*), 302, 315, 322

Firoz Nāib Barbak, Mahik, one of the Amirs of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shah 312

Firoz, Rai, a contemporary of Sultan Mubārak Shāh, of the Saīyid dynasty, 382, 390 [535, 537]

Firoz Shah, son of Islem Shah Sur, Firoz Shāh, Sultan, ibn Malik Rajab, of the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty of Dihli, 301, 302, 321, 322 and *n* 9, 323 and *n* 3, 324 *n* 6, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*, 327, 328 *n* 6, 329 *n* 2, 331, 332, 338, 339 and *n* 1, 341 *n* 1, 344 and *n* 7, 347 *n* 3, 366, 376, 411, 412 *n* 2 Written also Firuz Shah

Firoz Shāh, canal of, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n* Firozshāh: See under the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*

Firuza, fortress of, 364 *n* 6, 375, 378. See under Hissar Firuzah

Firuzabad, on the Jamna See under Firozābad

Firuzi Amira, the,—partisans of the House of Sultan Firoz Shah (*q. v.*), 337, 345, 350, 351, 352

Firuz Koh, capital of the country of Ghur, 60 *n* 2, 63 and *n* 1, 68, 78

Firuzpur, fortress of, built by Sultan Firoz Shah in Sibrind 331, 334, 378 489 Written also Firozpur.

Firuzpur, town of, 336 Called also Ākhirānpur as the *Last city* built by Firoz Shah.

Firuz Shāh, Sultan See under Firoz Shāh

Fisq, immorality, does not exclude *Īmān* (faith), 577 n.

Follis, a Roman coin, origin of the word *fals*, 18 n 1.

Forty Slaves of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 184.

Franks, the, 543. See also under the *Firangīs*.

Freytag, *Arabic Dictionary*, 509 n 5.

Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, 157 n 1, 458 n 3, 507 n 3, 580 n 1.

Freytag, *Hamārah*, 287 n 1.

Freytag, *Meid. Prov.*, 157 n 1. See also under *Arabum Proverbia*.

Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, servant of

Saiyyid Sālim of Tabarhindah (q. v.), 388 and n 2, 389, 390, 391, 393.

Fu-mā, in Chinese, equivalent to the Mongol *Gurgān*, which means "Son-in-law," when applied to princes, 353 n 1.

Furruckābād, N.-W. Provinces, 218 n 3. Properly Farrukhābād.

Furū', one of the two chief divisions of 'Ilm-i-Fiqh, 5 n 4.

Futūḥu-l-Buldān of al-Bilāzurī, 11 n 3.

Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn, an historical work, 314 and n 9.

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Gabriel, the Angel, 58 and n 2, 93, 106 n 5, 111 n, 151 n 6, 374 n 5, 614.

Gajpatis, or "the Lords of Elephants," title of the Lion Dynasty of Jājnagar, 125 n 3.

Gakkhars, the,—a tribe of the Hindūs, probably the same tribe as the Khūkhars, 67 and n 3.

Gandaba, fortress of, 28 n 4, 29 n. Called also Kandama.

Gandak river, the,—in the Gorakh-pūr District, 409 n 5.

Ganes, Rāī,—or Ganesh, Rāī, the Rājā of Patiālī, contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, 413 and n 8, 419.

Ganges, the, 70 n 1, 71 n 2, 81, 82 n 1, 84 and n, 125 n 1, 130, 132 n 3, 185, 218 and n 3, 221 n 3, 231, 241,

312, 343, 356, 358 n 3, 360 and n 3, 363, 364, 377, 379, 380, 384 and n 2, 396, 402, 404, 406 and n 10, 408 and n 5, 415 n 7, 416 and n 3, 459, 463, 464, 472, 541, 546.

Ganj-Bakhsh, surname of Shaikh Alīmad Khaṭṭu, contemporary of Sultān Alīmad Gujrātī, 357 n 3.

Ganj-i-Shakkar, Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd, a famous Muḥammadan Saint of Hindūstān, 132 and n 6, 133 n, 135 n, 233, 362 n 2, 416 n 13.

Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et Prosodie des langues de l'Orient Musulman*, 428 n 2, 605 nn 8 and 9, 606 n 2, 607 n 4, 608 n 3.

Gardaiz, a district lying between Ghazna and Hindūstān, 66 n 1. Called also Kardīz.

- G**arha Katanga, name of a country north of the Dakhan, 433 n 3
- G**arhi, a narrow pass separating the countries of Bihar and Bangala, 457 and n 5
- G**armur, a province of Khurasan, 48, 65 and n 1, 81, 86 573
- G**arsasp, Shah of the first dynasty of Persian Kings, 84 and n 2 85
- G**aster's translation of the "Sword of Moses," 141 n 4
- G**ate of Paradise, a narrow opening in a wall near the shrine of Saint Farid ud Din Ganj i Shakar at Pakpattan, 361 n 2
- G**otilā, Sanskrit name of the Indian Spikenard or *nard*, 374 n
- G**āwaras the,—a tribe of the Jats, 122 n 1
- G**aur, old capital of Bengal 82 nn 3 and 4 83 and n 2 458. Name changed to Jannatabad by Humayun
- G**auria See under Muhammad Khan Gauria and also Khizir Khan Gauria
- G**aus Ahmad, of Guzorate, 357 n 4 Same as Sultan Ahmad Shah, the ruler of Gujarat
- G**awars, the —a race of gypsies in India, 312 and n 7
- G**āwin, village of,—on the banks of the Jumna, 327 n 5
- G**aydmārth, the Adam of the Persians, 280 n 3 [of, 330 n 8]
- G**az, a measure of length, three kinds
- G**az, tenth son of Japhet, son of Noah, 61 n 5
- G**azetteer of the Countries on the North West of India, Thornton s, 567 nn 1 and 9
- G**olereddin, 91 n 2, for Jalālu d Dīn Mangburni (q. v.)
- G**emini, the, 39
- G**enesis, Book of, 144 n 2, 154 n 2, 182 n 1, 302 n 2, 394 n 5
- G**eo, one of the heroes of the Shah-nāmeh 116 n 5
- G**eography of Ancient India, Cunningham s. See under *Ancient Geography of India*.
- G**ersiwāz, one of the attendants of Afrasiyab, in the Shah-nāmeh of Firdausi, 180 n 2
- G**esenius Thesaurus of the Hebrew Language 104 n 2, 394 n 5.
- G**haggar river, the, 326 n See also the next
- G**haghār river, called also the Gogra and Ghāgra (q. v.), 222 n 3, 327, 438 See also the Ghaggar
- G**hāgra river, the, 135 n, 223 n See under the Ghaghār
- G**hakkars, the,—a Hindu tribe, 491, 498, 499, 600
- G**hālib Khan, Governor of Sāmāna under the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty, 338, 352, 360 [465 n 6]
- G**halla : jauari, the smaller millet, Ghānim ibn 'Ulwan one of the three chief lords of Shaddad ibn 'Ād, 262 n
- G**hāri Ju, village of, 503 n 5. Called also Ghāri Khu (q. v.)
- G**hāri Khu, village of on the bank of the river Behat, 503 and n 5
- G**harjistān a country between Herāt, Ghor and Ghaznī 13 n 1 22 n 2, 63 n 1 Called also Gharjistān
- G**harshistān, 22 n 2 See under Gharjistān

- Ghāt-i-Sākūn, name of a place, 283 n 5. Called also Budra-i-Sakūn.
- Ghaur, a province lying between Herāt and Gharjistān, 43 and n 4. See also under Ghur and Ghor.
- Ghauṣi-l-Ālam Ḥazrat Shāikh Bahā'u-d-Dīn Zakariyā, the Muł-tāmī, 133 and n 2. See under Bahā'u-d-Dīn Zakariyā. [6 n 4.]
- Al-Ghāyatū fi-l-Fiqh of Qāzī Baiżāwī, Għazal, ode, 612 and n 2.
- Għażi Khān, son of Daulat Khān Lodi, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi, 435 n 9, 436, 437, 438 and n 5.
- Għażi Khān Sūr, one of the Amīrs of the Sūr dynasty of Afghāns, 549, 550, 553, 558, 597, 598.
- Għażi Mahallī, one of the confidential servants of Islem Shāh Sūr, 487, 488.
- Għażi Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān ‘Alān-d-Dīn Khilji, succeeds to the throne of Dihlī under the style of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 291, 292, 293, 294 and n 4, 295, 296 and n 3. See Għiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh and also Tughlaq Khān.
- Għażi, one who fights in the cause of Islām, 356 n 4.
- Għażijs, the, 18. See under Għażi.
- Għażiū-l-Mulk, Malik Chaman of Badāon, one of the Amīrs of Muḥammad Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 396 and n 1, 398.
- Għażna. See under Għażnīn.
- Għażnavide dynasty, the. See under the Għażnivide dynasty.
- Għażnī, House of, 13 n 1. See under the Għażnivide dynasty.
- Għażni, town of, 13 n 1. See under Għażnīn.
- Għażnīn, 14 nn 1, 2 and 3, 15 and n and nn 1 and 2, 16 and nn 1, 2 and 3, 17, 19, 21, 22 and n 2, 23, 25 and n 4, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34 and nn 4 and 5, 35 and n 1, 36, 37, 43, 44, 45 and n 2, 46 and n 1, 47, 48, 49, 50 and n 1, 51, 52, 53 n, 56, 60 and n 2, 61, 62 and n 3, 63, 64, 65, 66 and n 1, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72 and n 2, 74 n 1, 77 n 1, 78 and n 3, 79, 80, 81, 83 n 1, 89, 90, 167 n 3, 187, 256, 280, 312, 328, 464 and n 5, 567, 570, 580, 587. See Għażnī and Għażna.
- Għażnivide dynasty, the,—founded by Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Sabuktigīn, 13 n 1, 14, 62 and n 4, 63, 64 and n 1.
- Għeins-oed-Deen, grandson of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 338 n 1. See under Għiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh II.
- Għibja, unusual use of the word by Badāoni, 508 n 3, 543 n 4.
- Għilz'ni Afghāns, the, 542, 544, 546.
- Għiās Vazir, Khwāja,—Salmān Sāwaji's Qaṣīdah in his honour, 605.
- Għiyāṣi Amīrs, the,—of Sultān Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 223, 224, 231, 232, 233. [Mugħlupūr, 236.]
- Għiyāṣpūr, commonly known as Għiyāṣu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Fath Muham-mad ibn Sām Għorī, Sultān of Għor and Għażnīn, 62, 63 and n 1, 64 and nn 2 and 3, 65, 68, 71, 73 and n 1, 77 and n 1.

- Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Ballūn, Sultān, of the Slave dynasty of Dihlī, 97, 121 and n. 7, 124 and n. 4, 126, 127, 128, 163, 184 and n. 1 and 14, 184, 187, 189 n. 1, 210, 220 n. 2, 221 and n. 1, 222, 223, 224, 227, 228, 231, 232, 233. Before his accession he was called Ulegh Khan (q. v.)
- Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Izzān Chīshī, father of the famous saint Khwājā Muhammād-Dīn Chīshī, 70 n. 2.
- Ghiyāṣud-Dīn 'Iwās, the Khalīf, Sultān of Lakhnātī and the last of the Hulākāi Sultāns (q. v.), 86, 87 and n. 4. See also the next and under Husrūd-Dīn 'Iwās.
- Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Ḫījūjī, Sultān, 91. Same as the above.
- Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Muḥammad. See Qārī, Sultān of Ghurānd Ghāzīn, 77 and n. 1.
- Ghiyāṣud-Dīn, son of Sultān Maḥyūd Khalījī of Mālwā, 307.
- Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Maḥmūd Shīkh, son of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shīkh, 321.
- Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Muḥammad, Ghori, Sultān. See under Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Abu'l-Fath.
- Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Muḥammad, the Maḥdūmād-i-Baghdādī, a prince of the House of 'Abbās, the Khalīfs of Baghdad, 311 and n. 4.
- Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Muḥammad Shīkh, the ruler of Oudh, son of Sultān Shāmūd-Dīn Iyal-timīsh, 98.
- Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Tughlaq Shīkh, Sultān, first of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, 206, 209, 299, 300, 301, 303, 321. Before his accession he was called Qāti Malik (q. v.)
- Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Tughlaq Shīkh II., son of Fath Khan ibn Sultān Firdūs Shīkh, 324 n. 1, 341.
- Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Tughlaq, a lexicographical work, 60 n. 3, 108 n. 4, 142 n. 1, 145 n. 1, 152 n. 2, 163 n. 1, 321 n. 2, 617 n. 1, 621 n. 3, 624 n. 1, 633 n. 2.
- Ghor, country of, 13 n. 1, 22 n. 2, 61, 62 n. 4, 63, 64 and n. 2, 65 n. 2, 66, 71, 77 n. 1, 81 and n. 2. The name is also written Ghar and Gor.
- Ghor, Kriegs-, 61, 62 n. 4, 63. See also under the Ghor dynasty.
- Ghorī, fortress of,—in Ghaznī, 21 and n. 3.
- Ghorī dynasty of Dihlī, 64, 68, 228. See under Kings of Ghor.
- Ghol, centre of a Turkish army, 439 n. 4. Also called Qol.
- Ghōr. See under Ghor.
- Ghurjistān, same as Gharjistān (q. v.), 22 and n. 2, 63 n. 1, 68.
- Ghurratū-l-Kawāl of Mir Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 134, 197 and n. 1, 216.
- Ghuzz, tribe of,—a tribe of Turks 61 and n. 6, 65, 107 n. 3, 291.
- Gillān, a province of Persia, 93 n. 4.
- Gilāzī, note on, 303 n.
- Gili, town, 250 and n. 4. Called also Kili.
- Gir, Malik, son of Malik Qabūl Khalīfati, one of the Amirs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shīkh, 316.
- Girāl, one of the poets of the time of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khalījī, 266.

- Girat Singh, Rāī, Governor of Gwāliār, contemporary of Sultān Bahlūl Lodi, 408.
- Girgīn-i-Milād, one of the chief warriors of Rāī Khusrav in the Shāhnāmeh of Firdausī, 116 and nn 4 and 5, 180 n 2.
- Gisi, a place, 548 n 3.
- Gladwin's *Dissertations*, 608 n 3.
- Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words*, Yule and Burnett's, 495 n, 543 n 3.
- Glossary on Muqaddasī*, De Goeje's, 217 n 2.
- Gobind Chand, Rūjā,—one of the Rājās of Hindūstān at the time of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, 25.
- Godī river, the, 222 n 3. Called also the Guntī and the Kowah (q. v.).
- Goeje, de, *Glossary on Muqaddasī*, 217 n 2.
- Gog and Magog, Wall of, 191 n 2. Commonly known as the rampart of Sikandar.
- Gogra, the, 222 n 3. Called also the Ghēghar and Ghāgra.
- Gohana, a district of the N.-W. Provinces, 122 n 1.
- Gokultāsh, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.
- Golius, Dictionary of the Arabic Language, 509 n 5.
- Gonds, the,—a tribe of Hindūs, 433 and n 4.
- Gonor, a place at 24 miles from Dihlī, 21 n 4.
- Gorakhpur District, 409 n 5.
- Gorgang, the capital of Khwārazm, called Jurjān by the Arabs, 23 n 1. See under Gurgān.
- Gour, country of, 456 Read Gaur, a name of Bengal from its capital.
- Goyā, or Kanhaiyā, minister and agent of Rāī Māldeo, contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 478 and n 7. See also under Kanhaiyā.
- Grand Trunk Road, the, 356 n 3.
- Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, 265 n 4.
- Great Larās, town, 326 n, 327 n 1. Called Rās by Badāoni.
- Grecian Emperor, the, 18 n 1.
- Greece, 119 n 5.
- Greeks, the, 18 n 1, 41 n 2, 75 n 2, 76 n 1, 104 n 2, 182 n 1.
- Greenhill, Dr., 30 n 1.
- Griffith's *Yūsuf and Zulcikha*, 272 n 1.
- Gūgird-i-Aḥmar or Sulphur, notes on, 340 and n 2.
- Gujarāt. See under Gujrāt.
- Gujerāt. See under Gujrāt.
- Gujrāt, 9 n 2, 12, 17 n 4, 27 n 4, 28, 66, 71, 89, 255, 256 n 4, 257, 267, 274, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 313, 314, 315, 324, 333, 334, 337, 316, 354, 357 and nn 3 and 4, 379, 389, 450, 452, 454, 456, 472, 533, 534, 559 and n 8, 567, 597, 635. The name is also written Gujarāt, Gujerāt and Guzerāt.
- Gulangabīn, confection of rose and honey, 148 and n 4.
- Gulbarga, town, 311 and n 6.
- Gulistān of Shaikh Sa'dī of Shīrāz, 187 n 2, 467.
- Gulistānī Saiyyids, the,—a family of Saiyyids, 584 n 3.
- Gul-i-Yūsuf, a red flower without odour, 629 n 1.

- Gulnār* tree, called also *Nārīn*, 172 n 3
- Gulqand*, confection of roses, 452 and n 2
- Gulruk̤h*, the pseudonym of Sūlān Sikandar Lodi, 126
- Gumti*, the, 222 n 3, 329 n 2 Called also the Godi and the Kowah
- Gangūna*, fortress of, one of the dependencies of Malot, 437 and n 7.
- Gurdaspur*, town, 383 n 8
- Gurgān*, town of,—the Jurjān of the Arabs, 37 n 7, 38, 117. See under Gorgang
- Gürgān*, a surname of the great Timūr and a title applied to the sons in-law of a Mughal Emperor, 103 n 3, 353 and n 1.
- Gargān*, a district of Miwāt, 134 n 1, 366 n. *
- Gargin* i Milād, one of the chief warriors of Kai Khusrav in the *Shah namah* of Firdausi, 116 and nn 4 and 5, 180 n 2
- Guriz gah*, a term of Prosody, 627 and n 4.
- Gurjistan*, 43 n 4, for *Gharjistan* (*q. v.*)
- Gurkan*, a Mongol title, 103 n 3 See under *Gurgān*
- Gürkhān*, or universal king, hereditary title of the Kings of Kara Khitai, 103 n 3.
- Gürkhān* of Qara Khitā, the contemporary of Sūlān Muhammad Khwārazm Shāh, 71 n 7.
- Gushtāsp*, an ancient King of Irān, 35 n 2
- Gāṅgācāra*, a term of Prosody, 609 and n 1.
- Guzarato*. See under Gujrāt.
- Guzerat*, town of, 28 n 2, 71 n 3
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- Qilmur**, the thin pellicle which covers the date stone, 496 n 10
- Qifran**, exudation from species of mountain pines, 182 and n 4
- Qiwam**, the stay or support of anything, 614 n 1
- Qiwām Khan**, one of the Maliks of Khizr Khan, the first of the Sayyid dynasty, 364, 375, 380
- Qiwamu d Din Khudawandzāda**, one of the Amirs of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shah, 314
- Qiwamu l Mulk Malik Qabul** or Maqbul, one of the Amirs of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shah, 304, 315
- Qiyamu l Mulk**, one of the Maliks of Sultan Mu'izzu d Din Kaiqubad Balbanī, 220, 224
- Qizil Bāsh** the,—or
- Qizilbāshes**, Red caps, 48 n 2, 480, 570, 572 and n 8, 573, 574, 575, 576, 578, 592 n 9, 627 n 7.
- Qoraīqh** tribe of See under Quraish
- Qabbatu l Islam**, a title of the city of Multan, 133 n 2
- Qubul Naib Vazir**, the Khan : Jahān, one of the Maliks of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq, 324
- Qudsī**, Mir Husain of Karbala, the poet, 623 and n 6
- Queen consort of Humāyūn, 568 See Hamida Banu Begam
- Quetta**, 567 n 9
- Quicksilver**, called Abu l Arwah, 340 n 2.
- Qut**, centre of an army in Turki, 439 n 4 Called also Ghul
- Qulnīj** or Colic, notes on, 49 n 2
- Qulzum**, the Ocean, 167
- Quracha Khan**, contemporary of Humāyūn, 581 and n 9 See also under Qaracha Beg and Qarrācha Khan.
- Quraish** or Qoraish, tribe of, 2 n 5, 110 n 4, 287 n 2
- Qurān**, the, 2 nn 2, 3 and 4, 3 nn 1 and 7, 4 and nn 1 and 2, 5 and n 1, 6 nn 1, 2 and 4, 18 n 1, 28 n 1, 30 n 1, 51, 58 n 4, 63 n 2, 102 and n 4, 108 n 2, 110 n 4, 113 n 1, 115 n 2, 126 n 3, 127, 128 n, 143 n 3, 144 n 2, 147 n 2, 150 nn 1 and 3, 158 n and n 1, 159 n 5, 175 n 4, 183 n 2, 191 n 1, 194 nn 1 and 4, 201 n 2, 207 nn 1 and 4, 212 n 7, 216 n, 218 n 2, 249 n 3, 261 n 6, 262 n, 279 n, 288, 292 n 6, 311, 319 n 1, 321 n 5, 331, 333, 356 n 4, 368 n 1, 369 n 1, 372 nn 1, 2 and 3, 373 n, 392 n 6, 412 n 1, 429 n 6, 446 and n 5, 449 n 7, 450, 481 n 9, 485 nn 2 and 3, 486 n 3, 510 and n 6, 511 and n 5, 514, 515, 516, 517 n 8, 519 n 7, 522 n 5, 524 n 3, 532 n 6, 547 n 14, 555 n 6 568 n 3, 577 n, 579 and n 5, 596 n 1, 603 n 6 615 and n 5, 632 n 1
- Qur'an**, seven *manzils* or divisions of the 6 n 1
- Qurchi**, armed soldier in Turki, 215 n 3
- Qurra Qumar**, one of the Maliks of the Khilji dynasty, 291, 293, 295
- Qurruṇa**, an armed soldier, 215 and n 3
- Qurunu s Sumbul**, a poison, 172 n 2
- Qufas** the Tibetan yak, 543 n 1.

- Qutb Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 401 n 2.
- Qutb Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Wāli of Bangālā, contemporary of Shīr Khān Sūr (q. v.) 470.
- Qutb Khān of Itāwah, one of the Amīrs of the Lodi family, 443.
- Qutb Khān Lodi, cousin of Sultan Bahlūl Lodi, 403 n 7, 404 and nn 2 and 5, 405, 406, 407, 409 and n 7, 423 and n 2.
- Qutb Khān Nāib, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh, 476, 486, 488, 489, 490.
- Qutb Khān, son of Shīr Khān Sūr (q. v.), 457, 463, 472.
- Qutb Minār of Dehlī, called after Qutbū-d-Dīn Ushī (q. v.), 123 n 5.
- Qutbīyah Amīrs, the Maliks of Sultan Qutbū-d-Dīn Aibak (q. v.), 90.
- Qutbū-d-Dīn Aibak or Ibāk, Sultan, slave and adopted son of Sultan Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Ghūrī, 70, 72, 77 and n 3, 78 and n 3, 79 and n 3, 80, 81 and n 2, 82 and n 2, 86, 87, 88 n 1, 89, 90.
- Qutbū-d-Dīn Bakhtyār Ushī, Khwāja-i-Khwājagān, a famous saint, known as Ka'kī, 92 and n 2, 123 and n 5.
- Qutbū-d-Dīn Ḥasan, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Shamsīyah dynasty, 124.
- Qutbū-d-Dīn Husain ibn 'Alī Ghūrī, one of the Shamsīyah Maliks, 123 n 3.
- Qutbū-d-Dīn Ibāk. See under Qutbū-d-Dīn Aibak.
- Qutbū-d-Dīn Lak-bakhsh, or bestower of laks, a name of Sultan Qutbū-d-Dīn Aibak, 77 and n 4.
- Qutbū-d-Dīn Muḥammad bñ Muḥammad Rūzī, author of the *Sharh-i-Shamsīyah*, 427 n 1.
- Qutbū-d-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, Sultan, son of Sultan 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, of the Khiljī dynasty of Dihlī, 273, 274 and n 1, 275, 282, 283, 284, 289, 290, 291, 296 and n 3, 297.
- Qutbū-d-Dīn Shāh, the son and successor of Muḥammad Shāh I, son of Ahmad Shāh, Sultan of Gujurāt, 357 n 3.
- Qutbū-d-Dīn, Saiyyid, Shaikhul-Islām of Dihlī under the Shamsīyah Sultāns, 123 and n 5, 132.
- Qutbū-d-Dīn, eldest son of Sultan Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 98.
- Qutbū-d-Dīn Ushī, Khwāja, the famous saint, 92 and n 2, 123 and n 5.
- Qutbū-l-'Ālam Shaikh Ruknu-l-Haqq Qaraishi, Shaikhul-Islām under Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304 and n 4.
- Qutbū-l-Mashayikhī-l-'Izām, Shaikh Sharafu-d-Dīn Mu'mīrī, a famous saint, 416 and n 13.
- Qutlugh Khān, one of the Amīrs of the dynasty of Sultan Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 131, 132 and n 4.
- Qutlugh Khān, one of the Maliks of Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309, 311, 312, 313.
- Qutlugh Khān, Malik Fazlu'llah Balkhī, one of the Amīrs of the Firuz Shāhī dynasty, 351 and n 2.
- Qutlugh Khān the Vazīr, Qāzī Samā'u-d-Dīn, one of the Amīrs of Sultan Husain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 406, 407.

- Qutlugh Khwaja**, the Mughul King of Khurasan 305 See also under **Qutlaq Khwaja**
- Qutluq Khan**, brother's son of Sultān 'Alā' d-Dīn Khilji, 250 and n 1, 258, 305
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- Races of the North-Western Provinces of India**, Elliott's, 122 n 1, 312 n 7, 384 n 3, 408 n 1, 415 n.
- Radah**, for Roh, a name of Afghanistan, 466 n 5, 493 n 6
- Radhanpur**, a city of Gujerat, 28 n 2, 71 n 3
- Radif**, in Persian prosody the name given to a syllable or word following the rhyme, 141 n 3
- Radif**, in Prosody a letter of prolongation before the rā'i, 607 and n 4
- Rafsi'u d-Din Ṣafawi** of Ij Mir Sayyid, Hażrat Muqaddas, contemporary of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, 445, 476 and n 5, 479, 513, 514
- Rəkhi**, or heretic, a term applied to any of the Shi'ah sects, 156 n 1, 604 and n 5, 626 n 6
- Rəfiz**, heresy, 626 and n 6.
- Rahabe**, a canal or aqueduct, 459 n 5
- Rahē'e**, for Rahabe, a canal, 459 n 5
- Rahab river**, the, 131 and n 2, 231, 251, 377, 379, 409
- Rahim Dād Khwāja**, one of the Amirs of the Lodi dynasty, 445 and n 5
- Rahman**, Suratu r—, a chapter of the Qur'an 218 n 2
- Rahmatu llāh i**, a term applied to a weaver, 527, 528 n 1
- Qatlnq Khwaja**, the son of Dua, the Mughul King of Khurasan and Mawrau n Nahr, contemporary of Sultān 'Alā' d-Dīn Khilji, 250 and n 1, 258, 305
- Rahmatu llāh Iqbal Khān**, one of the Amirs of Islam Shāh of the Afghan Sur dynasty, 527.
- Rahu**, a kind of flower, 142 n 3
- Rābu**, a Hindu mythological monster and in Astronomy the ascending node, 163 n 2
- Rai**, the ancient Rhages a district and town of Persian 'Irāq 30 and n 1, 35 73 n 1
- Rā'i** **i Rāvān**, title of Randhol, the uncle of Khusru Khan Barāwar bacha, 290
- Rā'i** of Baranasi, the contemporary of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq 329
- Rai** of Dholpur, the contemporary of the Lodis, 410 419
- Rai** of Gwalior, the contemporary of the Saiyyids 381, 384 398
- Rais** of Jajnagar, the 329 n 6
- Rai** of Satgāñ the contemporary of Sultan Firoz Shāh, 329 and n 5
- Rā'i** of Srinagar, for Rā'i Sir (q. v.), 360 n 3
- Rai** of Teleng, the contemporary of Sultān Qubu' d-Dīn Khilji, 286
- Rai Bhim**, the chief of Jammu, contemporary of Mubarak Shah of the Saiyyid dynasty, 383 and r 3
- Rai Firoz** of Tiliundi, contemporary of Mubarak Shah of the Saiyyid dynasty, 382 and nn 1 and 2, 390

- Rāī Jai Chand, Governor of Qanauj, contemporary of Sultān Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghūrī, 70.
- Rāī Jaljīn Bhatī, Governor of the fort of Bhat at the time of Timur's invasion, 355 and n 4.
- Rāī Karan of Gujerāt, contemporary of Sultān 'Alā'u-d-Dīn Khilji, 255, 256.
- Rāī Lakhmaniya, Lakhmia or Lakhminā, the ruler of Nadīyā, contemporary of Sultān Quṣba-d-Dīn Āibak, 82 and n 5, 83 n 1.
- Rāī Pathūrā, Governor of Ajmīr, contemporary of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Ghūrī, 69, 70. See also Rāī Pithora.
- Rāī Pertāb, one of the Amīrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 401 n 2.
- Rāī Pithora, 257 and n 3. See under Rāī Pathūrā.
- Rāī Sauīr, 360 n 3. See Rāī Sir.
- Rāī Sar, the Governor of Chandāwar, contemporary of Khizr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 377.
- Rāī Sen, contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 475.
- Rāī Sir, the ruler of Baitālī, contemporary of the Firuz Shāhī dynasty, 360 and n 3.
- Rāī Unar, contemporary of Sultān Firoz Shāh, 332 n 6.
- Rāī Vikramājīt of Ujain, 95.
- Raiseen, for Rāsain or the two towns of Rās, 327 n 1.
- Rājā of Bheerbhoom, 329 n 9.
- Rājā of Dangāya (Bundelkhand), the contemporary of Muhammad Shāh of the Mughul dynasty, 25 n 5.
- Rājā of Gwāliār, the contemporary of the Lodīs, 419, 432.
- Rājā of Jaisalmīr, the contemporary of Humāyūn, 562.
- Rājās of Jamū, 19 n 2.
- Rājā of Kādha (? Garh-Katanka), the contemporary of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 433 n 3.
- Rājā of Mandrāyal, the contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 420.
- Rājā of Nagarkot, the contemporary of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 331.
- Rājā of Qanauj, the contemporary of Sultān Mahīmūd of Ghaznī, 26.
- Rājā of Rohtās, the contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 457.
- Rājā of Thatta, the contemporary of Sultān Bahlūl Lodī, 408.
- Rājā Dāhir, contemporary of Muham-mad Qāsim, the conqueror of Sind, 12 n 2, 13 n.
- Rājā Kansa, of Mathra, the enemy of Krishna, 24 n 6.
- Rājā-Tarungīnī, an historical work in Sanskrit, 8 n 3, 18 n 1.
- Rajab, Malik, the Governor of Depal-pur under the Saiyyid dynasty, 383 n 11.
- Rajab Nādira, Malik, the Governor of Multān under the Saiyyid dynasty, 387.
- Rāj Gar, a town on the banks of the Ganges, 404.
- Rajiwa, a canal leading from the Jumna to Hissār, 325 n 3, 326 n.
- Rājputāna, 69 n 2, 298 n 7, 379 n 1, 419 n 3.
- Rājpūts, the, 13 n, 365 n 8, 382 n 4, 384 n 3, 397 n 1, 414 n 13.
- Rājū, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Firuz Shāhī dynasty, 349.
- Rājūrī, town of, 500.

- Pakat Chendan, the red Sandal*, 194
 n 1
- I am a Raja of Hindustān, contemporary of Sultan Mas'ud ibn Mahmūd Ghaznawī, 37.
- Rām Chand, the ruler of Bhātī, contemporary of the Afghan Sur dynasty of Dihlī, 553, 554
- Ram Chandra, the Raja of Deogirī, 271 n 6. *Also see Ram Deo (q. v.)*
- Ram Deo, Rāj of Deogirī, contemporary of Sultān 'Alā'ud-Din Khilji, 237, 247 n, 251 n 7, 256, 271 n 6, 293. *See the above*
- Ramal + musamman*, a kind of prosodial metre, 607 n
- Ramayana, the, 8 n 2.
- Ramghar, a fortress in the province of Agra, 70 n 4
- Rana, village of, 364 n 7.
- Rana, the Governor of Amarkot, contemporary of Humayun, 566
- Rana Sāka, one of the Amirs of the Lodi dynasty, 444, 445, 446, 452, 470
- Randhol, Rāj + Rājyān, the uncle of Khusrū Khīn Barāwar, the favourite of Sultān Qai'būd-Dīn Khilji, 289, 290
- Rang, a cluster of globular bells, 621 n 2
- Ranking's Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody*, 607 n
- Rantabhor,—or
- Rantabhor, fortress of, in the province of Ajmir, 92 and n 4 120 and n 4, 129, 236, 257 and nn 1, 3 and 7, 258, 260, 261, 262, 410, 425, 475, 479, 480, 526, 597.
- Ranthambhor, fortress of, 92 and n 4
 Same as the above (q. v.)
- Ranun the Black, a slave of Sidih Pāl (q. v.), 393
- Rao Khilji, Governor of the fort of Bhātī at the time of Timur's invasion, 335 and n 4
- Rao Zorawar Singh, also known as Rāpar Sen, founder of the town of Rāpar, 377 n 5
- Rāpar Sen 377 n 5. *See the above*
- Rāpar—*or*
- Rāpri, district and town of, 377 and nn 3 and 5, 387, 401, 407, 413, 430
- Raqib, name of the third arrow in the game of *māsīr*, 369 n 1.
- Raqqa + filāl, or the dancer of the sky, a name of the planet Venus, 138 n 3
- Rās, town of, 326 n, 327 and n 1
- Rāsain, the two towns of Ras, 326 n 327 n 1.
- Rashid Tāsir, Khwāja, minister of the King of Khurāsān, 605
- Rasīdkot, fortress of, in the northern hill range of the Panjab, 498
- Rashīdu d-Dīn, author of the *Jāmi' u t-Tairānī*, 307 n 4, 353 n 1
- Rata village of, 364 and n 7
- Rathor tribe of Rajputs, the, 384 nn 2 and 3
- Raufatū + Ṣafiq, an historical work, 62 and n 3, 121 n 1
- Raverty's *Tubaqat + Nasīrī*, 18 n 1, 14 nn 1 and 2 16 nn 1 and 2, 19 n 2, 20 n 2 23 n 1 29 n 1, 31 n 1, 33 n 2, 35 n 1, 37 n 6, 38 nn 1 and 3, 42 n 3, 43 n 3 44 nn 6 and 8, 45 n 3, 46 n 2, 47 n 1, 49 n 4 50 n 1, 55 nn 2 and 4 60 nn 1 and 2, 62 n

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Rāvī, the, one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, 23 n 3, 67 n, 128, 188, 190 and n 2, 355 n 1, 383, 384 n, 389 and n 2, 392.

Rāwal Pindi, 44 n 6.

Rāwar, Fort of, in Sind, 12 n 2.

Rawī, the essential letter in the *qāfiyah* or rhyme, 607 nn 3 and 4.

Rāyāt-i-A'lā, title of Saiyyid Khizr Khān, the first of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 376 and n 1.

Rāzī, relative adjective from the town of Rai, 30 n 1.

Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyā, known as Rhazes, the famous physician, 30 n 1.

Rāzī, Imām, 73. See under Fakhrud-Dīn Rāzī.

Razzīyah Khātūn, Sultān, eldest daughter of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 98, 119, 120 and n 8, 121 and nn 1 and 5, 122 and nn 1 and 2, 294 and n 5.

Red-caps, the, a name of the Turkomānas of Garm Sīr, 48 and n 2. See also under Qizil Bāsh.

Red Palace of Sirī, at Dihlī, 260 n 7, 261, 269 n 1.

Red Sea, the, 169 n 1.

Redhouse, Mr., 89 n 1.

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Rewā, town of, 417 n 7.

Rewa State, 417 n 7.

Rewārī, a town in the province of Miwāt, 366 n, 537.

Reyy, 30 n 1. Same town as Rai (q. v.).

Rhagæ, ancient name of the town of Rai (q. v.), 30 n 1.

Rhages, capital of the province of Rhagiana, 30 n 1.

Rhagiana, the province of Rai in Persian 'Irāq, 30 n 1.

Rhazes, the famous physician, 30 n 1. See under Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyā.

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Riāsī, town of, 384 n 1.

Ribābah, the bag in which the arrows were put in the game of *maisir*, 369 n 1.

- Ribāf, a fortified station on an enemy's frontier, 41 n 5, 106 n 2.
- Ribāq Amīr, name of a place in Seistān, 48 and n 1.
- Richardson's Persian Dictionary, 214 n 2, 215 n 6.
- Ridz, a letter of prolongation before the rāzī of a rhyme, 607 n 4.
- Rig Veda, the, 293 n 5.
- Rij'at, motion of a star in opposition to the movement in the normal direction, 374 n 7.
- Ring of 'Ali, possessed of magical properties, 505 and n 6.
- Ring of Solomon, 205 n 3, 505 n 6, 559 and n 2.
- Rishwati, poetical name of Mīr Saiyyid Na'matu'llah (q. v.), 533 n 7, 534 n 4.
- Riqwān, the door-keeper of Paradise, 194 and n 3, 281, 601.
- Rocky Citadel, the, or Shahr-i-Nau, on the banks of the Jumna, 231.
- Roebuck's Oriental Proverbs, 57 n 2, 68 n 1, 218 n 2, 244 n 5, 301 n 3.
- Roh, a name of Afghānistān, 406 and n 5, 493 and n 6.
- Rohilkhand,—or
- Rohilkund, district of, known also as Kalthar, 185 n 2, 359 n 4, 364 n 4.
- Rohri, town of, 550 n 6.
- Rohtak, town of, 72 n 2, 222, 351, 364 365, 375.
- Rohtās, fortress of,—in the Panjab, 457, 466 n 6, 468, 472, 474, 493, 498, 501, 503, 502.
- Rohtās Bihār, Sarkār of, 185 n 1.
- Rohtās Sharqī, in the Shāhābād district of Bengal, 466 n 6.
- Rohtāsqāph, in the Shāhābād district of Bengal, 466 n 6.
- Romans, the, 18 n 1, 76 n, 104 n 2, 494 n 7.
- Romans, Epistle to the, 474 n 1.
- Rome, 119 n 5.
- Rook, the castle at chess, 505 and n 2.
- Rookn Khān, for Akat Khān the nephew of Sultan 'Alād-Dīn Khiljī, 259 n 5.
- Rose, properties of the, 148 n 4.
- Rosenweig-Schwansau's Dīwan Hafīs, 121 n 3.
- Roshan, Pir, founder of the Roshaniyyah Sect (q. v.), 58 n 5.
- Roshan Beg Koka, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 565.
- Roshaniyyah, or the Enlightened, a Sufi sect founded by Bāyazid Anṣārī, also called Pir Roshan, 58 n 5.
- Ross. See under Elias and Ross.
- Rostrum, an ancient instrument of war, 29 n 5.
- Roxāna, wife of Alexander the Great, 331 n 10.
- Royal Asiatic Society, Journal of the, 16 n 2, 33 n 1, 47 n 2, 59 n 1, 87 n 1, 103 n 1, 109 n 4, 115 n and n 3, 141 n 4, 330 n 7, 479 n 7, 571 n 2.
- Rubāb, a stringed instrument like a guitar, 367 n 5.
- Ruby, Four kinds of, 25 n 2.
- Ruby Palace, at Dihlī, 260.
- Rue, its efficacy in exorcism, 617 n 1.
- Rūb, the vital principle, 144 n 2, 145 n.

- Rūh or Rōh, a name of Afghānistān, 466 and n 5, 493 and n 6, 520.
- Rūjhāmī, a learned man of the time of Sultān Shamsa-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 93 and n 2.
- Rūn, a village of the dependencies of Lahore, 54 and n 2.
- Rūjūl-i-kaukab, an astronomical term, 874 n 7. See under *Rij'at*.
- Rukh, the cheek and also the castle at chess, 505 n 2.
- Rukn Khān Afghān, one of the Amīrs of the Sūr dynasty, 598.
- Rukn-i-Yamānī, the south corner of the Ka'bah, 97 and n 4.
- Ruknu-d-Dīn Chanda Wazīr, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Firūz Shāhī dynasty, 341, 342.
- Ruknu-d-Dīn Firoz Shāh, Sultān, son of Sultān Shamsa-d-Dīn Iyal-timish 97, 98, 99, 113.
- Ruknu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm, son of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 244, 247 and n and n 5. See also under Qadr Khān.
- Ruknu-d-Dīn Quraishi, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Ṣadrū-d-Dīn 'Arif and grandson of Shaikh Bahā'u-d-Dīn Zakariyā, contemporary of the Sultāns 'Alā'u-d-Dīn and Qutbū-d-Dīn Khiljī, 248 and n 2, 284, 304 and n 4.
- Ruknu-d-Dīn Tughral Beg, founder of the Saljuqiyah dynasty of Khorāsān, 42 n 3, 61 n 5.
- Ruknu-l-Haqq Quraishi, Shaikhul-Islām, 304 and n 4. Same as Ruknu-d-Dīn Quraishi (q. v.).
- Rūm, country of, 585 n 7, 621.
- Rūm, Sea of,—the Mediterranean; 153 n 1.
- Rūm, Sultān of,—title of the Sultāns of Turkey, 480.
- Rūmī Khān, the Artillerist of Humāyūn, 456 and n 7.
- Rūn, a place near Lahore, 54 n 2.
- Rūna, a village in Nisāpūr of Khurāsān, 54 n 1.
- Rūmī, Abū-l-Faraj, a celebrated poet of the time of Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 53 n, 54 and n 1.
- Rūpar, town of, 362 and n 1, 380 and n 2, 382 and n 3.
- Ruqaiyyah, daughter of Muhammad and wife of 'Ugmān ibn 'Affān, 59 n 4.
- Rūshāna, wife of Alexander the Great, 332 n.
- Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Irān, 14 n 3, 39, 114, 116 n 5, 117, 127, 180 n 2, 181 and n 1, 199, 207, 294, 548.
- Rustam, one of the Generals of the Great Timūr, 358 n 6.
- Rusūldār, Saiyyid, one of the court officers of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 328.
- Rusūlī, poetical name of Mīr Saiyyid Na'matu'llāh, one of the poets of the reign of Islem Shāh, 533 and n 7, 534 and n 4.
- Rusūlpūr, the fortress of Shamsābād, 472.
- Ruswānī, disgraced, 499.
- Ruttunpoor, for the town of Ilāhpūr, 410 n 3.
- Rūzbih, Persian name of Salmān al-Fārsī, 572 n 1.

S.

- Sā'adat Khan, commonly known as 'Abdu'r Rashed Sūlāmī, one of the Amirs of the Fīruz Shāhi dynasty 319, 350 and n 3
- Sā'adat Khan Bārbak, 350 n 3 Same as the above (q. v.)
- Sabb, reviling on religious grounds, when justifiable, 677 n
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- Shehr + Sabz, in Bokharā, 570 n 7
- Slekol, a weight and a coin of the Hebrews 25 n 1
- Sler Khan, one of the Amirs of Sultan Muizzu d Din Kaiqubad of the Balbani dynasty, 226 and n 1
- Sler Khan, one of the Maliks of Sultan Shamsu d Din Iyal timish, 130, 186 187
- Sler Khan son of Isem Shah of the Afghan Sur dynasty, 534
- Sher Shah, the first of the Afghan Sur dynasty of Dihli 25 n 6, 436 See under Šher Shah
- Sherpur, town of, 82 n 1, 93 n
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Shibla, a village in the dependencies of Osrūshna in Transoxiana, 59 *n* 1.

Shiblī, a famous Muhammadan Saint, 59 and *n* 1.

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Shihāb, Mīr, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 598 *n* 5.

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Shihāb Nāhir, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Firūz Shāhi dynasty, 351, 359.

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Shihābu-d-Dīn Ahmad Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 598 and *n* 5.

Shihābu-d-Dīn the Enigmatist, Maulānā, a learned man in the time of

Bābar, 449 and *nn* 3 and 9, 450 and *n* 1.

Shihābu-d-Dīn Ḥakīm Kirmānī Jaun-pūrī, author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Muḥmūd Shāhī*, 230.

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Shihābu-d-Dīn Nišāpūrī Bakhshī, Mīr, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 598 and *n* 5.

Shihābu-d-Dīn Sulṭān, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāhī, 311.

Shihābu-d-Dīn 'Umar, son of Sultān Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 268, 272, 273 and *n* 4, 274 *n* 1, 284.

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Shikarpur, town of, 487 and *n* 2.

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- Shir-i-safak, the constellation Leo, 498 n 5
- Shir-i-Khuda, the *Lion of God*, a name of 'Ali ibn Abi Tâlib, 93 n 4
- Shir madar, foster mother, 580 n 5
- Shiraz, the city of, 6 n 4, 38 n 4
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- Shirzaph, the new name of Qanauj, 472
- Shirin, the wife of Khusru King of Persia, 279 n 3
- Shirin wa Khusru, a poem of Mir Khusru, the famous poet of Delhi, 269 n 5
- Shirk, polytheism, 183 n 2, 625 n 5
- Sîrwan Shah Khaqan Manuchehr, King of Persia, patron of the famous poet Khaqani, 583 n 4
- Shiwar, town of, 389 and n 8, 391, 392 and n 5
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- Sînâ'u'l-Mulk, son of Saiyyid Salim of Tabarhindah (q.v.), 388
- Sialkot, fortress of, 49 and n 1, 66 and n 7, 67 and n, 436, 437, 465
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- Siddiq, As, title of Abi Bakr, the first Khalifah, 59 and n 2.
- Sidh Pal, grandson of Kajwi Khatri, a protégé of the Mubarak Shâhi family, 394 395 397.
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- Sidra, the,—or
- Sidratu'l-Muntabâ, the lote tree of Paradise in the seventh heaven, 58 n 3, 150 and n 2
- Siffin, a celebrated battle between 'Ali and Mu'awiyah 157 n 2
- Sîha n, arrows used in the game of mâsir, 369 and n 1
- Sîhrind, town of, 330, 331 and n 3, 378, 380, 382, 383 n 11, 406, 437, 438, 486, 498, 548 See also under Sirhind
- Sîhu'l-Halal, lawful magic, 151 n 6.
- Sîhun (Jaxartes), the, 159 n
- Sîhwan, in the Karachi district of Sind, 560 n 8
- Sijdah, a prostration in prayer, 612 n 3
- Sijistân, province of, 15 n, 34 n 4, 70 n 2
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- Sikandar Khan Osbak, one of the Amirs of Humâyûn, 592 and n 1, 594, 595
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- Sipand*, rue, burned to avert the evil eye, 102 n 3, 617 and n 1
- Sipar*, Rai, Governor of Itawa, contemporary of Khusr Khān of the dynasty of the Sayyids, 380 and n 5, 381.
- Siparak*, a herb, 620 and n 2
- Sipra* river, the,—in Mālwā, 93 n 4
- Siprak*, a herb, 620 n 2
- Siglat*, a silken stuff brocaded with gold, 543 n 3
- Sir*, Rai, ruler of Baitāl, contemporary of the Firuz Shāhi dynasty, 360 and n 3
- Sirāj 'Afīs*, the Historian See under Sīma; *Siraj 'Afīs*.
- Sirāj d Dīn Abu Ya'qub Yūsuf ibn Abī Muhammād ibn 'Alī* as Sikkaki, author of the *Miftahū l 'Ulūm*, 428 n 2
- Sirāj*, bridge across the fire of Hell, 113 n 1 See also the next
- Sirāq*: Mustaqim, the hair like bridge over Hell, 372 and n 2 See also the above
- Sirhind*, town of, 331 n 3 401, 520, 592 and n 6 594 See also under *Sibrind*
- Sirhindī*, Ishyā ibn Ahmad ibn 'Abdu'llāh, author of the *Tarīkh* ; *Mubarak Shāhi*, 10 n 2 67 n 2
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- Sirinor*, mountains of, in the Himalayas, 307 n 4
- Sir Mur*,—or
- Sirmur*, hilly country of, 120 and nn 1 and 8, 131 251, 324 337, 338 341
- Sirmur*, town of, 326 n 2
- Sirmur Bardar*, hills of, 120 n 1
- Sissoo* tree, the, *Dalbergia sissoo*, 129 n 2
- Sistan*, province of, 569 See also under Seistan, Siwistan and Sijistan
- Siwalik* hill-range, to the north of Hindustan, 70, 93, 132 n 4, 358 and n 6, 438, 595
- Siwi* Siyapur, province of, 425 and n 2.
- Siwi o Siapur*, province of, 425 n 2
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- Siyahwan*, fortress in the Karschi district of Sind, 560 and n 8
- Siyaru l 'Aṣīfīn* of Shaikh Jamālī Kanbawī of Dihlī, 430
- Siyapur*, province of, 425 n 2
- Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, 159 n 2, 244 n 6, 298 n 5 543 n 3
- Slane*, De, Ibn Khallikan or *Prologue mènes d' Ibn Khaldun*, 6 n 3, 12 n 1, 30 n 1, 35 n 1, 38 n 3, 42 nn 1 and 3, 44 n 5 51 n 2 55 n 3, 59 n 1, 74 n 2 149 n, 151 nn 4 and 6, 152 n 2, 157 n 1, 167 n 3, 181 n 2, 198 n 2, 244 n 6 287 nn 1 and 2, 352 n 1, 481 n 6
- Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 19 n, 29 n 5, 76 n, 367 n 3
- Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, 46 n 5 332 n.
- Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, 23 n 1, 30 n 1, 35 n 2 394 n 5
- Sonne*, the,—or the Son, a tributary of the Ganges, 82 n 1

- Sobha Nath, or Lord of Beauty, name of the idol of Somnāt, 28.
- Soghdī, the, name of an ancient people of Central Asia, 23 n 1.
- Sohrāb, son of Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Irān, 499.
- Solimūn (Solomon), 148 n 1.
- Solomon, King of Israel, 108, 112, 136, 148 and n 1, 205 and n 3, 206 n, 485, 505 n 6.
- Solomon, ring of, possessed of magical properties, 205 n 3, 505 n 6, 559 and n 2.
- Soma, name of the moon in Sanskrit, 79 n 2.
- Somagraha, lucky things, 79 n 2.
- Somanāth,—or
- Somanātha, south-west of the Peninsula of Gujarāt on the sea-shore, 17 n 4, 27 n 4. See also the next.
- Somnāt,—or
- Somnāt, in Gujarāt on the coast, 17 and n 4, 27 and n 4, 28 and n 4, 256. See Somanāth.
- Son, the,—or the Soane, a tributary of the Ganges, 82 n 1.
- Sonhār, town of, 407 and n 6.
- Sonipat Bangar, district of Hindūstān, 122 n 1. [and n 6.]
- Sonnergong, same as Sunārgānw, 186
- Sonpat,—or
- Sonpath, a city with a fortress north of Dihlī, 21 n 4, 37 and n 3.
- Sontheimer's *Ibn Baiṭār*, 146 n 6, 172 n 2, 173 n and nn 2 and 3, 182 nn 1 and 4, 484 n 1, 550 n 1.
- Sorath, country of, 264 and n 6, 454 n 7, 455.
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- Sortes Virgilianae*, 412 n 1.
- Sortilège, different methods of, 412 n 1.
- Sot river, the, in Rohilkund, 464 n 4.
- Southern India, 265 n 2.
- Spider, story of a, 149 n.
- Sprenger's *Life of Muḥammad*, 46 n 5.
- Śrāvana, a Hindu month, 27 n 4.
- Stag, notes on the, 171 n 2.
- Stambhatirth, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar God, 256 n 4, 454 n 6.
- Stateira, wife of Alexander the Great, 332 n.
- Statistical Account of Bengal*, Hunter's, 125 n 3, 299 n 2.
- Stein, Dr., 384 n 1.
- Steingass, *Persian Dictionary*, 142 n 3, 150 n 2, 312 n 7, 321 n 2, 406 n 7, 629 n 2.
- Sthānesvara, the modern Thānesar, 293 n 6.
- Sthānu, a name of Mahādeva, 293 n 6.
- Strabo, the Greek geographer, 23 nn 1 and 3.
- Sūbah of Agra, 410 n 4.
- Subhān-Allah, to express surprise or astonishment, 515 n 7.
- Subḥatu-l-Abrār, one of the poetical works of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 272 n 1.
- Subḥ-i-Kāzīb, the false dawn, 115 n 3.
- Subuktigīn, Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, ruler of Kābul and Ghaznī, 13 and n 1, 14 and nn 1 and 2, 15, 16 and n 1.
- Suclāt, a silken stuff brocaded with gold, 543 n 3.
- Sudr Khān, Governor of Agra, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 419 n 1.

- Suez, Gulf of, 169 n 1.
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 Ṣūghma or Ṣūqmā, a Turki word
 meaning a pole, 497 n 1
 Suhā, a small obscure star in the
 Lesser Bear, 182 and n 2, 371 and
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 Ṣuhuf, a collection of pages, 615 n 5
 Sūl Subar, province of, 425 n 2
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 Sūkhpāl Nabn, Rājā of Sind, contem-
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 Suleimān, adopted son of Malik Mar-
 wān i Daulat, one of the Maliks
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- Suleimān Shāh Akāt Khān, brother's
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 Sultan Muhammed Mīrza, ruler of
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Sulṭān Shāh Lodi, called Iṣlām Khān, Governor of Sīhrind under Khīzr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 380 and n 3.

Sulṭān Sharf or Sharq, Governor of Baiānā, 414 and nn 6 and 8. See the next.

Sulṭān Sharq, son of Sulṭān Ahmad Jilwānī the First, 414 and nn 6, 11 and 12. See the above.

Sulṭānam, sister of Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia, 570 n 11.

Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh Niẓāmu-l-Auliyā, 266, 301. See under Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā.

Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq, ruler of Baiānā, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodi, 414 n 8.

Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq Khwāja-i-Jahān, one of the Maliks of the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty, 348 and n 9.

Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq Mubārak Shāh Qarānqal, ruler of Jaunpūr, 360.

Sumbul, the spikenard of the ancients, 146 n 6, 373 and n 4.

Sumbul-i-Hindī, the perfumed sumbul, 146 n 6.

Sumbul-i-Rūmī, called also Nārdīn, 146 n 6.

Sūmrā Rājpūts, the rulers of Sind, 13 n.

Sūnārgām,—or

Sūnārgānw, on a branch of the Brahmaputra S. E. of Dacca, 186 and n 6, 299, 308, 309.

Sūndhī Rāi, the Hindū General of Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 34 and n 2.

Sunnah, the practice of the Prophet, 489 n 7, 519 and n 4, 589, 626 and n 1.

Sunnatun mu'akkadatun, an authenticated traditional practice, 626 n 2.

Sunnāt, tho, 3 n 6, 57 and n 1, 59 n 4, 156 n 1, 200 n, 320 n 4, 420 n 8, 576 n 5, 604 n 5, 625 n 3, 626 nn 1, 2 and 6.

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Supārī, the nut of *Arcea catechu*, 302 n 6.

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Sūr Afghāns, the, 538.

Sūraiyā, the Pleiades, 630 n 4.

Surat, town of, 454 n 7. See Sorath.

Sūratu-l-Ikhāt, one of the chapters of the Qur'ān, 2 nn 3 and 4.

Sūratu-l-Kahf, one of the chapters of the Qur'ān, 207 n 1.

Sūratu-r-Rahmān, one of the chapters of the Qur'ān, 218 n 2.

Surgha, probably for Sūghma a Turkī word meaning a pole, 497 n 1.

Sūrī, a flower, 142 and n 3.

Sūrkhab of Tabrīz, called 'the Sepulchre of the Poets,' 339 n 4, 584 n.

Sūrkhi bud, or Red idol, one of two enormous images in Bāmīān, 46 n 1.

Sūrkhi Kulāh, or Red-caps, name of the Turkomāns of the district of Garm Sir, 48 and n 2.

Surra-man-ra'ā, or Sāmarrā, a town of 'Irāq on the eastern bank of the Tigris, 59 n 1, 571 and n 2.

Sursatī, a fortress in the hills of Kashmīr, called also Sarsatī and Sarsutī, 36 n 1.

Sūrtaq, Ilāq name of a place, 569 n 8
 Surur, town of, 326 n
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 Susa, a town of Persia, 332 n
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- Tabarrā*, or enmity, a technical term
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- Tabarrā*, accursed, 577 n. See under
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- Tabl-i-'ulā nawākhtan*, meaning of the
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- Tafsī'ul*, taking a *fā'l* or omen from
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- Tafsīr-i-Madārik*, a work on the
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- Tafsīru-l-Baiżāwī*, a celebrated com-
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- Taftāzānī*, At-, author of the *Muṣaw-
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- Taqhāna*, a falchion, 215 and n 4.
- Taqhī*, Malik, one of the Amīrs of
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- Tagīnābād*, one of the chief cities of
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- Tāhir*, Khwāja, Wazīr of Sultān Mau-
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- Tāhir*, Shaikh, one of the Amīrs of the
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